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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**MALCOLM X LITTLE**

**PART 17 OF 24**

**BUFILE: 100-399321**



FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 100-399321

Section 17

Serials 366-408

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 12 1965

TELETYPE

SENT BY TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

1-8 PM

URGENT 3-12-65

DAE

TO DIRECTOR -36-

100-399321-SNCODED

FROM NEW YORK

105-8999

MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA IS-MMI.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-31-83 BY 8269 JAC

I

ADVISED

FOUR THIRTY PM MARCH TWELVE, SIXTY FIVE THAT THE PD PICKED UP [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] AT THE NYC COURT HOUSE, THIS DATE, WHERE HE WAS  
MAKING INQUIRIES ABOUT THE POLICE INVESTIGATION OF THE KILLING OF MALCOLM  
X. HE STATED THAT THE PD HAS BEEN LOOKING FOR [REDACTED] THE LAST FEW DAYS.

[REDACTED] SAID THE PD BELIEVES [REDACTED] WAS EITHER INVOLVED IN THE  
KILLING OR KNOWS MORE ABOUT THE KILLING OF MALCOLM X THEN HE IS WILLING  
TO ADMIT [REDACTED] SUMMARY REPORT ON [REDACTED] RECENTLY SUBMITTED.

[REDACTED] SAID THE INVESTIGATION IS GOING TO NOW CENTER  
UPON MALCOLM X-S BODYGUARDS, SOME OF WHOM CANNOT BE LOCATED AT THIS TIME.

SND

LRA 3MSG

FBI WASH: DC

69 MAR 29 1965

MAR 23 1965

18 MAR 22 1965

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 19 1965

TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

8-31 PM

URGENT 3-19-65

DAE

TO DIRECTOR -13-

100-399321

FROM NEW YORK 105-8999

MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA IS-MMI.

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

*B. [Signature]*  
*[Signature]*

67D

[REDACTED]

ADVISED

THAT NO NEW SUSPECTS HAD BEEN DEVELOPED IN THE KILLING OF SUBJ AND NO  
OTHER INFO OF PERTINENCE HAD BEEN DEVELOPED.

END AND PLS HOLD.....

1

REC-3

100-399321-367

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-31-13 BY 1869 [Signature]

MAR 22 1965

70 MAR 29 1965

DECODED COPY

AIRGRAM CABLEGRAM RADIO TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (100-399321) AND NEW YORK (105-8999)  
NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON - ENCODED  
FROM PHILADELPHIA 182000

MALCOLM LITTLE, IS-MMI

REMYTEL MARCH 16, 1965

Classified by 8269  
Declassify on: OADR

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

RECEIVED: 4:28 PM EFM

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 5-17-77

EX-112

REC-32

100-399321-368

MAR 23 1965

Classified by 655  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5/16/77 DML/CS  
Confidential

67 MAR 29 1965

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

277  
10/14/65

Att :  
FROM :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 3/22/65

MECHANICAL SECTION, FBI LABORATORY

SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
IS - MMI

ReButel, dated 3/18/65, captioned as above.

NYO submitted 4 rolls of 16MM movie film to Bureau, attention Mechanical Section, on 3/16/65, to be developed in view of the fact that film was marked "Exposed" when received by the NYO.

In view of the fact that the film had been developed, it is requested that it be returned to the NYO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 JAC/WEB/KEY

RECEIVED  
DEVELOPED  
PRINTED  
ENLARGEMENTS  
COPIED  
INSPECTED

DEI

3-Bureau (RM)  
(1-Mechanical Section, FBI Lab)  
1-New York

JCS:pam  
(4)

100-399321-  
NOT RECORDED  
4 MAR 23 1965

THREE

INT. SEC.

3354

FBI

Date: 3/16/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via

AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
 ATT: MECHANICAL SECTION,  
 FBI LABORATORY

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
 IS - MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 jpt/ky

Attached hereto are 4 rolls of exposed 16MM film  
 (200 feet) taken of the funeral of MALCOLM X at  
 Ferncliffe Cemetery, Hartsdale, NY, on 2/27/65, [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] for the  
 benefit of the Bureau.

The Mechanical Section, FBI Laboratory, is requested  
 to develop, for the New York Office, said film, made  
 available to SA [REDACTED]

Detached and sent to NY  
 NY 100-399321-  
 ENCLOSURE

100-399321-  
 NOT RECORDED  
 12 MAR 17 1965

4-Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)  
 (1 - Mechanical Section, FBI Lab)  
 1-New York

JCS:pam  
 (6)

RECEIVED

DEVELOPED

PRINTED

ENLARGEMENTS

COPIED

INSPECTED

SUB CONTROL

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

3328



SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

March 23, 1968

Director, FBI (100-399321) —

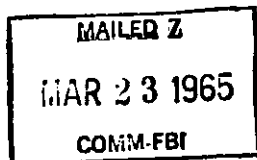
MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
IS - MMEALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8869 jae/new key

Reference is made to your communication dated 3/16-22/68 transmitting  
☐ negative(s) ☒ film ☐ photograph(s) ☐ document(s) ☐  
 pertaining to the above-captioned matter.

In accordance with your request ☐ film has been developed  
☐ enlargement(s) made  
☐ positive copy made  
☐ print(s) made  
☐ slide(s) made  
☐ negative(s) made  
☐ Photostats made

The above is ☒ attached  
☐ being sent under separate cover, via ☐ registered mail  
☐ REA Express

✓ R.D. Sullivan - 811 R.B.  
 Roshek



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CQS:det

(4) MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MOFF LINE

MAR 22 1965

TELETYPE

BOXND

FBI NEW YORK

10-22 PM EST URGENT 3-22-65 MFR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI --14--/100-399321/, AND PHILADELPHIA

---PHILADELPHIA VIA WASH ENCODED---

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/ /TWO PAGES/

I  
MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA IS DASH MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

RENYTEL DATED THREE NINETEEN SIXTYFIVE.

Classified by 12-21-83  
Declassify on: OADR

END PAG ONE

*Antel to NY & PH  
TRK:PAK  
3/23/65*

Classified by 6555  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
S/10/75  
EX-103  
Confidential

1 MAR 24 1965

RELAYED TO PH

67C



PAGE TWO

~~Confidential~~

[REDACTED]

SND

BJH

FBI WASHDC

(c)X

~~Confidential~~

3/23/65

~~Confidential~~

Airtel

To: SACs, New York (105-8999)  
Philadelphia

From: Director, FBI (100-399321) - 369

MALCOLM X LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

ReNYtel 3/22/65.

12-21-83  
Classified by 8269 JAC/KAC/STG  
Declassify on: OADR

b7C

:pah  
(8)

NOTE:

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 3/23/65

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 8  
MAR 23 1965  
COMM-FBI

MAR 24 1965

Classified by 6555  
Exempt from GDS, Category 5  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
DML/KAD 5-16-77

~~Confidential~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 18 1965

TELETYPE

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

SENT BY COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FBI NEW YORK

9-56 PM

URGENT 3-18-65

DAE

TO DIRECTOR -19- 100-399321

FROM NEW YORK 105-8999

MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA IS-MMI.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-1-83 BY SP6 JAC/STG

MARCH

EIGHTEEN, SIXTY FIVE, ADVISED THAT [REDACTED] WAS INTERVIEWED RE SHOOTING OF MALCOLM X AT THE AUDUBON BALLROOM ON FEB. TWENTY ONE SIXTY FIVE. [REDACTED] STATED HE WAS NOT IN THE BALLROOM ON FEB. TWENTY ONE SIXTY FIVE. [REDACTED] INFO RECEIVED THAT [REDACTED] WAS AT BALLROOM SAID DATE. [REDACTED] ISSUED SUBPOENA TO APPEAR AT NY COUNTY GJ., MARCH NINETEEN, SIXTY FIVE. [REDACTED] DURING INTERVIEW, ATTEMPTED TO RECORD INTERVIEW WITH NYCPD ON SMALL TRANSISTOR RECORDER.

[REDACTED] STATED NO NEW SUSPECTS DEVELOPED RE MALCOLM X KILLING.

SND AND PLS HOLD.....

1 MAR 23 1965

MAR 30 1965

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: *87 m* DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 3/19/65

FROM: *87 m* SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

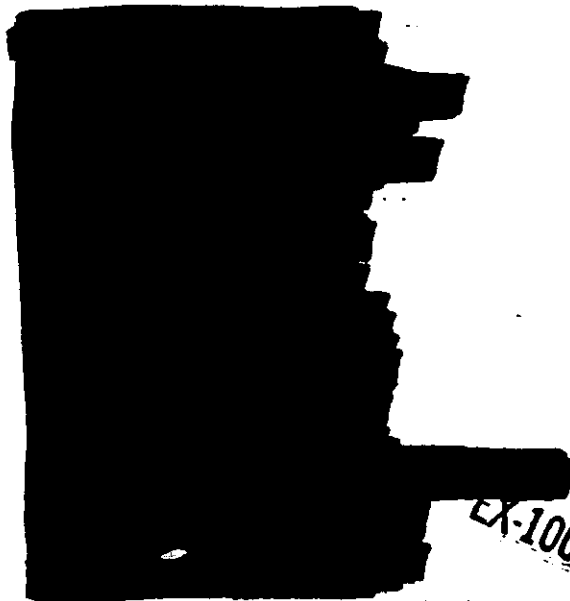
SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS - MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *12-21-12* BY *267 jef/ma/ey*

ReNYairtel to the Director dated 3/8/65.

*b7D* During the weeks March 7 and 14, 1965,  
[REDACTED] were shown photographs of  
individuals enumerated below, but were unable to  
identify any of these individuals as being in  
attendance at the OAAU meeting at which MALCOLM X  
was killed, 2/21/65, held 166th Street and Broadway,  
NYC.

*b7C D*



*EX-100*

- Let - NY*  
*3/27/65*  
*TPK/Lo + kg*
- 2-Bureau (100-399321) (RM)
  - 1-Boston (RM)
  - 1-Cleveland (RM)
  - 1-Chicago (RM)
  - 1-Los Angeles (RM)
  - 1-Newark (RM)
  - 1-Philadelphia (RM)
  - 1-New York (RM)

REC-1

100-399321-371

6 MAR 23 1965



*6K*  
(9)

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

*5*  
*5C*  
SUBV. CONTROL

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL 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.

☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

           Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

           Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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

100-399321-371 page 2

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

NY 105-8999

67D.C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] contacted were:

Contacted By

67D.C

[REDACTED]

SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA

[REDACTED]

NYO continuing to display photographs of  
out-of-state MMI members.

Bureau authority is requested to furnish  
photographs of above captioned subjects *to NYCPD.*

SAC, New York (105-8999)

3/24/68

REC-7 Director, FBI (100-399321) - 371

1 - Mr. Floyd  
1 - Mr. Rosack

EX-100

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Bureau 3/19/68.

Authority is granted to furnish photographs of individuals mentioned in referenced letter to the New York City Police Department (NYCPD) in connection with their investigation of the murder of Little.

As additional photographs are received, it will not be necessary to secure Bureau authority to make these photographs available to the NYCPD.

NOTE:

By memorandum dated 3/11/68, approved by the Director, New York was authorized to furnish the NYCPD photographs of Nation of Islam members who have previously engaged in some act of violence. These photographs are to be utilized in connection with the investigation of the murder of Little. A group of photographs was previously furnished and referenced letter sets forth the identities of individuals whose photographs have been furnished to the New York Office. These photographs have already been displayed to [redacted] were present at the time Little was shot. None [redacted] has been able to identify these individuals as being in attendance at the meeting on 2/21/68 when Little was murdered.

TPR:baf/cj  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 JED/DAK

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 25  
MAR 24 1968  
COMM-FBI

60 MAR 30 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI NEW YORK

3 IN BH. 82  
JTB  
MC

# DECODED COPY

~~Confidential~~

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

10:11 PM EST URGENT 3-23-65 FPB  
TO DIRECTOR (100-399321) AND NEW YORK (1058999)  
NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON-ENCODED  
FROM PHILADELPHIA 230300  
MALCOLM K. LITTLE. IS-MMI. PX. OTHERWISE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

RENYTEL MARCH 22 LAST, PH TEL MARCH 23 LAST, AND PH  
AIRTEL TO NY MARCH 3 LAST.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

REAIRTEL STATES THAT AFTER SHOOTING STARTED [REDACTED]  
OBSERVED [REDACTED] ON TOP OF MUSLIM WHO CAME TO U.S.  
FROM AFRICA WITH MALCOLM. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NY AND BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

REC-131

100-399321-372

RECEIVED: 10:24 PM MLT

Classified by 1552  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

10 MAR 25 1965

56 APR 2 1965

~~Confidential~~

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.

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP

DATE 5/16/83

Declassify on: OADR

DATE 5/16/83

56 APR 2 1965



Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
DeLoach	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

# DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☒ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

R-92

URGENT 3-23-65

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON - ENCODED  
FROM PHILADELPHIA 231850

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, AKA; IS - MMI.

RE NEW YORK TEL MARCH 22.

\_\_\_\_\_ WAS CONTACTED BY \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ NIGHT OF \_\_\_\_\_ AND TOLD  
TO TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ 12:30 AM THIS DATE.

\_\_\_\_\_ STATED DISTRICT ATTORNEY WANTS TO INTERVIEW \_\_\_\_\_  
RE MALCOLM LITTLE'S MURDER.

\_\_\_\_\_ TOLD \_\_\_\_\_ HE WOULD GO TO NEW YORK ON  
\_\_\_\_\_ 1965. IF HE DRIVES \_\_\_\_\_ WILL MEET HIM OUTSIDE  
CITY AND GO INTO CITY WITH HIM. IF HE GOES BY TRAIN, \_\_\_\_\_  
WILL MEET HIM AT STATION.

\_\_\_\_\_ WILL CONTACT MMI HEADQUARTERS IF POSSIBLE.  
\_\_\_\_\_ PAYING FOR TRIP.  
BUREAU AND NEW YORK WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

RECEIVED: 4:15 PM DGWREC-131

100-399321-273

EX-103

10 MAR 25 1965

157  
69 APR 5 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-31-83 BY 8269 JAC/WEB/KAY

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.

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 19 1965

TELETYPE

~~Confidential~~

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

FBI NEW YORK

228 PM URGENT 3-19-65 JAM

TO DIRECTOR /8/ /100-399321/ AND PHILADELPHIA

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/ 1P

MALCOLM K. LITTLE., IS-MMI

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

ADVISED

DATE

RE PHILADELPHIA TEL TO THE BUREAU AND NEW YORK, THREE  
EIGHTEEN, SIXTYFIVE.

DECLASSIFIED BY 8269 JEP/mw  
ON 12-21-83

DURING RECENT INVESTIGATION BY THE NYO IN AN ATTEMPT TO  
INTERVIEW CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MMI AND OAAU  
IN NYC [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REFUSED TO CONSENT TO  
BE INTERVIEWED OR SEE SAS OF THE NYO. [REDACTED]

END

REC-6 APR 2 1965

FBI WASH DC

EX-103

~~Confidential~~

10 MAR 25 1965

Classified by 7335  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5/16/11 DM/CMS

FBI

Date: 3/23/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) (P)  
SUBJECT: MALCOLM X. LITTLE  
IS-MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY [signature]

ReNKairtele 3/4/65 and 3/8/65 referring to a

The photo of [redacted] enclosed with  
NKairtel 3/4/65 was displayed to [redacted]

with negative results:

On [redacted] advised  
that this photograph is identical with [redacted] who was  
present at the Audubon Ballroom on 2/21/65. [redacted] was  
sitting in the first row of seats nearest the stage. He was  
in the last seat on the right as one faces the stage.

NYO is contacting [redacted] and will advise  
the Bureau and NK of the results. Copies of this photo  
have been made and the original is herewith returned to NK.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Newark [redacted] (Enc. 1) (RM)  
1 - New York [redacted]  
1 - New York [redacted]

TLB:ats  
(8)

REC-131

100-399321-375

5 MAR 24 1965

EX-102

SUBV CONTROL

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

**DECODED COPY**~~Confidential~~
☐ AIRGRAM   ☐ CABLEGRAM   ☐ RADIO   ☒ TELETYPE

8:11 PM EST URGENT 3-25-65 FPD  
 TO DIRECTOR (100-399321) AND NEW YORK (105-899)  
 NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON - ENCODED  
 FROM PHILADELPHIA 252415

MALCOLM K. LITTLE; IS-MMI.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE

RE MY TEL MARCH 24, LAST. U

[REDACTED]

IDENTIFIED JOHNSON AND BUTLER AS BEING PRESENT AT  
 MEETING WHEN MALCOLM WAS KILLED. U  
 TOLD [REDACTED] IT HAS 30 COOPERATIVE WITNESSES. U

DETAILED AIRTEL FOLLOWS.

RECEIVED: 8:28 PM RTS

Classified by 1362 [signature]  
 Declassify on: OADR

APPROPRIATE  
 FIELD OFFICES  
 ADVISED BY ROUTING  
 SLIP 5/16/77 [signature]

Classified By 1362  
 Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite

5/16/77 DML/CAD

REC-131

EX-101

100-399321-376

APR 52 131 MAR 29 1965

~~Confidential~~

CONFIDENTIAL  
 SEC.D

COALMO 1365

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 25 1965

TELETYPE

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

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

7-30PM EST URGENT 3-25-65 MFR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI --11---/100-399321/ AND PHILADELPHIA

-----PHILADELPHIA VIA WASHINGTON ENCODED-----

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/

MALCOLM X. LITTLE AKA, IS-MMI.

RENYTEL DATED THREE TWENTYFOUR SIXTYFIVE.

*B. [Signature]*  
*[Signature]*  
*[Signature]*

THREE TWENTYFIVE SIXTYFIVE THAT [REDACTED] FROM PHILADELPHIA WAS INTERVIEWED BY NY DU/S OFFICE AND [REDACTED] PLEASED WITH RESULTS OF INTERVIEW AND [REDACTED] WAS ASKED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE NY COUNTY GRAND JURY IN NEAR FUTURE.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THREE TWENTYFIVE SIXTYFIVE, THAT NO NEW LEADS DEVELOPED ON THIS DATE IN INVESTIGATION OF DEATH OF MALCOLM X. [REDACTED] PLANNING TO INTERVIEW ALL KNOWN NOI OFFICERS AND FORMER OFFICERS, PARTICULARLY THOSE WITH POLICE RECORDS. HOPING TO PERSUADE SOME OF THEM TO FURNISH INFO ON THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X.

SND AND HOLD PLS

REC-131

100-399321-377  
3 MAR 29 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-13 BY 8269 [Signature]

EX-106

52 8 12 PM '65  
COMM. DIV.  
REC'D

5 [Signature]

66 APR 8 1965

RELAYED TO [Signature]

# DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

5:04 PM EST URGENT 3-24-65 FPB  
TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK  
NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON - ENCODED  
FROM PHILADELPHIA 242130

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, AKA, IS - MMI.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

BUREAU AND NEW YORK WILL BE KEPT ADVISED

RECEIVED: 5:15 PM DGW

12-21-83  
Classified by 8269  
Declassify on: OADR

REC 5

100-399321-378

Classified by 1855  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5/16/83

MAR 26 1965

89 APR 1 1965

Confidential

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) 0M7-01C  
DATE 5/19/77

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 23 1965

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

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

FBI NEW YORK

P10-15M EST URGENT 3-23-65. MFR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI --12-- /100-399321/

-----ENCODED-----

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/

MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA, IS-MMI.

RENYTEL, DATED 3-22-65.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/21/83 BY 12699/SP/BJ

ADVISED FIVE PM,

THREE TWENTYTHREE SIXTYFIVE, THAT NO PERTINENT INFO DEVELOPED DURING  
THIS DATE RE KILLING OF MALCOLM X. [REDACTED] NOW INTERVIEW-  
ING [REDACTED] KNOWN MMI MEMBER WHO DEFECTED FROM NOI, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND ON SI AT NY/ WHO ADMITTED BEING  
AT AUDUBON BALLROOM WHEN MALCOLM X WAS KILLED. [REDACTED] TOLD PD THAT WHEN HE  
WAS A MEMBER NOI [REDACTED]

LATER CALLED OFF

[REDACTED] BELIEVES NOI WAS TESTING HIM. [REDACTED] TALMAGE  
HAYER, WHO WAS INDICTED FOR KILLING MALCOLM X WAS OBSERVED [REDACTED] TALKING  
TO [REDACTED] NOI MOSQUE NO. SEVEN NYC, PRIOR TO KILLING OF MAL-  
COLM X. INTERVIEW [REDACTED] STILL CONTINUING AT THIS TIME.

END AND PLS ACK FOR TWO

OMS FBI WASH DC FORTWO

56 APR 8 1965

MAR 30 1965

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 24 1965

TELETYPE

SENT BY ~~WIRE~~ TELETYPE

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

FBI NEW YORK

10-27 PM

URGENT 3-24-65

DAE

TO DIRECTOR -13- 100-399321

FROM NEW YORK 105-8999

I

MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA, IS-MMI.

RENYTEL, MARCH TWENTY THREE SIXTY FIVE.

ADVISED ON

MARCH TWENTY FOUR, SIXTY FIVE THAT [REDACTED] WAS INTERVIEWED BY [REDACTED] muslim mosque Tyc  
PD MARCH TWENTY THREE SIXTY FIVE. [REDACTED] ADMITTED BEING MEMBER OF MMI  
HAVING, DEFECTED FROM NOI MOSQUE NUMBER SEVEN, NYC. [REDACTED]

AND MALCOLM X. [REDACTED] SAID THE OFFER WAS [REDACTED]

WHO LATER [REDACTED]

STATED THAT THE

NOI IN NY HAD A GROUP OF PERSONS WHO WORKED TOGETHER WHEN PERFORMING  
END PAGE ONE.....

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 JAC

MAR 30 1965

157  
58 APR 5 1965

100415512



PAGE TWO.....

STRONGARM TACTICS. HE NAMED THEM AS TALMAGE HAYER, NORMAN BUTLER, THOMAS JOHNSON, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HAYER, BUTLER AND JOHNSON WERE RECENTLY INDICTED FOR KILLING OF MALCOM X. [REDACTED] HAS NO PLANS OF INTERVIEWING ABOVE LISTED PERSONS UNTIL INFO CAN BE CORROBORATED BY ANOTHER WITNESS. [REDACTED] THAT HAYER IS TO BE ARRAIGNED AGAIN ON MARCH TWENTY FIVE, SIXTY FIVE, FOR THE SHOOTING OF MALCOLM X AND WILL THEN BE INCARCERATED AT THE PENITENTIARY AT RIKERS ISLAND, NY. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THAT RUEBIN FRANCIS, WHO WAS ARRESTED WHEN MALCOM X WAS KILLED ON CHARGES OF ASSAULT WITH A DANGEROUS WEAPON, WAS RELEASED ON TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS BAIL ON MARCH SIXTEEN, SIXTY FIVE. THE BAIL WAS COVERED BY STUYVESANT INSURANCE CO., AFTER CO-SIGNED BY ONE [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND KEY FIGURE CASES ON [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARE BEING REOPENED FOR CONSIDERATION FOR THE SECURITY INDEX.

SND AND PLS HOLD.....

F B I

Date: 3/24/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)  
SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
IS - MMI

ReBulet to New York, dated 2/25/65, captioned as above.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 9 copies of a  
LHM pertaining to the death of MALCOLM X.

Information \_\_\_\_\_ was furnished  
to \_\_\_\_\_ who in turn  
relayed information to SA \_\_\_\_\_

Death certificate of MALCOLM X was reviewed by  
IC \_\_\_\_\_

In view of the fact that MALCOLM X is deceased, his  
case will remain pending by the NYO in order that the Bureau  
can be kept advised of the pertinent developments in the  
investigation of the assassination of MALCOLM X being conducted  
by the NYCPD.

9. ENCLOSURE

- 6-Bureau (Encls. 9) (RM)  
(1 - 100-441765) (MMI)  
(1 - 100-442235) (OAAJ)  
(1 - 25-330971) (NOI)  
5-New York  
(1 - 100-152759) (MMI)  
(1 - 100-153308) (OAAJ)  
(1 - 105-7809) (NOI)  
(1 - \_\_\_\_\_)

Copy to \_\_\_\_\_  
by routing slip for ACSC, OAAJ, OSI, etc.  
☒ info ☐ action  
date \_\_\_\_\_  
by \_\_\_\_\_

REC 12

100-399321-381  
18 MAR 25 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

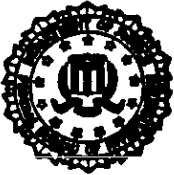
DATE 2-11-82 BY SP7MBC/STJ  
Sent #96.975 Per #207.150

JCS:pan  
(12)

66 APR 1 1965

sent in charge

100-441765-151  
100-442235-35  
25-330971-34  
USING COPY AND COPY OF ENCL. ATTACHED



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

March 24, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. New York 105-8999

Malcolm K. Little  
Internal Security - Muslim Mosque, Inc.

Characterizations of the Muslim Mosque,  
Incorporated (MMI), Organization of  
Afro-American Unity (OAAU), Nation of  
Islam (NOI) and NOI Number 7 are  
attached hereto and [REDACTED]

b7D

b7D

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
Malcolm K. Little, commonly known as Malcolm X, had just been  
shot in the Audubon Ballroom, New York City, while addressing  
an OAAU public rally.

b7D

[REDACTED] February 21, 1965, that  
Malcolm K. Little was pronounced dead on arrival by  
Dr. J. A. Collins at Vanderbilt Clinic, Presbyterian Hospital,  
New York City, on February 21, 1965.

LITTLE MA & MRS.  
On March 18, 1965, a review of New York City,  
Department of Public Health, death certificate number 4133  
lists Malcolm X (Little), also known as Al Hajj Malik El  
Shabazz, 23-11 97th Street, Queens, New York, date of birth -  
May 19, 1925, at Nebraska, father - Earl Little, mother -  
Louise Helen, died on February 21, 1965. The death certificate  
reflected that on February 21, 1965, Milton Helpern, M. D.,  
Chief Medical Examiner, New York City, certified the death  
of Malcolm K. Little, caused by multiple shot-gun slugs and  
bullet wounds of the chest, heart

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-11-82 BY SP7MA/JSO  
#96,975 #207,150

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

100-399321-381

1 XEROX  
MAR 30 1965  
[Signature]

ENCLOSURE

Malcolm X. Little

b7D [REDACTED] that funeral services were held for Malcolm X at the Church of God in Christ, New York City, on February 27, 1965, and he was buried at Ferncliff Cemetery, Hartsdale, New York.

Grave diggers at the Ferncliff Cemetery wanted to leave Malcolm X's coffin above ground until the funeral party left the cemetery. Attorney Milton R. Henry of Pontiac, Michigan, insisted that the coffin be lowered by members of the "Nationalists" and also that they would bury Malcolm X's body rather than having him buried by any white man. Services ended at Ferncliff Cemetery at 12:58 p.m., February 27, 1965, with Malcolm X being buried by members of the MMI.

**Malcolm X Little**

1.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

On August 19, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

**Malcolm K. Little**

1.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

A second confidential source advised on October 20, 1964, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which is also headed by MALCOLM X.

Malcolm K. Little

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam," (NOI) and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the NOI; Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD'S organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD'S teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

Malcolm K. Little

2.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

On May 7, 1964, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.



Malcolm K. Little

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, MOSQUE #7,  
NEW YORK CITY

On May 5, 1964, a source advised that the Nation of Islam (NOI) affiliate in New York City is known as Mosque #7, also known as Temple #7, and is located at 102 West 116th Street, New York City. Mosque #7 is part of the NOI headed by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. Mosque #7 has two branches; Mosque #7B at 105-03 Northern Boulevard, Queens, New York City, and Mosque #7C at 120 Madison Street, Brooklyn, New York. These branches are part of Mosque #7.

The date Mosque #7 originated in New York City is not known.

However, in connection with the origin of Mosque #7, it should be noted that in 1953 a second source advised that there was a Temple of the NOI (known to source then as the Muslim Cult of Islam) in New York City located at 135th Street and 7th Avenue, as far back as 1947.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 27 1965

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

TELETYPE

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

GOING OFF LINE YICGC43-2.1,1,1,9 3

FBI NEW YORK

1010 PM SSSSS URGENT 3/27/65 CJN

TO DIRECTOR /100-399321/ --5--

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/

I

MALCOCOLM K LITTLE AKA IS-MMI

*B. B. [Signature]*  
*[Signature]*

*Wes [Signature]*

b7D

ADVISED

SEVEN PM THREE TWENTY SEVEN SIXTY FIVE THAT NO ARRESTS OR  
SUSPECTS DEVELOPED ON THIS DATE RE INVESTIGATION NY TEL  
THREE TWENTY SIX SIXTY FIVE OF THE ASSASSINATION OF SUBJECT.

*J*

SND

SXC

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 12269 JAC/NEA/KAY

*[Signature]*

*Printed to NY  
Tpk: fah  
3/30/65*

100-399321-382

MAR 28 2 30 PM '65 REC-23

MAR 31 1965

EX-100  
U.S. G.O.

*5-117*

3/30/65

Airtel

b7c 1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, New York (105-8999)

From: Director, FBI (100-399321) — 382

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

EX-101 REC-23

Reurtel 3/27/65.

67D Referenced teletype and several previous communications regarding this matter have been submitted primarily as "status reports" relating to [REDACTED] the murder of Little. It appears unnecessary to submit teletypes in such instances. You should, therefore, in the future utilize an airtel in instances where there is no great urgency.

b7c  
pah  
(6) pah

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-13 BY 1269 JPC/Kew/ky

1 - 100-441765 (MMI)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 22  
MAR 30 1965  
COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-441765

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 29 1965

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

9-15PM EST URGENT 3-29-65 MFR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI --8--/100-399321/

-----ENCODED-----

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/

MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA IS DASH MMI  
RENYTELETYPE DATED MARCH TWENTYSEVEN SIXTYFIVE.

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

[REDACTED] ADVISED FOUR  
THIRTY PM, MARCH TWENTYNINE SIXTYFIVE THAT NO PERTINENT INFO HAS BEEN  
DEVELOPED ON MARCH TWENTYEIGHT TWENTYNINE, SIXTYFIVE RE ASSASSINATION  
OF MALCOLM X. [REDACTED] HAS INTERVIEWED FOUR PERSONS ON THIS DATE  
RE MALCOLM X CASE. [REDACTED] <sup>member/ nation of Islam</sup> HAS LEARNED FROM INTERVIEWING  
NOI MEMBERS RE MALCOLM X KILLING THAT ONE [REDACTED] <sup>Armstrong</sup> HAD BEEN CONNECTED  
WITH A FEW HOMICIDES IN THE NY AREA. NYO FILES REFLECT ONE [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] RECEIVED HIS X IN NOI NY NINETEEN FIFTY. FILE ALSO [REDACTED]  
NY FILE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NY ACTIVE UNTIL JULY, NINETEEN SIXTYFOUR. NY WILL  
REOPEN [REDACTED] FOR CONSIDERATION FOR SI. 100-399321-383

CORR LINE EIGHT SECOND WORD SHD BE [REDACTED]

MAR 31 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-31-83 BY 826 a/jp/m/ky

END

WA....RPP

FBI WASH DC

64 APR 8 1965

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 26 1965  
TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

7-36M EST URGENT 3-26-65 MFR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI ---11---/100-399321/

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/

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

*Handwritten:* HAMPS  
Kittling  
Rappels

-----ENCODED-----

MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA, IS-MMI.

RENYTEL 3/25/65.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8369 Jau/Ted

ADVISED ON THREE

TWENTYSIX SIXTYFIVE, THAT NO NEW LEADS DEVELOPED THIS DATE RE KILLING

OF MALCOLM X. NO COMPILING A LIST OF ALL KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE NOI,

NY, WITH ARREST RECORDS. THEY ARE ALL TO BE INTERVIEWED

THOSE PD BELIEVES HAVE INFO ON KILLING OF MALCOLM X WILL BE SUBPOENAED TO

APPEAR BEFORE COUNTY GRAND JURY.

END AND HOLD PLS

REC-137 100-399321-384

MAR 31 1965

5 JMK

FBI

Date: 3-1-65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via Airtel REGISTERED ~~Confidential~~  
(Priority)

To: Director, FBI(100-399321)  
 SAC, New York (105-8999)  
 Legat, Ottawa (100-1469)(RUC)  
 Subject: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
 IS - MMI

67C [REDACTED] 308 K12  
 INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE

ReBulet 2-26-65. U

[REDACTED] (C)  
 [REDACTED] (C)  
 Extra copies of this airtel are enclosed for the  
 New York Office. U

12-21-83  
 Classified by 8269 JHE/MLK/Innes

Declassify on: OADR

5 - Bureau (2 cc - New York)(Enc. 4)  
 1 - Ottawa  
 MLI:jhc  
 (6)

ENCLOSURE

APPROPRIATE  
 FIELD OFFICES  
 ADVISED BY ROUTING  
 SLIP(S) OF  
 DATE 5/16/77

Classified by 2855  
 Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite

SENT

TO NY

4/1/65

J.P.R./tcb

0-7 TO NEW YORK 3/17/65  
 RE: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
 FOR INFO.

ENCL TWO COPIES EACH  
 OF AIRTEL 3-1-65

711-5/16/77  
 100-394321-5385

MAR 4 1965

ENCLOSURE ON BULKY  
 IS BEING MADE AT  
 NEW YORK BUREAU AND WILL  
 BE SENT TO N.Y.

Approved:

6 APR 65

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Confidential

M. S. [REDACTED]

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
American Embassy  
Paris 8, France

Confidential

Date: March 24, 1965  
To: Director, FBI (100-399321)  
From: Legat, Paris (100-2171) (EUC)  
Subject: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS - MMI

Re Paris airtel 3/1/65. u

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Classified by 12-21-83  
Declassify on: OADR

3 - Bureau (ENCLS: 7)  
(1 - Liaison, ENCL: 1)

1 - Paris

(4)

Classified by 1355  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

7- ENCLOSURE

1- LET 5/16/77 DML/CAN  
1- NEW LHM  
TO NY 3/31/65  
BY 0-7, FOR INFO.

5 REC-44

DOH INJEFF DIA  
RECD 18 MAR 29 1965

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.

DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO

DATE FORW: 3-31-65

HOW FORW: R/S

Confidential

SUB CONTROL



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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-27649) (RUC)

DATE: 3/23/65

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS - MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-21-83 BY 1269 JAC/STC/STC

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.  
DATE FOR: DEPT. IER, CRD, RAO  
HOW FOR: 3/23/65  
BY: JAC/STC/STC

Re Boston letter to Director dated 3/8/65,  
and Boston airtel to Director dated 3/8/65, which  
enclosed copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned  
as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies and  
for New York two copies of a letterhead memorandum dated  
and captioned as above. This letterhead memorandum is  
not being classified since it is not believed that the  
information it contains would reveal [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was interviewed by SA [REDACTED]  
on March 12, 1965.

[REDACTED] mentioned as having [REDACTED]  
concerning members of Muhammad's Temple  
of Islam No. 13, Springfield, Mass. [REDACTED]

2-Bureau (100-399321) (enc. 8) (RM)  
2-New York (105-8991) (enc. 2) (RM)  
3-Boston (100-27649)

(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
JFN:nr  
(7)

ENCLOSURE

APR 9 1965

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

REC-57

100-399321-387

MAR 24 1965

SUBV. CONTROL

Hester  
(in Boston)

BS 100-27649

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7c

Boston has not been able to establish the whereabouts of [REDACTED] on February 21, 1965, beyond the fact that he was reported to have left his residence at 1:30 a.m., on the morning of February 21, 1965, and was seen driving off in his automobile. He was not present at the services of Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 11 on the afternoon of February 21, 1965.

BS 100-27649

It is suggested [REDACTED] may be able to place [REDACTED] in New York City on February 21, 1965, if he was in fact in New York. *1178-1 b7Dc*

Any further information developed will be immediately furnished to the Bureau and New York.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Boston, Massachusetts

March 23, 1965

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

b7D [REDACTED] is a member of Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 11,  
35 Intervale Street, Dorchester, Massachusetts. [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED] had no  
knowledge as to who might have been involved in the  
slaying of Malcolm X and he himself first heard of it  
on a radio newscast while he was in his home on February  
21, 1965. He stated that he does not believe that Muslims  
were responsible for the slaying and he has heard nothing  
from fellow Muslims which would make him think differently  
or which would make him think any member of the Boston Temple  
might have been involved.

b7D [REDACTED] advised that her records show that a [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was admitted to Boston City Hospital at 2:00 p.m., on  
[REDACTED] suffering from a lacerated [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-31-83 BY 8269 jae/webster

ENCLOSURE 158-399321-181

MALCOLM K. LITTLE

b7D The records show that [redacted] was treated by removing [redacted] from [redacted] bandaging it, and immobilizing it with a cast. [redacted] was hospitalized until [redacted] was released. The hospital report shows that [redacted] claimed the wound was caused by an accident in [redacted]

A characterization of the National of Islam and Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 11 is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

b7D On [redacted] [redacted] advised that to the best of his knowledge, no members of Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 13, Springfield, Massachusetts, were absent from Springfield on February 21, 1965, the date Malcolm X was slain. [redacted]

[redacted] Springfield on that date. [redacted] heard no mention in Temple No. 13 of planned reprisals on the part of Nation of Islam members against the followers of Malcolm X.

A characterization of Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 13 is contained in the appendix hereto.

b7D [redacted] Nation of Islam activity in the greater Boston area were contacted and advised that they had no information which would indicate that any of the members of Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 11 had participated in the slaying of Malcolm Little.

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

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam," (NOI) and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the NOI; Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

2.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam (Cont.)

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 7, 1964, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.



APPENDIX

1.

MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE OF ISLAM NO. 11,  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, ALSO REFERRED  
TO AS THE NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

On March 18, 1954, a source stated that the Nation of Islam (NOI) had become active in Boston, Massachusetts, and knew that it had held meetings as early as November, 1953.

On May 11, 1964, a second source stated that the Temple of Islam in Boston, Massachusetts, is known as Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 11 or Muhammad's Mosque No. 11. It is located at 35 Intervale Street, Dorchester (Boston), Massachusetts, and is the local branch of Muhammad's Temple of Islam whose headquarters are in Chicago, Illinois.

1.

APPENDIX

MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE OF ISLAM NO. 13,  
SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS,  
ALSO REFERRED TO AS THE  
NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

On March 9, 1955, a source advised that the Nation of Islam (NOI) had, at that time, just opened a Temple in Springfield, Massachusetts.

On May 11, 1964, a second source advised that NOI Temple No. 13 is located on the corner of Oak and Tyler Streets, Springfield, Massachusetts. The membership refer to Temple No. 13 as either Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 13 or Muhammad's Mosque No. 13. This source stated that Temple No. 13 is a part of the national organization which has its headquarters in Chicago, Illinois.

FBI

Date: 3/30/65

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-39918) (P)

SUBJECT MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS - MMI

Re Philadelphia teletypes to Bureau, copy for New  
York, 3/16, 18, 23, 23, 24, 25/65. u

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

REC-44

100-399321-388

he advised [REDACTED] was interviewed by SA [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] was interviewed the previous night by [REDACTED]

- 3 - Bureau (100-399321) (RM)
- 2 - New York (105-8999) (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia
- 1 - 100-39918

Classified by 10-21-83 6269 [REDACTED] / [REDACTED]  
Declassify on: OADR  
per release 190-105359  
21 MAR 31 1965

EMC/cse : C.C. VICK  
(7)

Classified by YRS  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5/16/78 DML/CAB

Approved: [Signature]  
AP Special Agent in Charge

Confidential  
Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SUBV [Signature]  
[Signature]

PH 100-39918

b7D [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] admitted membership in the MMI and OAAU and told [REDACTED] where he was sitting when MALCOLM LITTLE was killed. [REDACTED] showed [REDACTED] a photo of an individual they identified as a member from NYC and asked [REDACTED] if this person was on the door when he entered the Audubon Ballroom. [REDACTED] told the police he thought he observed this person on the door on 2/21/65 either when he was entering or leaving. u

b7D [REDACTED] was then shown a photo of TALMADGE HAYER. He identified HAYER was a person who stood up and told an individual to his left to "get your hand out of my pocket." HAYER, according to [REDACTED] then took something from his clothes, either from a pocket or from his belt, and pointed it toward MALCOLM LITTLE. u

b7D [REDACTED] was shown a photo (full length) of NORMAN BUTLER. After seeing the full length photo of BUTLER he identified BUTLER as being present at [REDACTED] [REDACTED] had previously been shown a mug shot of BUTLER which he said looked familiar but he could not make a positive identification from the mug shot. u

b7D [REDACTED] was also shown a full length photo of THOMAS JOHNSON and identified JOHNSON as an individual who was present at the last OAAU meeting. At the time he could not state whether he was definitely present at the meeting [REDACTED] was previously shown a mug shot of JOHNSON. He stated JOHNSON looked familiar but could not make a positive identification. u

b1 [REDACTED] b7D [REDACTED] also told police that as soon as the first shot was fired he fell to the floor. While on the floor he observed a man running out of the ballroom loading a clip for an automatic gun. He only saw this man as high as his hands. He could not identify this individual. u

b7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

[REDACTED]

PH 100-39918

b1 [REDACTED] (C)  
On 3/23/65 SAs [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] interviewed [REDACTED] concerning information he could furnish [REDACTED] in the event he was called on to testify. [REDACTED] furnished the same information as previously set forth in this communication. [REDACTED] was also advised to contact [REDACTED] in NYC prior to contacting the Philadelphia [REDACTED] [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] to cooperate with the police as he wanted whoever killed LITTLE brought to justice. u

b7D In regard to MMI security, [REDACTED] tried to start an FOI in MMI but that MALCOLM LITTLE would not allow it. [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] felt the MMI security was inadequate but that MALCOLM LITTLE gave the final orders on security. [REDACTED] told [REDACTED] knew nothing about the shooting as he was in the back room when the shooting occurred. u

[REDACTED] stated he felt the police were indirectly responsible for the murder of MALCOLM LITTLE as they did not furnish LITTLE sufficient protection when he appeared in public. u

b7D With regard to [REDACTED] statement that he was in the back room when the shooting occurred, it is to be noted that the [REDACTED] after the shooting on 2/21/65 stated she observed [REDACTED] on top of the Muslim who came to the United States from Africa with MALCOLM LITTLE. She stated that [REDACTED] was attempting to protect this individual. u

PH 100-39918

b1 [REDACTED] (C)X  
They asked him who was speaking when he entered and he stated BENJAMIN. U

BENJAMIN then introduced MALCOLM LITTLE and MALCOLM LITTLE began his speech. LITTLE gave the MUHAMMAD greeting and then stated "Brothers and Sisters." U

After LITTLE stated "Brothers and Sisters" a commotion started a few rows in front of him. LITTLE stopped speaking, came from behind the rostrum and a few people started to stand. LITTLE then told the people to take it easy and sit down. While this was going on the individual [REDACTED]

67D [REDACTED] TALMADGE HAYER, stood up and told a person to his left "Get your hand out of my pocket." The person beside HAYER stated, "I wasn't in your damn pockets." This was occurring at the same time as LITTLE was speaking. After standing up HAYER pushed his coat back and pulled an object from his left side, either from a pocket or from his belt. The object looked metallic [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HAYER then pointed the object he took from his clothing toward LITTLE. [REDACTED] then heard what sounded like a gunshot and fell to the floor. He told [REDACTED] to get down but she was still sitting. He later pulled her down. U

PH 100-39918

b1 [REDACTED] (C)  
[REDACTED] again stated that the first shots he heard were from directly in front of him. While lying on the floor he felt other shots came directly in front of him and from the right of the ballroom. u

b7D [REDACTED] was then asked if the individual on HAYER's left could be identified. [REDACTED] he was not sure. u

b1 [REDACTED] (C)  
b7D [REDACTED] observed JOHNSON sitting to his right. u

b1 [REDACTED] (C)  
[REDACTED] (C)  
b1 [REDACTED] (C)



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XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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100-399321-388 page 7

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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PH 100-39918

~~Confidential~~

61 [REDACTED] (C)  
Shortly after the murder most people interviewed refused to talk; however, recently many people have furnished information. (u)

67D [REDACTED] (u)  
The above is furnished for the information of New York and the Bureau. Philadelphia will maintain close contact with [REDACTED] and immediately furnish New York and the Bureau any information obtained [REDACTED] (u)

JAN 12 1963

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 30 1965

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

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

FBI NEW YORK

7-52PM EST URGENT 3-30-65 MFR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI ---3---/100-399321/

-----INCODED-----

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY [signature]

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, AKA IS DASH MMI  
RE NY TEL THREE TWENTYNINE SIXTYFIVE.

ADVISED THREE

THIRTY SIXTYFIVE THAT [REDACTED] BUFILE [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] FAILED TO APPEAR IN COURT, NY THREE  
TWENTYNINE SIXTYFIVE ON CHARGES OF POSSESSION OF A GUN. [REDACTED]  
FORFEITED ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS BAIL. [REDACTED] WAS ONE OF MALCOLM X-S  
BODYGUARDS ON TWO TWENTYONE SIXTYFIVE WHEN MALCOLM X WAS KILLED. [REDACTED]  
AS SEEN WITH LARGE AMOUNT OF MONEY DAY AFTER MALCOLM X-S DEATH. [REDACTED]  
AS WARRANT FOR [REDACTED] ARREST FOR FAILING TO APPEAR IN COURT ALSO  
WANTED BY [REDACTED] FOR QUESTIONING IN DEATH OF MALCOLM X. [REDACTED]  
KNOWN MEMBER MMI SUBPOENAED TO APPEAR BEFORE GRAND JURY THIS DATE. ACC-  
ORDING TO [REDACTED] MAY BE HELD IN CONTEMPT FOR REFUSING TO  
ANSWER QUESTIONS BEFORE GRAND JURY. CURRENT INVESTIGATION BEING  
CONDUCTED BY NYO [REDACTED] FOR CONSIDERATION ON THE SECURITY

EX.

APR 15 1965

..JRL

VASH DC

XEROX

Caumgardner

pl file Xerox  
in 100-  
on 5-11-11  
pre

57C

21 APR 6 1965

5-DM

RECORDED IN COPY FILED IN

F B I

Date: 3/15/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

SUBJ: NATION OF ISLAM  
IS - NOI

(OO: CHICAGO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-30-83 BY 1269 JHP/RS/BJ

On 2/28/65, JOHN ALI, National Secretary of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and AUBREY BARNETTE, former NOI member from Boston, Massachusetts, were among the guests appearing on "Kup's Show", a TV panel type discussion televised on tape from Chicago over WBKB-TV from approximately 12:15 AM to 3:00 AM. IRVING KUPCINET, Chicago newspaper columnist and TV moderator conducts the show.

This show was taped by SE [REDACTED] and SA [REDACTED] the tapes were transcribed by Stenographer [REDACTED]

The following is a transcript of the program insofar as the NOI, JOHN ALI and AUBREY BARNETTE are concerned.

4 - Bureau (RM)  
(1 - 100-399321) (MALCOLM LITTLE)

4 - Boston (RM)

1 - Louisville (RM)

2 - New York (RM)

(1 - 105-8999)

(MALCOLM LITTLE)

5 - Chicago

(1 - 100-6989)

(ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)

(1 - 100-35638)

(AMC)

CES:bls  
(16)

100-399321  
NOT RECORDED  
172 MAR 31 1965

CARBON COPY

67 APR 8 1965

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-330971-7286

CG 100-35635

These persons and remarks regarding the NOI were on the first part of the show only. The information adds nothing more to what has already been reported regarding the NOI and pertinent parts can be readily utilized in annual or semi-annual reports. It is therefore not being put in letterhead memorandum form and is being furnished for the Bureau and interested offices:

The following is the transcript:

KUP'S SHOW - FEBRUARY 27, 1965

KUP:

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen and welcome to another session of conversations unlimited on Kup's Show. Tonight, because the Black Muslims are holding their National Convention in Chicago, we thought in keeping with our efforts to be on top of the news and to present all sides of the question that we would have various representatives for the Black Muslims, against the Black Muslims, and perhaps one or two who are neutral. Let's meet our guests now. First, this is AUBREY BARNETTE of Boston, former member of the Muslims, whose article, "The Black Muslims Are A Fraud" appears in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post. Mr. BARNETTE flew here from Boston and appears in the studio today under police protection. Next is GORDON HALL, one of America's leading authorities on the extremists of both the left and the right. He's a one-man organization. From the great State of Missouri, this is Congressman RICHARD BOLLING, Democrat, who suggests methods for speeding up the legislative process in our Congress in his new book, "House Out of Order". Next is

CG 100-35635

Dr. C. ERIC LINCOLN, Social Philosopher, currently at Brown University. He is the author of the definitive study called The Black Muslims in America. His newest book is "My Face is Black". And this is JOHN ALI, National Secretary of the Black Muslims and head of their school here. I'm IRV KUPCINET of the "Chicago Sun-Times", your moderator, and we'll join our lively group right after this message.

COMMERCIAL

KUP:

Gentlemen, I'd like to get right to the point. AUBREY here, whom we have introduced already as a young man from Boston, has written an article in the Saturday Evening Post in which he says the Black Muslims are a fraud. He appears here, as we have announced, under police protection. He suffered a terrible beating in Boston and won a court case as a result of the beating. A number of bones were fractured and other injuries, right, AUBREY?

AUBREY:

Yes.

KUP:

Why do you think the Black Muslims are a fraud?

AUBREY:

I'd say the Black Muslims are a fraud because they have deceived the public. They have tricked their members and they are not carrying out any of the programs that they have projected.

CG 100-35635

KUP:

Can you tell us what, more specifically, the programs they have claimed to --

AUBREY:

Yes. Well, one of the reasons why I joined the Black Muslim movement was because I thought it was an organization that stood for a lot of ideals that I could uphold. And this was the idea of moral uplifting. I thought they had a program for improving the moral climate in the Negro community, a program for reforming juvenile delinquents and for preventing dope addiction and so forth. I thought that they had a program of economic upliftment. I thought they had an educational program and after being in the movement for some time, I finally left the movement in disgust because the Muslims, while they publicly pronounced they had these programs, they had never put them into practice and it is my conclusion now that they don't intend to put them into practice.

KUP:

Now, after you announced that you were leaving the Black Muslims or the Mosque in Boston, Mosque Number 11, this is when you suffered that beating which you attributed to your defection?

AUBREY:

No. I had left the Mosque in 1963, in November of 1963, and I didn't suffer this beating until about a year later. I thought that I could forget about the Muslims, the Black Muslim Movement

and I had put them aside and had returned to the outside world of reality, had gone to work in a bank as an auditor. I finally decided I would take advantage of my college training. I went back, I left the organization and went to work in the outside world. And I thought I could forget about the Black Muslims but I soon found in August of 1964 that I couldn't forget them because they didn't forget me.

KUP:

JOHN, this is a sort of a direct attack, a frontal attack I might say on the organization you represent as National Secretary.

JOHN:

Well, one of the first things that I'd like to say. Well, we've been well acquainted for 34 years with different people in America making attacks on Mr. MUHAMMAD and the original Islam. First, I'd like to bring this clear to you and which I'm quite sure you are aware of - the principle of religion which is allowed or protected by the Constitution. And a person has a right to practice any religion they wish. And so it is with us. I mean this is, you might say, a sort of a hypocrisy of this subject occurring on your show because you don't find this type of discussion concerning religious activity anywhere in America except for relation to the Muslims who follow the Honorable



ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. A person has the prerogative to worship anything as their religion. If they want to say that this cup is their religion (picks up cup), that is between them and the person who will go along with it. And it is no one's prerogative to say it is or is not a religion. This is guaranteed by the Constitution. And in this case we had the original Islam which has been taught by the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD in this country for the past 34 years. And he is the man of God and if we're wrong then it's between us and our Maker. It is no one's prerogative to classify us or to say we are approved of by any society or by any other group of people.

And we're not seeking it and we don't ask for it.

KUP:

That wasn't AUBREY's point.

JOHN:

Well, I'm saying that BARNETTE here who alleged to have been with us. I mean, we can understand the article in the Saturday Evening Post. We know the reputation of the Saturday Evening Post as a very reckless magazine because they have several suits against them now for libel and slander. In fact, even the subjects that he says on your show are subjects to inspection by attorney because we have an attorney here who is in for this purpose. And the Saturday Evening Post has a reputation for slander. In fact, -

KUP:

I gather you put your threat in there very slyly, right?

JOHN:

One of the biggest awards ever made against a publication has been against the Saturday Evening Post, which is also a magazine which is beset with mismanagement and loss of advertising review and -

KUP:

I am not going to defend or knock down the Saturday Evening Post -

JOHN:

All this is in connection with understanding the source that is behind this man doing this, because he is a paid man. He was paid for this article in collaboration with someone else and we are very much acquainted with Quislings and how they get their due and so naturally the history of this must be taken into account, too, when you discuss this article on your show because you mentioned the Saturday Evening Post, which right now, this magazine is suffering the loss of advertising revenue and also circulation and a shakeup on their board of management and stockholders fight and everything else. And they are doing everything they can to create attention towards the magazine in gaining circulation. And they are notorious for even printing untruths in order to gain circulation.

KUP:

But the man who wrote the article is right here. Let me repeat, the Saturday Evening Post is not on trial here. He wrote the article. He lived through this experience. You should answer his questions. -

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JOHN:

The article states that he wrote the article in collaboration with someone else. I mean this is - the Saturday Evening Post is not a magazine of fact but is a magazine of fiction. This is the reputation of the magazine. They have had more serial, more document, more theater and plays written from their stories of fiction, like this, than any other publication in the country. And Mr. BARNETTE, we might say, suffers from a figment of imagination.

AUBREY:

Well I certainly have everything, every bit of evidence to document everything I've said in this -

JOHN:

Well, if you have any evidence of anything or fraud of anything, then you present it to the court.

AUBREY:

I have documents to back up every statement that I have made.

JOHN:

Any evidence that you have. - And when you call somebody a fraud, I mean, first you are a college student, and you cite your reputation for -

AUBREY:

The public -

KUP:

Please, one at a time. Let JOHN finish.

JOHN:

And you cite your reputation for being an educated man and you have evidence, evidence which should be presented in courts. If you have evidence of anything of being a fraud, you should present this thing in a court and not going around by making reckless accusations as you have done and are still doing.

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AUBREY:

I am submitting my claims to a court of public opinion.

JOHN:

Because you have none. What do you call is a fraud? What do you say is a fraud? Name one thing.

AUBREY:

Each program that has been projected is a fraud.

JOHN:

Name one program. Name one!

AUBREY:

The economic program.

JOHN:

Name one. What economic program?

AUBREY:

The economic program. The \$3,000,000 Islamic Center.

JOHN:

What about it?

AUBREY:

It hasn't been built.

JOHN:

All right. Then what about it? What is a fraud about it?

AUBREY:

It is a fraud because the money was collected for one purpose, and the purpose the money was collected for, the money was never used for that purpose.

JOHN:

Now that is where I won't say that you are a liar because I'll ruin this show, and I'm much too intelligent for that but I'll say as LINCOLN told one of his generals that you be reckless with the truth. But I'll say this, the economic - The three programs that was announced by Mr. MUHAMMAD. Do you know what some of the money was raised for and as I wrote in the paper about this program, this program -

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AUBREY:

Wait a minute. Please, please.  
Now -

JOHN:

You said \$3,000,000.

AUBREY:

The \$3,000,000 program.

JOHN:

There was never no \$3,000,000  
program. First you have your  
facts mixed. There was a  
\$20,000,000 program which  
we announced.

AUBREY:

The Islamic Center program.

JOHN:

Is a \$20,000,000 program.  
And your reputation for keeping  
up to date on things was never  
very accurate anyway but when  
you mention about a \$3,000,000  
program first you mention something  
which does not exist. There never  
was a \$3,000,000 program.

AUBREY:

I completely agree with that -

JOHN:

There was a \$20,000,000 program  
which was announced by Mr. MUHAMMAD  
and funds -

KUP:

Let me clear up one point, JOHN,  
on the program. In your article  
you say that this was a \$20,000,000  
educational program. \$3,000,000  
was raised and never spent.

AUBREY:

Right.

KUP:

That is what the problem was -

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JOHN: He doesn't know anything about this. This is a lie. I say he doesn't have any facts for this and the fact, Mr. BARNETTE. We have a warrant out for him now in Boston for misappropriation of funds.

KUP: Were you familiar with that, AUBREY?

AUBREY: No, sir. This is a quite new and reckless charge -

JOHN: It is not reckless.

AUBREY: - didn't even swear a warrant out.

JOHN: Listen, he was in the organization and this is one of the reasons why he defected from the group because misusing funds and things.

AUBREY: I left the organization sometime -

JOHN: This is one thing he had never stated. I mean, when you write your article why you left, you should -

AUBREY: It took them some time to figure I had misappropriated some funds, when I left the organization in 1963. This is 1965. And you just getting your warrant out? Sounds like a trumped-up charge to me.

JOHN: Another trumped-up article, I mean, are you just writing this article now? You haven't listed one thing as a fraud. What is a fraud?

AUBREY:

The entire program is a fraud.

JOHN:

Now what is a fraud? What program?

AUBREY:

Well, take the program step by step.

JOHN:

I'll take it step by step.

AUBREY:

Well, take a look -

JOHN:

It's on the back page of "Muhammad Speaks" newspaper.

AUBREY:

Right. We're for the war of freedoms.

JOHN:

Right.

KUP:

I'd like to recite once again that I wish one at a time would speak. GORDON, you wanted to get a word in edgewise.

GORDON:

I want to make the point that since this gentleman makes a big issue of the courts and your attorney being here, which is an old gambit I might add, talking business of getting into a squabble like this and they want you to know somebody's listening and therefore you're not supposed to say anything. You know if the courts and the attorneys and all the rest are involved, why don't you take this gentleman to court since the Saturday Evening Post -

JOHN:

I mean, one -

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GORDON:

Let me finish. If he is allegedly so reckless, take him to court and prove that his charge that you people are a fraud, which I would completely endorse having studied the Muslims myself. Why don't you take him to court and have the courts decide in the United States whether what he said is true or false. You make a big issue of all this business of attorneys and all of that -

JOHN:

Well, like I said again, one -

GORDON:

And when this warrant, by the way -

JOHN:

One thing not concerning you at all is our religion and you have no right to tell me how I should act in my religion. I mean, whatever your religion, that is your business. I mean this is the thing that is going on where the religion of black people has been decided by white people and they tell them how they should conduct their affairs. This is what we have, what Mr. MUHAMMAD protests. And how we practice our religion is of no concern to you. You practice yours whatever way you wish. The fact that Islam is in this country is something which is widely known. They have it in the Masonic Society. They practice it. And for you to say that our religion is a fraud. We can expect this from you because Mr. MUHAMMAD teaches the history of the white people



in this country and they are opposed to the religion of Islam and the only success that Islam has been in the last 34 years since the time he has been preaching this religion. I mean, ten years ago, you couldn't find the mention of Islam in even in the printing. His parent corporation, the field magazine, which publishes the Encyclopedia Brittanica, or one of the reference books -

KUP:

The World Book.

JOHN:

They call it Mohammedism. Only since Mr. MUHAMMAD has been teaching has there been any respectability given to this religion and much of it. And concerning your trying. There are in fact. You don't even believe in your own Constitution when you tell me how to practice my religion. I mean this is not your prerogative.

GORDON:

This man has so many charges. We'll be all day catching up with him. Let's go back to the beginning premise. I thought -

JOHN:

Let's go back to the principle of religion.

KUP:

Let AUBREY get the floor, please.

AUBREY:

Beginning with the fraud. The religious, the religion of Islam as practiced by the Nation, the so-called Nation of Islam, is no similarity between orthodox Islam and what the Nation of Islam practices.

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JOHN:

Well, if you must understand

AUBREY:

If you must talk religion in here, one of the principles of Islam is that you pray five times a day and there are certain steps and procedures that you must go through in order to pray. Now, in all the years that I have been in that temple, members have been trying to get the minister to teach them how to go through these "rakas" or how to perform the prayers. They have not been taught yet.

JOHN:

Well, that is something that I say is a lie. I mean, how we - again you must understand. I can understand your being so innocent not knowing because you are being used like so many of our people, being used by the white man to fight one of their causes. Because one, how I practice religion. If I want to worship this cup and worship it on that table or on top of the table, that is up to me. There is no such thing as orthodox -

AUBREY:

Well, if that is what you want to do, that is what you should tell, that is what you tell the public. That is what you want to do -

JOHN:

You don't have to tell the public. You tell the public -

AUBREY:

You shouldn't tell the -

JOHN:

You don't have to tell the public.

AUBREY:

public one thing and do another thing.

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KUP:

One at a time, please.

JOHN:

It is surprising how you allow yourself to be used like this.

AUBREY:

Now, the farthest concern -.  
Let's go to the University of Islam.

JOHN:

It is one -

KUP:

JOHN, let him finish.

AUBREY:

Now, a university by all accepted practices, and Dr. LINCOLN, you straighten me out, you straighten us out on this -

JOHN:

Speak for yourself. I asked for no flat reason like that for your magazine article.

AUBREY:

Now a university, in order to be classified as a university in this country, you have to have a certain number of undergraduate and graduate schools. Now the Nation of Islam has been advertising for years in their brochures the University of Islam.

JOHN:

All right, bring it out.

AUBREY:

This is only a grammar school.

JOHN:

Bring it out.

AUBREY:

It is only a grammar school. It's not a university. It doesn't have any colleges. It doesn't have any college students. But yet it's advertised as the University of Islam. This is a fraud.

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JOHN:

All right, let's go to that now.  
You say that is a fraud.

AUBREY:

That is a fraud.

JOHN:

Well, this will show you how little - I mean, to be a college student, this is really surprising. This will show that you are still on the indoctrination of the whites. In fact, under Mr. MUHAMMAD we are the only people who rightly have the title to use the word University because ALLAH is the God of the universe and Islam is universal. And using names, any person may use any name they wish to go by as long as they are not using for, is not an illegal name. And Islam is universal -

AUBREY:

It is a fraud.

JOHN:

And so when we say university, the University of Islam has never been represented as a school, as a school of graduate studies. It has been always been told -

AUBREY:

Just a minute, by all accepted standards a university has to have -

JOHN:

That is by your, by white man's standards. By your standards. By the things that you go by.

AUBREY:

When we live in a -

JOHN:

We who

AUBREY:

country we usually use the English language.

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JOHN: We who have knowledge, we have, we know, that when we say the University of Islam it is referring to the school and -

KUP: Let me get this straight now, JOHN -

JOHN: Yes?

KUP: You say the University of Islam is a grade school?

JOHN: It goes from the kindergarten to the 12th grade. Right. And it has never been represented as -

KUP: It has nothing to do with -

JOHN: It is not a graduate school.

KUP: Or a university.

JOHN: The name of the school is the University of Islam.

KUP: Well, the -

JOHN: Because Islam is universal. It assuages (?) even more than this world.

KUP: Well, you explain that by saying this is your decision to qualify that name.

JOHN: No. Mr. MUHAMMAD's decision.

KUP: Yes.

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JOHN:

To qualify this, which is his prerogative because university involves more than just locale of some buildings or 20 things. These are things of the white man's -

AUBREY:

It has to have a couple of undergraduate schools present there.

JOHN:

standards where they have the American Association of Colleges where they say in order for a university to exist and they have proof of it, say all right it must have 20 buildings, one library with 500 books and such and such like that. We're not seeking accreditation from that group and we're not representing ourselves as belonging to that group. And the right of this name to be on this school which goes from kindergarten to the 12th grade which anyone knows and if you've been there and if you ever was around, your eyes really are closed much more than what we thought.

AUBREY:

I've been in quite a few towns.

JOHN:

The school has never been represented as anything more than that. And if Mr. MUHAMMAD desires

AUBREY:

It has been represented as the University of Islam.

JOHN:

This is one of the reasons why he has this \$20,000,000 program is to build, is to build schools of our own among our people. And to have, and he's been stating this that he wants to build. It is in his program. He wants to build; he wants to build houses.

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AUBREY:

That is part of a program. That is a program.

JOHN:

And we have children, we have over 600 children. We have children now who are going to school and we don't have delinquency existing among our children and if we had the facilities we would have -

AUBREY:

This is another fraud.

JOHN:

more than Muslims going there.

AUBREY:

This is another fraud. That you don't have delinquency existing among Muslim children.

JOHN:

Right. The only delinquent we have is you and we're -

AUBREY:

I'm not -

JOHN:

glad that you're not with us.

AUBREY:

I'm not going to belittle, I'm not going to belittle anything that you -

JOHN:

You belittle yourself by being in public.

KUP:

Let him finish, now. One at a time.

AUBREY:

If you do something --, I give you credit for it. But when you say you don't have any juvenile delinquency among Muslim children, you're deceiving the people or you're deceiving yourself. Because juvenile delinquency definitely does exist among the Muslim children.

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JOHN: Name one. Name one.

AUBREY: Several cases.

JOHN: Name one!

AUBREY: In Boston.

JOHN: Name one!

AUBREY: In Boston -

JOHN: Name one!

KUP: Well, let him name it, JOHN.

AUBREY: In Boston, there is a case -

JOHN: Name one!

AUBREY: where a child was taken away from -

JOHN: Name one!

AUBREY: his Muslim parents and taken to his Christian parents in order to stay out of reform school.

JOHN: Name one!

AUBREY: In Boston, Massachusetts, that is the case.

JOHN: Name the people. I mean you are citing something that it is a hypo -

AUBREY: That is the case.

JOHN: Hypo, hypothetical proposition.

AUBREY: It is not a hypothetical case. I know the case.



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JOHN:

Name and names.

AUBREY:

I know the case very well. And in fact -

JOHN:

Name the names. You say something which is irrelevant, immature and not pertaining to the issue. You are a man which does not deal with facts.

KUP:

Let's pause here a moment for a message and we'll be right back.

COMMERCIAL

KUP:

GORDON, you want to get a word in edgewise between these two combatants.

GORDON:

I'll try to. If we accept the basic premise from this side of the table that a group establishes itself as a religion in this country and once having established itself, that no criticism should come, therefore, because the person has his own religion and that is his business and not yours or mine. This would mean then that let us say, then that we can have a Christian group anywhere in the United States set itself up with the word "Christian", which is done all the time, the country is loaded with hate groups with the word "Christian" in the title, -

JOHN:

(Starts to speak)

GORDON:

Let me finish. And then they began to assault Roman Catholics and Jews and anybody that they happen to dislike, but because they are a Christian religion, so-called, and incorporated under that title, no one is allowed to say anything

about the viciousness of the attacks on other groups because they are a religion. This is a totally false premise and the Muslims, like everybody else in the United States, are subjected to press criticisms, television criticisms, analysis and all the rest. There is nothing sacred about ELIJAH MUHAMMAD although apparently you think so.

JOHN:

Well, I'd like to answer you on that. I mean, I can appreciate and understand your type on this because this is written what would be done. Because Mr. MUHAMMAD is a man of God, and we don't object to criticism. In fact, we expect it because it is written that the last day, the last day would have attacks from unbelievers and hypocrites and devils. And so, we can expect this. We understand this coming from you. Because you are opposed to Islam from the very beginning. It is not your nature to accept it. And we can understand your criticizing it and going against it and also opposing it and getting others to do this because it is written, that you'll be doing this.

GORDON:

You weren't listening to what I was saying before.

JOHN:

Because, and from your attack on Mr. MUHAMMAD's position. From your attack on Mr. MUHAMMAD, this shows the, this shows the shallowness of your mentality. I mean, you attack the man because you are on this program.

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GORDON:

I simply said there is nothing sacred about him. Has that become an attack?

JOHN:

I mean he is sacred. I mean, we say that he is a man from God. And not something incorporated or going into the laws of the state on the religion laws. I mean something that he has a message directly from God. And if you object to his methods -

GORDON:

A final point, -

JOHN:

You have the -

GORDON:

A final point -

JOHN:

opportunity tomorrow because he will be at the Coliseum speaking there tomorrow at 2:00 PM and never yet has any white person come up and denounced the teaching that he's teaching for the past 34 years as being something false or fraud as they have paid people among us to do. This has never, there has never been one white man to denounce him. I mean, the man is teaching a religion. He is teaching our people to clean themselves off; he is teaching them not to be addicts. He is teaching them to be self-sufficient and to do things for themselves. Why should you object to this? Why should you denounce this man as not being sacred? What has he done to you? How does this interfere with you? Teaching our people the principles of Islam -

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GORDON: Can we go back to what I said?

JOHN: No. Wait a minute, -

GORDON: You're making a long-winded, -  
Can we go back to what I said.

JOHN: No. You're trying to disguise  
yourself and cover up your  
hatred for this man which we  
all know about.

GORDON: I mean -

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CES:pma

JOHN:

Because you have

GORDON:

You said a few minutes ago  
that you never heard about me.

JOHN:

Why are you concerned about  
him?

GORDON:

You said a few minutes ago you  
never heard about me. So how do  
you know about all the things  
I've said?

JOHN:

Why are you concerned about  
him? Why do you come on this  
program? To discuss MUHAMMAD?  
I told you -

KUP:

Wait one second. This is getting  
no place, JOHN. Let me turn to  
Dr. LINCOLN. Let me turn to  
Dr. LINCOLN, on one side.  
Dr. LINCOLN, you've made a  
definitive study of this group.  
I'd like to get your opinion  
of the Black Muslim movement.  
There is no doubt there is  
some good points to the organization.

LINCOLN:

Well, as you know, I made the  
study as a social philosopher  
not as a partisan, not as an  
opponent of Islam and not as a  
salesman for Islam. What I did,  
beginning in 1956, was to try to  
study the movement with all of  
the tools that a sociologist

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LINCOLN:

normally uses and to get as much insight into the movement as I could get. I feel that I know a little bit about Islam as it is taught by Mr. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. I do not claim to know all. After all, I was a person outside the movement and not inside and there were certainly some things that perhaps I possibly do not know. But nevertheless I feel that I know something about it and certainly I know something about it from the point of view of a sociologist.

KUP:

Now, you made a statement that there is about 100 thousand members which AUBREY has differed with you on. He claims the membership is much much smaller. About 7,000 I think, according to your article. Is that right, AUBREY?

AUBREY:

Yes. The present membership is at around 7,000, at the peak.

JOHN:

Well, I'd like to comment on that because, one -

KUP:

One second.

LINCOLN:

I'd like to speak to the question. At the time I began research on the movement in 1956, this was several years ago and my estimate of 100,000 members was made around 1960 when the movement seemed to have gained membership and seemed

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LINCOLN:

to have been at a pinnacle.  
I have never offered this number  
as a hard and fast number for  
the membership.

KUP:

Would you make a guess about  
its membership today?

LINCOLN:

This was the number at which  
I arrived at through my, through  
my own calculations, my visits  
to many, many temples, to  
questionnaires that I sent out,  
to talking with other people  
and so on. And this also was  
not limited to what you might call  
card-carrying Muslims. One thing  
about the Muslim movement is that  
there are many people who apparently  
follow the teachings of ELIJAH  
MUHAMMAD who are not formally assoc-  
iated with the movement. Now whether  
the membership of the movement is  
down to 7,000 now as Mr. BARNETTE  
claims, or whether it is up to  
200,000 now as Mr. MUHAMMAD claims,  
I frankly don't know.

JOHN:

Well, I'd like to make one point.  
Mr. MUHAMMAD is not claiming any  
membership of any figure. I mean,  
well, first of all you must under-  
stand the nature of Mr. MUHAMMAD's  
mission. I mean, his job is  
delivery of a message to the  
so-called American Negro and the  
principle of Islam is based on  
principles of practice or beliefs,  
five principles. One is belief

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JOHN:

in the law of the apostles and the books they wrote, prayer, charity, fasting, and pilgrimages when they are financially and physically able. And anyone, if they are practicing no principles, can be a Muslim or may not be a Muslim. It is up to the individual and if a person is practicing a principle that is what makes them a Muslim. And they can be practicing a principle and not necessary for a person to attend our mosque, too, in order to be a member. They can read Mr. MUHAMMAD's life in the paper. Anywhere they get it. They can get it from another person. And that is up to the individual, because we are not claiming membership of any nature.

KUP:

(Starting to speak)

JOHN:

I was going to say this, Mr. KUP. Mr. MUHAMMAD is teaching on nationwide radio across the country every Sunday. We have our paper which is one of the, is the widest circulated news medium among the so-called American Negro that is getting his message out. And any one of the people all across the country hearing may at one time or may at another time be practicing the religion of Islam. And this is what makes a person a Muslim and not cards. We don't carry any cards around or anything of that nature.



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AUBREY: What is the purpose of the letter that is sent out, JOHN?

LINCOLN: May I speak?

AUBREY: Each prospective person who attends a temple meeting, he receives a letter. And he fills it out and either says he has attended two or three meetings and he believes in the teaching and then he signs his name and he gets an answer back.

JOHN: Well, that explains itself.

AUBREY: That is the same as his enrollment. What is the purpose of it?

JOHN: It explains one who has attended the meeting. But we have people who read the "Muhammad Speaks" newspaper, which is out every Friday. With the newspaper we have people listening to Mr. MUHAMMAD's broadcasts which are, which we have on one of the most powerful transmitters in the country, on XERF which broadcasts not only in the United States but all the way up -

AUBREY: But certainly you don't have -

JOHN: to the Dominion of Canada, South America and other places.

AUBREY: But certainly you wouldn't have a letter to, certainly you wouldn't have a letter to claim a person who has been to a -

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JOHN:

This letter -

KUP:

One minute.

AUBREY:

teaching or not. I mean, it is obvious if you see him there at the teaching, he's been there at the meeting. Why give him a letter?

JOHN:

Mr. MUHAMMAD, I mean, Mr. MUHAMMAD and his ministers. They study. After a person hears, they don't have the--. Like you, you're not responsible for yourself anymore. All his job is the clear deliverance of his message to our people and not necessary for them to attend our meetings or attend in mosques or attend meetings of that nature in order to follow. They're told to either accept it or reject.

LINCOLN:

I want to return, if I may, to the question of membership. Because I think that it is important insofar as Mr. BARNETTE has found one figure and I have suggested another. I interviewed Mr. MUHAMMAD less than three hours ago and he said to me at that time that his membership was certainly in excess of 200,000. He did not nail down the figure.

KUP:

What did he base that on, Dr. LINCOLN?

LINCOLN:

Officially, I did not ask him his basis for it but he said that. He also said as far as people who were following him who

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LINCOLN:

were not, I hope you don't find the word offensive, by card-carrying Muslims -

JOHN:

I was going -

LINCOLN:

I don't intend to take offense.

JOHN:

I'm not understanding you, Doctor.

LINCOLN:

All right then. Well, he said that insofar as followers were concerned he perhaps had well over a million. He said perhaps and he didn't know. He did not attempt to be definite at that point.

KUP:

Did he explain why the attendance at the Coliseum is so small then, if he has such a large membership?

GORDON:

--and much less attendance today.

JOHN:

Well, I'll say this -

LINCOLN:

May I continue my statement, please? He also said further that in the last year, this is a statement since the defection of MALCOLM X, it is his claim that the membership has doubled. There is one other point I would like to make for clarification about attempting to take sides here.

KUP:

Well, let me ask you before you leave that field, do you,

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KUP:

as a sociologist, do you accept this as face value or do you have some system of checking this figure?

LINCOLN:

I have no way, no accurate way of course of checking the membership of Islam. I don't believe anybody has. For an organization of this type, it is impossible, so far as I know even for anyone who is a member of the organization to say with accuracy what the membership is.

KUP:

And you're saying his figure may be as wrong as the 2 million or the 1 million or the 100 thousand. Anyone may be wrong.

LINCOLN:

I figure, I would say this. That Mr. BARNETTE arrives at his figure and certainly through a method that he believes to be accurate and true. And I try to do the same thing. But of all the people who have been studying the Muslims and there have been many, I do not know any 2 people who agree on number. I don't think that they can.

KUP:

Un huh.

LINCOLN:

Let's take ALEX HALEY (ph.), LOUIE LOMAX, and since I have been studying the Muslims I have received hundreds of letters from graduate students all over the country and from police officials who have been studying officials who have been

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LINCOLN:

studying the movement and I have never seen two figures that were identical. Also, I will be frank with you. I simply don't know.

KUP:

Yes, that's understandable.

JOHN:

Mr. -

LINCOLN:

One, one other thing. Just as a matter of academics. The question of the word, the use of the word university. I may be able to clear up something along this line. Back in the 1860's and 70's, when most Negro colleges were established in this country, they almost invariably called themselves universities. I think that this was probably to show their aspiration to become universities and probably to elevate at least within their own minds what they themselves were doing. To give you a concrete example. I teach at Clark College in Atlanta, which was established in 1869 as Clark University, when it was really just a normal school at that time. They didn't drop the name university until 1940. I can give you another example. Claflin College in South Carolina, which is a school much smaller than mine, calls itself Claflin University. So, I think, this is perhaps, I don't know Mr. BARNETTE, but

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LINCOLN:

this is perhaps how the use of the name came to be.

KUP:

While we're talking about membership, let me get to another point which I think is very serious. JOHN, I'd like to get your opinion. Because I think AUBREY touched on a very important thing here. He says in the Saturday Evening Post article that he came to realize that the one thing the Muslims cannot live with is success. The Muslims want no part of successful people. For this reason Muslims do not court prominent Negroes. CASSIUS CLAY is one exception, of course. But one thing that has amazed many people is the lack of any Negro intellectual, any Negro of any prominence to support this movement.

JOHN:

By explaining intellectual -

KUP:

Can you explain that?

JOHN:

I mean, intellectual means dealing with a person who has knowledge. It can mean someone who is, when you say intellectual what do you mean, intellectual? Do you mean someone having degrees, going to college and who have a string of degrees?

KUP:

Let's not get into a battle of semantics.

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JOHN: I want to know what you mean when you say university.

KUP: I didn't say that. I said intellectual.

JOHN: Because we have, because we already had difference of words here on university.

KUP: There are many Negro intellectuals. Dr. LINCOLN is recognized as one. RALPH BUNCHE, -

JOHN: Well, I'll tell you.

KUP: There are thousands of Negro -

JOHN: Well, I'll tell you. All the Muslims who follow Mr. MUHAMMAD we call them intellectuals.

KUP: Well, you know they're not, though. To classify the American Negro, -

JOHN: I mean, according to whose standards are you going by? By your standards? The white man's standards? Or are you going by -

KUP: No. I'm going by the accepted standards.

JOHN: Are you going by the standards of the world? Or what people have -

KUP: I'm going by accepted standards, JOHN. Apparently -

JOHN: Are you going by the accepted standards where people are concerned

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JOHN:

about the knowledge of themselves? I'd say that we're all intellectuals. Because it takes a very intelligent man to recognize when he has been lost and cut off from his own people and realize he must now do something for himself. And Mr. MUHAMMAD -

KUP:

Name one intellectual, the status of Dr. LINCOLN -

JOHN:

I'll name one -

KUP:

Mr. RALPH BUNCHE, or anybody else.

JOHN:

I'll name one greater, Mr. MUHAMMAD, because he himself, the very fact that he had this discussion on your show shows he was intellectual. If he wasn't, you would not be discussing him. Here's a man who -

KUP:

No, we discuss people of all walks -

JOHN:

I mean if he were -

KUP:

of life. That's no category.

JOHN:

I mean, by the very fact that he is intellectual is the fact of your conversation here. Because why would you be concerned about a man who went less than a normal grade school education and you have doctors here, you have doctors here, you have Congressmen here and you have college graduates. Why are you college graduates concerned about this little man who is an uneducated man, according to your standards?



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KUP: Well, do you mean that if we're discussing the Klu Klux Klan, -

JOHN: Wait a minute -

KUP: on the same level that you would say these were intellectuals, because we're discussing them?

JOHN: No, -

KUP: Is that your argument?

JOHN: No, I'm saying this. It is even more to his credit that he can take people who were formerly dropouts out of school - inspire them to do things for themselves.

KUP: Well, let me go back to the original question, JOHN.

JOHN: If we felt like going to school, we have, we don't make claims. We're not braggarts or going around bragging and saying who we have in our midst. Because in Islam we accept everyone; whether they be uneducated or educated, whether they be professional or unprofessional. I mean, we have many in our group. I don't mean we don't go around telling you that this man does good. Like they do in the American society where they have these status symbols and things and we, who belong to a certain category that you had \$10,000 and you have a ranch home and all these different things. Because we're not concerned with those status symbols. Or you go to Brown University, -

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KUP: Well, you made your point; will you hold it?

JOHN: Because I've gone to school myself. We have a -

KUP: Let me turn to a sociologist. Let me turn to a sociologist. One second, JOHN. This will be an interesting point for a sociologist. Can you explain, Dr. LINCOLN, why on my terms, no Negro intellectual or no Negro of any stature has accepted or supported ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD?

LINCOLN: Well, essentially this is a mass movement. And as a mass movement, it will have an appeal to a certain class of people which will not normally -

KUP: What kind of people would you say are included in this class?

LINCOLN: I would say that it would appeal primarily to the people who are the most disprivileged, the people who are the farthest down and the people who have not been, for reasons of various kinds of profession, to make their way successfully in today's world in which they live. And these are likely, though not exclusively, they are likely to be the people that include fewer of what we would call intellectuals and other groups. However, there are some people in the Black Muslim movement

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LINCOLN:

who are well-educated and I can think of at least one who might be called an intellectual. This is LONNIE CROSS, who has a doctorate in mathematics from the University of Michigan, I believe, and who was chairman of the department of mathematics or at least taught mathematics at Atlanta University. I believe he is at your Washington Center.

JOHN:

In fact, we have many intellectuals. Dr. CROSS is one of your associates. But we have many more who go to college and schools -

LINCOLN:

This I don't doubt but I just want to point -

JOHN:

We graduate them ourselves. We have some going to Harvard. We have some going to Brown. We have some going to Loyola, right here, the University of Chicago. We have some going to, going all over to schools.

AUBREY:

(starting to speak) - In the whole time I was in your organization, -

JOHN:

Let me finish -

KUP:

Go ahead, JOHN.

JOHN:

I want to talk. Let me finish. One more thing you understand, too, is what you might call the intellectual classes going on. Anyone who made a study of revolution or change always

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JOHN:

finds that the intellectual class are generally the privileged class going with the present society. And Mr. MUHAMMAD is teaching a religious movement which is dedicated to change in the last day. Where a divine God with the, or the God will be behind them. And you have a similar parallel, a precedent in the history of Moses. Because Moses too, history is compared to Mr. MUHAMMAD. They were both uneducated people and they had what you call the uneducated with them. I mean the people that were following Moses were uneducated and the intellects opposed him like they oppose Mr. MUHAMMAD. And they objected to him because they went along with the Pharoah. Because the benefits and the stature they received were granted by the Pharoah. And this is the only way they could maintain these things by continuing to go along with Pharoah.

KUP:

Your history is a little bit wrong, JOHN, but we have to, pardon me, JOHN, we have to interrupt for a message. We'll be right back.

COMMERCIAL

KUP:

A short time ago, gentlemen and audience, we had the late MALCOLM X on the show and we'd like to show you a clip from our previous broadcast of January 30th, a few weeks before he was assassinated, to show you what he said on this show, after which we'll come back to hear from CASSIUS CLAY.

VOICE:

MUHAMMAD is a faker and -

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MALCOLM:

If ELIJAH MUHAMMAD really believed in the same god that I believed in; I believed in ELIJAH MUHAMMAD stronger than he believed in himself. I believed in his God more than he did and I was not aware of this until I found that he was confronted with a crisis in his own personal moral life and he did not stand up as a man. Anybody can make a moral mistake but when they have to lie about it and will be willing to see that murder is committed to cover up their mistake, not only are they not divine, they're not even a man. If a man sits as a judge and a woman is brought in front of him and charged with adultery and the judge himself is the one with whom she committed adultery but the judge stands up and berates the woman, letting no, in order to make no one even suspect that he is the real criminal who was involved with the woman and humiliates her and then sends her into isolation, completely destroys her reputation, with no kind of protection for her, of her whatsoever. And she takes it, she loves him so much and believes so strongly in his sense of justice so much she allows herself to be projected almost as a prostitute and that man permits this, then that is not a man. To have gotten weak for a woman is one thing. It is human, and it is natural. But after getting weak and completely destroying her reputation, to do nothing whatsoever to protect her as a woman, then he is not a man. And to commit murder and to see followers line up to kill each other and to mutilate each other, then this is not a man.

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VOICE:

Doesn't ELIJAH MUHAMMAD preach non-violence and the non-use of guns and weapons and so forth?

MALCOLM:

When I was in the Black Muslim movement we never carried weapons. We were taught against that. And we were never taught that. We never actually fought at any time. We were told that God was going to come, you know, and do all these things. When the Muslim brothers were beaten in Louisiana, we weren't allowed to fight back. Nothing was done to equalize the situation. ELIJAH told us that God would come and do it. But to show you that there is lack of consistency. Now he orders his followers to go out and attack each other, to mutilate each other. If the ability, the talent, the skill, the know-how, the Black Muslim brothers have been trained into were used against organizations like the Klu Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council or the racist elements in this country, then I could somewhat go along with the present trend of their fighting each other, too. But when all of their physical energy is expended fighting only, fighting each other then I say something is wrong.

KUP:

Are you trying to tell us that there's been an attack on your life because of your withdrawal or dismissal from the Muslim organization?

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MALCOLM:

I've had, I've had several.

KUP:

You have?

MALCOLM:

And just thanks, thanks to Allah, I, so far, I've been successful. But I'm like this. I believe that when you are born, a black man born in this particular society, you are faced with certain dangers already. You get used to it and plus the stand I took when I was in the Black Muslim movement was uncompromising. I defended an indefensible position, I think, and I was that indefensible position. Anybody who defends an indefensible position as well as I did must have believed in it.

KUP:

You want to apologize to me for our first argument many years ago -

MALCOLM:

No. No. No. I won't apologize, KUP. For this reason. You see, I don't think that the burden is upon any black man in this society to apologize for any stand he takes for this reason. Most of us are attracted to things extreme primarily because of the extreme negative condition that we live in and that has been permitted to exist already far too long.

KUP:

Yeah, but our first argument, Brother MALCOLM, was not over that condition which I readily admitted. Mine was over the position of the Black Muslims, the very thing that you are now denouncing and let me say this -

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MALCOLM:

Mind you, when I denounced it I said this; that I'm not denouncing it because society wants me to or some agency wants me to. And I'm not denouncing, I can explain its existence and defend its existence.

KUP:

That is because you're very glib and very able with words.

MALCOLM:

No. No. The Black Muslim movement is the result of the failure of a society. The hate that exists in the American society is what has produced the frustration that exists in black.

KUP:

The same thing is true of the Klu Klux Klan.

MALCOLM:

No. No. No. It is a different thing altogether.

KUP:

But the same thing is the root of racial hatred, is it not?

MALCOLM:

No. No. No.

KUP:

Sure it is.

MALCOLM:

The Klu Klux Klan is a part of this society.

KUP:

It is the result of racial hatred.

MALCOLM:

No. The Klu Klux Klan -

KUP:

and your Black Muslims is the result of the racial hatred at the other end.



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MALCOLM:

Sir, the Klu Klux Klan is, is a part of the society which has absolutely not fulfilled itself, fulfilled its promise for 22 million black Americans. And it is the part of that society that has been used to frighten the black Americans into taking positive action to eliminate the negative conditions. Now, the Black Muslim movement is the result of frustration that exists among black people and who see no hope of the society itself creating a real door so they take the door that is placed in front of it. Now, I myself as I said, I am a Muslim who believes in brotherhood and who believes in not judging a man by the color of his skin. But on the other hand, I have to face the reality of the fact that I live in a society in which brotherhood has not become a reality and because of that, then I have to take a stand that is uncompromising on the side of my people against anything or any person that stands in the way of our being recognized and accepted as human beings in the same context with all of humanity.

KUP:

We have to pause here for a message but before we do, I'd like to make a point that we knew that MALCOLM probably would say some derogatory things about ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and we asked the Black Muslims or the Muslims as they prefer to be called, to have a representative here, either in person or on the hot line. They declined but they said they may have an answer here next week.

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END OF FILM CLIP

KUP:

And now we can switch to that next week and representing the Muslim organization is the heavyweight champion of the world, CASSIUS CLAY, who prefers to be known by his Islam name, MUHAMMAD ALI. JOHN, I think that's the right facts, are they not, that you promised to have the champ here the following week?

JOHN:

I did.

KUP:

All right, we'd like to have you see now what the champ answered in his appearance the following week.

FILM CLIP

KUP:

Champ, last week a friend of yours, MALCOLM X, said on this show here and he denounced the so-called Muslims of which you are a member and he denounced the man you call the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the leader of your group. Perhaps you had a report on this and I wonder if you would like to retaliate because at that time the Muslims told me they'd like to have you come on and answer MALCOLM X.

CLAY:

I have one thing to say. First of all, I am the heavyweight boxing champion and by accepting the Islamic religion here, it has seemed to cause a disturbance and hundreds of people are joining and are sympathizing

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with it daily but they're just not recognized because they're not famous but they've made a big case out of me and they're putting me in the position of being an authority or a minister which I am not. The knowledge that I have is a grain of sand in a desert compared to the knowledge of the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. So what, as far as MALCOLM X is concerned. I mean I don't even think about him. We don't think about him and I'm not retaliating. I don't want to say anything about him. I'd rather not talk about him. He's nothing but a fellow who was an ex-dope addict, a prisoner, a jailbird who had no education, couldn't read or write, who heard about the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, who took him off the streets, cleaned him up and educated him enough to go out and debate and you might say defeat any opponent that he met in interviews and -

KUP:

Debates?

CLAY:

Yeah. So now that he has, you know he made a statement about an airplane blowing up, 130 whites from Atlanta, and he wasn't representing the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD when he said that. And naturally he had to let the world know that he's not that kind of man to make mark of things like that and also the death of the President, the great President KENNEDY, one of the best presidents we ever had in America. He also rejoiced over that. So naturally

CLAY:

the leader is a wise man. He had to set him down and tell him that we don't do things like this. The press kept building him up and making MALCOLM X think that he was the number 2 man. MALCOLM X the number 2 man. MALCOLM X this. Well, if you don't know much about this you would think MALCOLM was the leader. And he got the big hand. The press got it and now he was. He couldn't take the spanking. He disobeyed our leader. He came down to Miami, Florida. I was nice enough to pay his way and his family's to Miami, Florida. And I took him his dinner every day. Because he couldn't eat in the motel that he was staying in because they served--. And I have heard him say many a time that we are not Black Muslims. That is the name the press gave it. I understand that he was on television saying that we are Black Muslims. I understand that he also said that he didn't, that he had heard that Islam in the East is taught different from it is in the West. And he believes in the Holy Koran and the teachings of its people. Well if that is true, those people in the East believe in the Holy Koran. They have the Holy Koran. And in the Holy Koran it says that Muslims don't take Jews and Gentiles for friends. Or use a Christian for friends. So how can he go back and say that everybody's the same according to Islam when the main book that they read in the East says this.

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KUP: Well, I'm glad for one thing -  
that you don't want to attack MALCOLM  
X as you said in your preface (laughs).

CLAY: Oh, no. We don't even -. Oh, I  
forgot, another thing I want to  
say, too. He is no longer MALCOLM  
X as he has denounced. This -,  
why go around calling himself MALCOLM  
X?

KUP: He says Brother X, I think, or Brother  
MALCOLM, rather.

CLAY: He is none. He is just MALCOLM LITTLE.  
L I T T L E. Little, nothing. Just  
like he was before he heard this.  
He's MALCOLM LITTLE. He's no more X.  
X is a badge of honor that you receive  
once you become a follower of Honorable  
ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. So now that he has  
denounced it, understand that we should  
break up this calling his MALCOLM X  
because he's no longer X..

KUP: Well, I'm glad we should, I'm glad we  
can resolve this whole problem with  
one little statement by you and  
forget about the religion.

CLAY: That is all. I'm, I'm -

KUP: I think it is very commendable of  
you to say you're the heavyweight  
champion and you speak only as a  
heavyweight champion and not as a -

CLAY: and don't talk -

KUP: and not as an authority on -

END OF FILM CLIP

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KUP:

Did you, did anybody have any comment on -

JOHN:

Yes, I'd like to say something on that -

KUP:

- get some contradictory viewpoints expressed here?

JOHN:

One, as a result of MALCOLM's death. The press has used his death in order to create and generate more opposition to Mr. MUHAMMAD. You know, it is really surprising to see the extent that white people will go to, in order to gain opposition to MUHAMMAD. They will even take someone who denounced a president or who make a mockery of some of their own people who died in order to build up opposition to MUHAMMAD.

KUP:

Why do you say the press does that? The New York -

JOHN:

and the authorities -

KUP:

police are the ones that say the man they have arrested was a member of your organization. It wasn't the press.

JOHN:

No. I beg your pardon. They have not. The press, too, they have used this. They put statements out that someone is coming after Mr. MUHAMMAD.

KUP:

The press hasn't made up these statements. These were all made by people who -

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JOHN:

The press has done this. They have done this. They say they have names of it. If they have someone making a threat against them, the only proper thing to do is to arrest that person. But they have permitted this thing to go on because they hope to promote some type of conspiracy in an effort to see that Mr. MUHAMMAD is killed.

KUP:

Who wants to?

JOHN:

Well, like I say anyone doing this is meeting their own certain doom.

KUP:

Who wants to?

JOHN:

Anyone. I say white America is doing this because they have never yet permitted anyone to go on TV or radio and make threats and against a man's life. I mean, like here this is a legal matter. But they have permitted this thing to go on in the case of Mr. MUHAMMAD. And he is not afraid and neither are his followers afraid. And he stated yesterday at the Coliseum that anyone that is going against him, I mean, they is playing with their, I mean, their own doom. And they're using this incident of MALCOLM's death in an effort to generate opposition -

KUP:

I don't know who you mean by that. The New York Police are the ones who

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KUP:

cited the man they arrested as  
a member of the Black Muslims.

JOHN:

They are citing this. This is a  
matter for the court. I mean  
they say, even then, a man is  
innocent until proven guilty, until  
proven guilty.



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KUP: Nobody said he is guilty. They just arrested him on charges.

JOHN: I'd say this is so. Which I don't know -

KUP: GORDON, -

JOHN: I'm saying that they have never yet permitted anyone to go on TV and give a man nationwide cover, week after - day after day, and let the world know that he is coming after Mr. MUHAMMAD. This is unprecedented. And this shows the hypocrisy of the authorities themselves -

KUP: Why do you think the authorities are surrounding the Coliseum, if not to protect ELIJAH MUHAMMAD?

JOHN: Why are they - . They're not trying to protect Mr. MUHAMMAD. Yesterday they offered their protection to him. But they won't even get their police guard in front of his car going to the Coliseum. They put the car, the police guard, in back of his convoy and stopped at every red light and so in case someone is after him they can get him and say they hope they got him.

KUP: Now, JOHN, you know that's ridiculous charges. The police -

JOHN: The police -

KUP: are out there 100 strong to protect ELIJAH MUHAMMAD from any possible injury.

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CES:cmb

JOHN: They're not doing their job the right way.

KUP: You know that they've taken every precaution possible.

JOHN: They're not doing their job the right way. If they were doing it the right way, they would do it the right way. I mean, we know something true about how to protect a man and Mr. MUHAMMAD is well protected. And we're not asking for police protection. They're doing this on their own. But they're doing a job which -

KUP: Now you're making a contradiction.

JOHN: They're only making a show of it.

KUP: First of all you say the police are doing it on their own. Why are they expending over 100 men or more to protect -

JOHN: This is their duty.

KUP: If they're doing it on their own -

JOHN: We're citizens, too. Like the man says, we pay taxes like anyone else. We're a member of society. We're entitled to -

KUP: You certainly are. That's what the police are doing.

JOHN: And Mr. MUHAMMAD says if the police couldn't stop it, we'll stop it.

KUP: But the police are doing everything they can.

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JOHN: But, if they permit people to go around and make threats at us, which they are doing -

KUP: Well, you can't stop a person from making a threat. You can arrest him if you can find him.

JOHN: Oh yes, you can. You don't give them publicity. You don't put them on your TV show and make threats. You don't -

KUP: They'd like to find them. Why do you think they're searching the highways for -

JOHN: You let a person come on your show and make a threat?

KUP: No.

JOHN: Mr. KUP, I mean, no, let's not be naive now.

KUP: Who made the threat?

JOHN: I mean, they had people making threats. LEON AMERCE (phonetic) and other people saying they are going to threaten Mr. MUHAMMAD's life. I mean, this is something they want to promote in this country. We know this.

KUP: GORDON, you wanted to get a word in edgewise.

GORDON: We hear a lot of words but very little real hard information. To begin with, the courts have already convicted in Massachusetts, KUP, a number of Muslims, actual active members of the

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GORDON: (Continued)

Muslim Mosque in Boston who were beating up ex-Muslims who have simply left not to tell their stories. AUBREY BARNETTE wasn't able to tell a story to the Saturday Evening Post until after he was beaten viciously. There are hospital records and there are court records and there are hard convictions. Now these are facts. These are actual members of the Muslim temple in Boston and elsewhere who have been convicted in the courts of the United States. And let's wait just a little bit longer about the shooting of MALCOLM and you will probably see that RONALD BUTLER is indeed an active member of the Muslim movement in the New York area. And the courts, and the courts of the United States will decide these matters regardless of all of this glossing over to decide, what thing we're talking about today.

KUP:

But you did say in a press conference, JOHN, that you did not know of any BUTLERs who was a member. Did you make that statement?

JOHN:

I didn't know of any. - didn't know any of them. Outside of knowing him as a member. I say we're making an investigation -

KUP:

But the police of New York said he was. For what reason -

JOHN:

The police say a lot of things in New York. They say they accused ones, accused of broke into our

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CES:cm

JOHN: (Continued)

homes in New York. They accused us of 108 charges against us. But the court proves this is wrong. And they arrested Mr. MUHAMMAD. He served five years in a Federal penitentiary for nothing. Because he practiced the religion of Islam. I mean, this doesn't make it right, because the police does it. They do a lot of things which are wrong in this country. This is one of the reasons why Mr. MUHAMMAD is in this country - to get our people free so they won't meet the doom that is coming from those who desire to do wrong. And for any white man to promote, to try. I mean, our people are well aware now of any white man taking a great interest in the Muslim movement. I mean, why are you trying to be a benefactor to certain Negroes. I mean, at this late day and time? I mean, why are you so much concerned with it? This is not your religion. I mean, what effect does this have on you?

GORDON:

We are all -

JOHN:

You say you are Unitarians. If you're Unitarians, you should be concerned with your own religion. And practice it. I mean, it's not your prerogative.

KUP:

JOHN, do you admit though, if a religion is a fraud - I'm not saying your religion is - but if it is a fraud do you mean that we shouldn't discuss it?

JOHN:

But this is not a fraud. Mr. MUHAMMAD, he says -

CG 100-35635  
CES:cmb

KUP: He claims it is a fraud.

JOHN: Let him face Mr. MUHAMMAD. I mean, why does he seek God?

GORDON: Oh, I'll be glad to debate him. Would you like to arrange a debate between the two of us?

JOHN: I mean, you say he is a liar.

GORDON: I'd like to arrange a debate and discuss the whole thing, everything, the religion -

JOHN: We say you are not with the truth. But Mr. MUHAMMAD has gone out 34 years, - I mean, there, you all try to promote other people to attack him and to oppose him. I mean, this is written. In the Bible is one -

GORDON: He is getting off the track here.

JOHN: You're getting off the track because you tried to deny the fact that Mr. MUHAMMAD is a divine man and you try to mislead people into thinking that this is some type of religion that he concocted himself, that he is self-sent. He isn't from himself but he is from God and this is the outstanding thing that white people concentrate on, harp on, is to keep our people from following a man of God because they know that Mr. MUHAMMAD is the only salvation.

AUBREY: The reason I say -

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CES:cmb

KUP:

Let AUBREY get a word in.

AUBREY:

The reason I say the Muslims are a fraud, JOHN, is because there are so many contradictions between what the Muslims say they stand for and what they actually stand for.

JOHN:

Well, you haven't named one yet.

KUP:

Let him finish, JOHN.

AUBREY:

Okay. Next, starting we'll take - "Muhammad Speaks" newspaper. The first thing that you say is we want freedom. We want full and complete freedom. But do they give freedom to their members? No. The members in the organization of, in the Nation of Islam, live a completely dominated, restricted and confined life. They are forbidden to participate in society in any way.

JOHN:

I beg your pardon. Do you read the Holy Koran? The Holy Koran says there is no compulsion to religion. So evidently you don't even practice religion.

KUP:

JOHN, one second. Let him finish.

AUBREY:

You're not following the Koran. That's what I'm saying. You say one thing and give the members another thing. The members have to give up all their freedoms. Their freedom of association. Their freedom of speech. A Muslim member can't come out here and give his opinion of what he thinks is the matter. There is only one spokesman in every Muslim organization.

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CES:cmb

JOHN:

Well I say, you don't know. You don't understand the organization.

AUBREY:

You don't have freedom of speech. You don't have freedom of association. A Muslim member can't, he is forbidden to attend a Christian funeral or a Christian wedding or anything like that. And he's completely controlled.

JOHN:

Well, I'd like to say. Let me say. I'd like to answer your question -

AUBREY:

So the Muslim members are not free.

JOHN:

I'd like to answer. You don't understand the organization. One, if you understand Islam, I mean, all members, all religions teach members -. Even the Catholic Church teaches their members not to consort with non-members. I mean this is prevailing in any religion.

AUBREY:

There is a contradiction again.

JOHN:

--not to consort with non-Catholics. They are even forbidden to marry non-Catholics except with the special dispensation of the Pope. Or the church -

KUP:

You don't know what you're talking about.

JOHN:

But they aren't taught to go to other churches and things. They aren't taught to read a bible other than the Douay Bible.



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CES:cmb

KUP: He's talking about meeting society -

JOHN: I mean, even society. Anyone that is trying to do good, don't want to mess with evil influence and this doesn't mean you understand change.

AUBREY: Anyone -

JOHN: Mr. MUHAMMAD says even the Holy Koran say do not take Jews or Christians for friends.

KUP: We have to interrupt here. Pardon me. We have to interrupt here for a message and we'll be right back.

COMMERCIAL

KUP: We're back on the air, GORDON, and you wanted to get a word in.

GORDON: I sure do. I'd like to say something just briefly about this whole question of freedom of religion in the United States. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD obviously, KUP, has the right to set up any kind of a sect that he wants and since he's being so amply protected today this means that we believe in this in this country and we allow him to practice. But freedom of religion does not mean that because he claims that he is sacred or divine that I have to accept it. I am free to disbelieve in ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and I most certainly do. Now, many years ago Father Divine came along and told his followers and in no sense do I equate by the way Father Divine with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. They were two different kettle of fish

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CES:cmb

GORDON: (Continued)

indeed. But Father Divine told his followers that he was immortal and I was in Philadelphia and New York and I said he was not, and he was going to die some day. And I was considered extreme and a meddlesome white man and all the rest for saying it. Well, lo and behold, Father Divine is dead and he wasn't immortal and I wasn't incorrect nor disrespectful to suggest that maybe he thought he was immortal. But time is going to catch up with him, too.

JOHN:

Well, I'd like to say this, too. Mr. MUHAMMAD did not set this religion up. This is where you make your error. Or you don't make an error. I'd say you deliberately twist the facts in saying that he set it up. He did not set it up. Islam is the religion of God, and Mr. MUHAMMAD is the Messenger of God. And when you refer to Mr. MUHAMMAD or Mr. DIVINE as a kettle of fish, I mean, I wish you would use the same terminology in referring to the Pope or to the Rabbi or the members of your church. I mean this is not -

GORDON:

I'd be happy to. The Pope and the Unitarian Church are two different kettle of fish, too.

JOHN:

This is not being respectful. For you to use such shallow terms is not proper. I mean, let's be courteous anyway.

GORDON:

But your man, your man calls me a white devil all the time. That's very proper, isn't it?

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CES:cmb

JOHN: He says -

GORDON: I'm a white devil. Don't forget that.

JOHN: Your people call us for years niggers. And we had to prove that we were not.

GORDON: Not all, not all of them.

JOHN: He said that God told him. He said -

GORDON: - doesn't and KUP doesn't.

JOHN: He said that God told him and he answered us thousands of times through the white press, through the Nation, he writes in their paper and says on their radio that God told him that the white race is the race of the devils and if you're not, this is your argument with God. I mean if they're not, prove that you're good. Prove that you're doing good. I mean, why are you concerned with our religion?

KUP: That's a pretty hard deduction to swallow, JOHN.

JOHN: I mean, you call us niggers and things -

GORDON: As have all other deductions been today. Hard to swallow.

JOHN: I mean, you call us -

KUP: JOHN, let me interrupt for just a second. AUBREY came all the way from Boston as did GORDON and they want to say a few comments, make a few comments here.

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CES:cmb

AUBREY:

Well, JOHN has been dominating the time for the last hour or so. He's been going around the world, back again and back into the century.

JOHN:

That is what we call a universe.

AUBREY:

He has discussed today the Muslim program. Are they a fraud or aren't they a fraud? Now, on the back of every edition of "Muhammad Speaks" newspaper they list what the Muslims want. And what they want and what they actually get, what they stand for are two different things. They say they want justice. Now a few minutes ago JOHN talked on the program in reference to, about a person being a Muslim. He said that in this country at least a person is considered not guilty until proven guilty. That is correct in this country but not in the Muslim movement is the numerous trials they have there. They have trials of the members who have broken such laws as going to the theater or going to a sporting event or such things as that. They have these trials -

KUP:

Pardon me just a second, you said, going to a sporting event?

AUBREY:

Oh yes, this will be the first time in the -

KUP:

They had one today at an earlier time.

JOHN:

I'd like to interrupt. When a man is telling a natural lie, I'd like to interrupt. Because one, we have all types. Mr. MUHAMMAD does not encourage going to sporting events where they have gaming and gambling of that nature but we have many different types of athletic participation. We have basketball. We have -

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CES:kmm

KUP: All right. You made your point.

GORDON: - intramural sports.

JOHN: - and all of this nature. I mean, -

KUP: All right, JOHN. Let AUBREY finish.

AUBREY: You were forbidden, JOHN, to attend in the Muslim organization -

JOHN: I beg your pardon.

AUBREY: any sporting event where anyone else attends, where the general public attends. You are forbidden to do this -

JOHN: I beg your pardon. I beg your pardon. You are not telling the truth.

AUBREY: Of course, there are big guys and little yous in the organization. There are big guys and -

JOHN: You will be - . I must interrupt -

KUP: Let him finish, JOHN.

AUBREY: You have a law in your organizations that you cannot associate with non-members or members who are out. Why don't CASSIUS CLAY get put out when he was associated with MALCOLM when MALCOLM was out?

JOHN: Well, like any group, they have religious ruling. I'd like to explain this. Like I say, you don't understand our organization.

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CES:kmm

AUBREY:

I don't understand that organization because that organization -

JOHN:

Please, Mr. KUP. I gave you courtesy to finish.

AUBREY:

- what it is publicly against.

JOHN:

You don't understand our organization. I mean, like you said; restriction. I mean Islam does not, Islam takes restrictions off our people. This is one of the reasons why Mr. MUHAMMAD is offering to us -

AUBREY:

That's not right.

JOHN:

Please, please let's be polite now. You are asking for politeness. Mr. MUHAMMAD -

AUBREY:

I'm asking for politeness. I'm asking for the answer to the question.

JOHN:

This is one of the reasons why he is offering Islam to our people because it relieves restrictions from us. It gives us a wider, broader friendship. It is like our friends go beyond America, throughout the world, and we are not restricted. In fact, we can do more things than ever. I mean, you talk about being restricted - to evil things. Yes, I mean this is Mr. MUHAMMAD's program to get our people to refrain from evil habits -

AUBREY:

Please, please -

JOHN:

or participating in evil environment, things which will make them sick and not according to their own.

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CES:kmm

JOHN:

He has restricted us from this,  
from even more. He restricted us -  
from drinking, from participating -

AUBREY:

This is very good -

JOHN:

from laziness and from shallowness  
and from all the other different  
things and if we have restrictions  
of any nature, they are from white  
people.

AUBREY:

(tries to speak)

JOHN:

One of the reasons why you object  
to the religion of Islam is because  
in Boston, Boston is noted for a  
great integrated, mixed society  
where they have many mixed marriages  
and mixed religions going on.

AUBREY:

That's got nothing to do with it.  
I don't have a mixed marriage.

JOHN:

And this is one of the great things.  
This is one of the things that you  
are noted for. Because you have  
a wife and everything and you have -

AUBREY:

I have a wife who was a Black Muslim  
member just as I was.

JOHN:

And this is one of the reasons that  
you object -

KUP:

Just one second.

JOHN:

to Islam because you had an extra-  
marital affair with -

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CES:kmm

AUBREY:

Let me talk!

JOHN:

white woman and you object to Islam because Islam doesn't condone this. We are well aware of your tricks.

AUBREY:

That is certainly a lie.

JOHN:

- and Boston is noted for that.

AUBREY:

It is noted for -

JOHN:

And this is one of the reasons why Mr. MUHAMMAD has established Islam in that city. Because Boston is known for Negroes -

AUBREY:

There are also laws of libel and slander because I will certainly see you in court.

JOHN:

Go right ahead. Go right ahead because this is well known.

AUBREY:

The man -

KUP:

Hold it just a minute. Dr. LINCOLN -

LINCOLN:

I was just wondering if we could re-establish our grounds so we can hear one man at a time.

KUP:

We can try desperately. Go ahead, AUBREY.

AUBREY:

JOHN is making reckless and senseless charges.

JOHN:

No, this is not reckless.

AUBREY:

I'm glad you're making them because I think that I can sue -



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CES:kmm

VOICE:

You can get your lawyer -

AUBREY:

Right. And let me quote something which WALLACE MUHAMMAD said. It was published in the newspaper. You can quarrel with them if you want to. I understand he attended the meeting. The main laws of the organization are to refrain from adultery, fornication, smoking, drinking, lying and stealing. The members of my father's staff are guilty of some or all of these evils. There have been beatings, lies and hypocrisy. They have written, they have presented, my father as a holy image and misused thousands of dollars. So there are laws and restrictions but they don't apply to anyone. They only apply to the small members, the members who don't reach the high echelon. Now another thing they see in "Muhammad Speaks" newspaper is we want equality of opportunity. There is no equality of opportunity in Muhammad's Mosque, there is favoritism. There is nepotism practiced in the organization and there is favoritism. Only a few people ever benefit from being in the organization. They also say we want justice, but they don't give justice to the members. Anyone who would dare plead not guilty to a charge, he is charged with being beat up and run out of town as was JAMES 5X, 6X in Boston, who not only was he put out of the organization but beat up and run out of town because he said he wasn't guilty of the charges.

KUP:

You said in this article, AUBREY, that you lost a lot of money as a result of your membership. What did you mean by that, that you were practically

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CES:kmm

KUP:

destitute after you left the organization?

AUBREY:

Well, in the Muslims, the Black Muslim organization, they have what they call charity. And this is a charity slip for Muhammad's Mosque Number 27, Los Angeles, California, which incidentally my cousin, the late WALLACE STOKES, was a secretary of, and each temple across the country has these donation slips and each member is expected to donate. In Boston it was \$10.00 a week. Each and every week. It's not a donation because if you don't donate it, they'll bring you up in front of the temple, in front of all the people, embarrass you, ask you why you couldn't do better and they also have enforcers to make sure that you donate this money.

KUP:

They have what?

AUBREY:

Enforcers.

KUP:

Enforcers?

AUBREY:

to make sure. They have a strong-arm group within the Nation of Islam, within the FOI, which would make sure that these men who fall behind in their payments come up to par and donate this money which they say is charity but charity is something that is supposed to be given freely.

JOHN:

I'd like to say something about this.

AUBREY:

But donations in the Nation of Islam are not given freely. It is something that is coerced.

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CES:kmm

JOHN:

Well, anyone that belong to any religion is required to give.

AUBREY:

That's right.

JOHN:

And this is in Islam. In fact, one of the principles - you can't be a Muslim unless you give.

AUBREY:

Right again.

JOHN:

And what we have, we have duties and we have obligations. We have certain obligations which we must meet and those who follow the program they do it. And those who don't follow - we don't require it, Mr. KUP, because they're not a Muslim. So we don't expect it of you, but those who say they're with us -

KUP:

I - may join after today's session.

JOHN:

Well, that's your, if you can follow the principle you may be a Muslim. We don't object to it.

AUBREY:

But you won't be able to get him in ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's temple as a Muslim.

JOHN:

Please now, the ground rules have been established. But anyone who belongs to any religion - Judaism or Catholicism or Protestantism or Unitarianism, they have offerings, I think, this is their purpose and in Islam we do it. In as broad a sense we give.

KUP:

You missed the point, JOHN, that there is physical violence if you don't make your contribution.

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CES:kmm

JOHN:

No. This is not true. Because there is no compulsion and anyone, any group, certainly they are required to give. But no one is compelled to give, because our people receive benefits, in fact, for what Mr. MUHAMMAD has to offer to our people if he asked us to stand on our heads and turn our pockets inside out, he would not offer, he would not be asking too much. Because he is offering everything to us. He is offering, too, the reality of God and in return we have nothing to give back. And so anyone that would object to this, we don't want them with us. We ask them to leave.

KUP:

Let Dr. LINCOLN get in -

AUBREY:

Before Dr. LINCOLN gets in, I'd just like to make a comment on his book, Dr. LINCOLN's book. He wrote a book some years ago about the Black Muslim organization and this is another one of the restrictions in the Nation of Islam. The Nation's rank and file members were forbidden to read that book and forbidden to purchase it.

JOHN:

I beg your pardon. Because the rank and file - anyone may buy the book. The book's on the newsstand. They're not forbidden to -

AUBREY:

If they are caught buying or reading it -

JOHN:

In fact, this Dr. LINCOLN will testify to himself.

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CES:kmm

KUP:

Dr. LINCOLN wanted to get a word in -

JOHN:

I just wanted to say this -

KUP:

You already made the point.

JOHN:

We have the book. Many of the Muslims have it. Let any Mosque have it. They read the book but they were not restricted from buying the book. Someone asked us to sell the book and we said no. We're not going to sell it. But we have our own news media that we want to sell, "Muhammad Speaks".

KUP:

Dr. LINCOLN.

LINCOLN:

I'd like to raise this question. You said a few minutes ago that if you belong to Islam you are expected to honor the obligations of Islam, in this case, was to give. If you don't give, are there any restrictions that keep you in the temple as a member if you desire to leave?

JOHN:

Many different problems. We have women, widows and things that we help out ourselves. And in Islam in order to be a Muslim, every Muslim gives. This is one of the principles. One of the five principles. Charity in as broad a sense. This is one of the outstanding things about Islam is what the people give and this is one of the reasons why Mr. MUHAMMAD's

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CES:kmm

JOHN:

teachings in America is so outstanding is that what he does is done on the strength of his own followers, isn't tax supported, isn't done by any foundation or anything else but on the strength of the people who have faith in him and God.

KUP:

You say it is not tax supported? You mean you don't take religious tax deductions to which you're entitled?

JOHN:

No. I'd say that we're not, we don't get any tax. Like we have a school operating, operating now. Our children are not even permitted to ride the CTA bus at a reduced school rate even though we are supporting a school here. These same little -

KUP:

But you do take your tax deduction that you are entitled to for religion?

JOHN:

These same people, these same people that are, that you call uneducated are not permitted, our children are not permitted to ride the CTA bus on a school reduction pass. And the same thing about the tax deduction. The United States Government makes effort to restrict our members from taking tax deductions for the charity they give for support of their religion, while a person can be supporting some magic and the government will give them all types of support and the contributions they make to this

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CES:kmm

JOHN:

magic as their God. And we who found the real God, the only God, Allah, are investigated and brought before courts of the government because of this.

KUP:

GORDON?

GORDON:

Just a point. Dr. LINCOLN, do you regard this last torrent of words as an answer to the question that you raised?

LINCOLN:

No. This wasn't the question that I asked. My question -

GORDON:

I didn't think it was either.

JOHN:

Well, I, excuse me. I don't mean to get off place there but when he said -

KUP:

Make it brief there, gentlemen; we're running out of time.

JOHN:

We'll make it brief. If someone can't give - that is up to them. As long as they have the desire, no one is forced to give and Mr. MUHAMMAD tells us this and teaches us this. A person is required to give if they are financially or physically able. But if they don't, they are still required to have the desire to give, and this is sufficient. But, if they don't have the desire and not counting the ability, we ask them to leave.

KUP:

GORDON?

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CES:kmm

GORDON:

I still want to know. Is that an answer to the question you asked him?

LINCOLN:

Well, that's the point. He said that they require them to leave if they're not willing to carry out the requirements of the religion. That answers my question. My question really was, is, does a member have the liberty to leave if he wants to?

JOHN:

Certainly. Any time. I mean, any time anyone is dissatisfied with the teachings of Mr. MUHAMMAD, they are permitted to go. In fact, we ask them to go.

AUBREY:

Well, these are the results.

JOHN:

Anyone who disagrees -

AUBREY:

A person is beat up -

KUP:

All right, JOHN. You answered. Go ahead, AUBREY

AUBREY:

11 Muslims convicted of assaulting a former member. 4 Muslims accused of assault. 4 Muslims face court in beating up five ex-members. This is the result of having left. It would be all right if you could leave the organization and they would not leave you alone.

JOHN:

No. This is not true.

AUBREY:

But it is not true. You're certainly right. It is not true that you can leave the organization and the organization leave you alone. You are depicted as the enemy.



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CES:kmm

AUBREY:

If the white people think hate is taught against them, they should listen in on a Muslim meeting and listen to a person who has left the organization be kept getting talked about as the hypocrite, the worst enemy that ever came on the face of the earth. Now more time is spent teaching against ex-members than is spent teaching about your so-called enemy and before you mention about helping widows. This is another contradiction of the Muslim program. And this is something I know very, I'm very familiar with because this is something I was very upset about in the Nation of Islam. My cousin, WALLACE, the late WALLACE STOKES, was killed in California, from -

JOHN:

by a white man. Mention that, too.

AUBREY:

He was sent down -

JOHN:

for practicing religion there.

AUBREY:

He was sent downstairs to his death by a Black Muslim minister. Right. Now the Black Muslims say they're supported, they're looking out for one another. But yet when WALLACE STOKES was killed, no support was given to the support of his child. His child had to live in the home of my aunt, who is a Christian, for one year. Not a Muslim from Boston came to visit that child. Not a Muslim from Boston came to

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CES:kmm

AUBREY:

donate any money to that child's upkeep. My Christian aunt, who had been condemned by the Black Muslims, had to support that child.

JOHN:

This was done, because her, the child's mother, had offered to do that because she is going to school and had a job and she got remarried and she wanted her child to live with -. So I, why don't you tell the truth? I mean -

AUBREY:

The child's mother was still a Muslim -

JOHN:

You are reckless -

KUP:

One at a time.

AUBREY:

The child's mother was still a Muslim and is still a Muslim today and that doesn't stop you from supporting that child in any way.

JOHN:

Like any child. Any one knows the laws in the country. Evidently you're unacquainted with the law.

KUP:

We have to interrupt.

JOHN:

The child's mother is responsible -

AUBREY:

If she desired that the child live -

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CES:kmm

KUP:

AUBREY, JOHN, we have to interrupt for a message and in so doing we say good night to these friends and in so doing hope that we have presented both sides of the story as equally as we possibly could under a very torrent flow of words. We'll be back with some new guests right after this message.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : *PHS*  
SAC, DETROIT (100-21719) (RUC)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
SM - NOI

DATE: 4/2/65

OO: NEW YORK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 JHE/jws/ptg

Re New York letter to Bureau, dated 3/10/65.

*67D*

Photograph of Nation of Islam guards at the Philadelphia Arena, Philadelphia, [redacted] was exhibited to [redacted] and to [redacted]. Both advised that TALMAGE HAYER is unknown to them, and they were unable to identify in photograph, marked #2, as TALMAGE HAYER. [redacted] unable to identify any individuals in photograph as being from Detroit.

Photograph of NOI guards at the Philadelphia Arena is being returned to New York.

*67C*

*CC 808 RB*

3 - Bureau (RM)  
[redacted]  
3 - New York (Enc. 1) (RM)  
[redacted]  
1 - Detroit  
TJR/sh  
(7)

*W*

ST-110

100-399321-390

REC-23

3 APR 7/6 1965

SUBV. CONTROL

APR 1 4 1965

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

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F B I

Date: 4/1/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

Via \_\_\_\_\_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
IS - MMI HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 jhe/jue/f

ReNKteletype, 3/5/65, captioned "NORMAN HOWARD  
MORTIMORE, aka; SM - NOI".

\_\_\_\_\_ viewed numerous  
photographs, including the photographs of TALMAGE HAYER,  
THOMAS JOHNSON, \_\_\_\_\_  
HAYER and JOHNSON have been indicted for the homicide of  
MALCOLM X on 2/21/65, at New York City. \_\_\_\_\_ is a  
suspect of the \_\_\_\_\_ in the homicide of MALCOLM X. \_\_\_\_\_  
is considered one of the Nation of Islam (NOI) "strong  
armed men" from Newark.

⑥ 1-808 RB  
6 - Bureau (RM)

3 - Newark (RM)

2 - Philadelphia (Encs. 2) (RM)  
(1 - 100-39918 ) (MALCOLM K. LITTLE)

5 - New York

16 APR 2 1965

(17)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

SUBV. CONTROL

NY 105-8999

b7D  
[redacted] upon reviewing a photograph of HAYER, stated that he observed an individual resembling HAYER in the front section of the Audubon Ballroom on 2/21/65, when MALCOLM X was shot and killed. He said this individual was one of two men who were standing to the right of the rostrum, one of whom was observed shooting a pistol in the direction of MALCOLM X. [redacted] however, that he could not make a positive identification of the photograph.

b7D  
Upon reviewing photographs of [redacted] JOHNSON, [redacted] that these photographs resembled two individuals who sat in about the middle of the audience at the Audubon Ballroom on 2/21/65 and who jumped up at about the time MALCOLM X appeared at the rostrum. One of the two individuals [redacted] shouted that someone "got into his pocket". This caused a disturbance and drew the attention of the audience and MALCOLM X's bodyguards to themselves. The guards approached them and left MALCOLM X unguarded, at which time some shooting occurred down in front near the rostrum. [redacted] could not make a positive identification of the photographs.

b7D  
[redacted] upon reviewing a photograph of [redacted] remarked that he saw a person resembling [redacted] at the Audubon Ballroom when MALCOLM X was shot, but did not believe that this person took an active part in the killing of MALCOLM X. [redacted] he could not make a positive identification of the photograph..

b7D  
[redacted] advised on 3/31/65, that at the present time HAYER, JOHNSON and NORMAN 3X BUTLER are the only persons known to them to have had anything to do with the death of MALCOLM X. [redacted]

b7D  
Bureau authority is requested to furnish information made available [redacted] to the NYCPD on a confidential basis. If Bureau approves, this information will be furnished to NYCPD through [redacted]

[redacted] NYCPD.

NY 105-8999

Philadelphia Office is requested to exhibit  
attached photograph of [REDACTED] b7D  
[REDACTED] to determine if they could identify  
[REDACTED] as taking part in the assassination  
of MALCOLM X or were observed in the audience at the  
Audubon Ballroom on 2/21/65 in New York City.

4/2/65

Airtel

1 - Mr. Floyd  
1 - Mr. Rosack

REC-102

To: SACs, New York (105-3999)  
Philadelphia (100-39918)

From: Director, FBI (100-399321) - 391

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 JHE/NEW/ky

ReNYairtels 4/1/65 and 3/8/65, both captioned as above.

NYairtel of 3/8/65 contained information that [redacted] who had viewed a photograph of [redacted] and had been unable to identify [redacted] as being in attendance at the meeting at which Little was killed. Reairtel of 4/1/65 reported that [redacted] had stated after reviewing a photograph [redacted] that a person resembling [redacted] had been observed at the above-mentioned meeting. [redacted] could not make a positive identification.

Prior to granting authority for the New York Office to furnish the tentative identification [redacted] as having been present at the meeting held 2/21/65, at which Little was killed, to the New York City Police Department; New York should advise by return airtel whether [redacted] photograph had been reviewed by all [redacted]

In addition, Philadelphia should advise by return airtel whether [redacted] were able to identify [redacted]

NOTE:

New York has been having [redacted] review photographs of Nation of Islam members who have in the past engaged in some form of violence for the purpose of determining if such individuals may be connected with the murder of Little. [redacted] is described as a strong armed man from Newark. New York requested authority to furnish the tentative identification to the New York City Police Department. In view of the above, it is felt that the information requested above should be received before further action is taken.

TPR:ltr (7)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APR 12 1965

TELETYPE UNIT ☐



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]

DATE:

3/25/65

FROM : SAC, BOSTON [REDACTED] (RUC) **67C**SUBJECT: [REDACTED]  
SM - NOIALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/10/79 BY SP-3 TEX/CAD

Re Boston teletype to Director, New York and New Haven dated March 14, 1965.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning captioned Subject, and two copies of the letterhead memorandum are being furnished to New Haven and New York for completion of their files.

**67D, C** [REDACTED] was interviewed on Friday afternoon, 1965 by SA [REDACTED] after he had telephonically requested such an interview at that time via telephone call to the Boston Division on [REDACTED] 1965.

At the time of interview, he appeared to be in good health and in good spirits. He talked very calmly about being "marked" for death by the Muslims, but did not appear to be particularly worried about it.

**67D** It is believed he requested the interview in the hope that he would be offered money by the FBI either to appear in New Haven to answer charges brought against him by the New Haven NOI Temple or for developing further contact with [REDACTED] whom he claimed had been in telephonic contact with him.

④ - Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)

(2 - 100-399321)

(1 - 100-399321) (MALCOLM X LITTLE)

(1 - 100- [REDACTED]) (OAAU)

2 - New Haven (Encls. 2) [REDACTED] (RM)

2 - New York (Encls. 2) (RM)

(1 - [REDACTED])

(1 - 105-89997) (OAAU)

⑤ - Boston

(1 - [REDACTED])

(1 - 100-34662) (PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT)

(1 - 100-35816) (OAAU)

(1 - 100-27649) (MALCOLM X LITTLE)

(1 - [REDACTED])

ENCLOSURE

100-399321-

NOT RECORDED

176 MAR 30 1965

60 APR 14 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN

**b7C**

BS [REDACTED]

He directed the conversation, on several occasions, to the fact that he was willing to appear at New Haven to answer charges brought against him if the FBI requested him to do so. It was pointed out to him that whether or not he appeared in New Haven in this matter is a decision that was entirely his own to make, that whether or not his testimony would be of benefit to the FBI was subject to question, but that any assistance he voluntarily gave the FBI in this or any other matter would be appreciated.

It appeared at the completion of the interview that he would not voluntarily appear as a witness or surrender himself to answer charges.

**b7D** [REDACTED] gives the impression that he likes to think of himself and picture himself to others as a figure of great importance. He exaggerates when talking about himself and brings about the conclusion that he is untrustworthy, a liar, and would be difficult to control [REDACTED]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Boston, Massachusetts  
March 25, 1965

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7D

On [REDACTED] who is registered at the Sherry Biltmore Hotel, Boston, Massachusetts, [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Sherry Biltmore Hotel by an FBI Agent.

b7D

[REDACTED] stated that he had attended the funeral of Malcolm X Little in New York City. He claims that on his arrival in New York City, he was taken into protective custody by the [REDACTED] and was allowed to attend the funeral. Subsequent to the funeral, he went to a friend's home for the evening and then returned to Boston, Massachusetts.

b7D

While at the funeral, he chattered with former members of the Newark Nation of Islam (NOI) Temple whom he recognized from having had contact with them while visiting that temple [REDACTED] stated, however, that he does not know them by name.

One of these, to the best of [REDACTED] was present when Malcolm X was shot. This man described the person who handled the shotgun as a tall, dark skinned Negro whom he recognized as a member of the Newark Temple, but whom he did not know by name. [REDACTED] believes that this former Muslim, who told him this, identified the Negro who handled the shotgun as a lieutenant in the Newark Temple. The man handling the shotgun shot from the hip and appeared to be an expert in the handling of this type of gun.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/10/79 BY SP3TER/cad

100-399321-

ENCLOSURE

b7C

RE: [REDACTED]

On guard at the rostrum at which Malcolm X was speaking were Robert 35X, formerly of the New York Temple, and Charles 26X, formerly of the Newark Temple.

b7D

When the distraction was created just before Malcom X was shot, both of these guards left the immediate area of the rostrum which [REDACTED] is in violation of all the rules of "standing post" both in the Muslim Temples and in Malcolm Little's organization.

b7D

This fact made the persons participating in the discussion [REDACTED] convinced that the shooting was a conspiracy in which the two guards participated. [REDACTED] has no factual knowledge about such a conspiracy, how the shooting occurred or who participated in it. The man who started the distraction by claiming someone's hand was in his pocket was described [REDACTED] as a short, dark skinned Negro with bushy hair and a mustache, who was believed to be a member of the Newark Temple.

b7D

[REDACTED] that one night during the current week, [REDACTED] on the telephone. [REDACTED] is not known to him and he does not know why [REDACTED] selected him to call. [REDACTED] identified himself as a representative of the Progressive Labor Movement in the greater Boston area and claimed he had the responsibility of the distribution of the Progressive Labor Movement publication "Challenge" in this area.

b7D

[REDACTED] that he would like him to join the Progressive Labor Movement and help organize it in the greater Boston area. [REDACTED] stated that from his conversation with [REDACTED] understood that [REDACTED]

b7C

RE: [REDACTED]

had been associated with or was familiar with [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] would be attending a testimonial to Malcolm Little on Saturday evening, March 13, 1965, at 295 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.

[REDACTED] intended to go to the same testimonial and would probably see [REDACTED] there.

[REDACTED] the Organization of Afro-American Unity is presently dormant, waiting for someone to assume its leadership.

b7D

[REDACTED] is currently unable to find anybody with the ability or willingness to assume leadership of the group. [REDACTED] that in conversation with [REDACTED] in New York, she had decided that [REDACTED] would assume some of the responsibilities of leadership and would have to depend on Malcolm X's lieutenants in the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) to assume the rest of the responsibility.

In Boston, Massachusetts, [REDACTED] does not believe the organization exists except in the desire of [REDACTED] to develop it.

b7D

[REDACTED] does not belong to any Negro organizations at the present time. He stated that although he had a close friendship with Malcolm Little and that although Little thought very highly of [REDACTED] was not actually a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity or a follower of Little.

61C  
RE: [REDACTED]

On March 13, 1965. [REDACTED]

67D  
[REDACTED] advised that at about 2:30 p.m. on that date, a hotel employee [REDACTED] was in his hotel room tried to contact [REDACTED] but not being able to arouse him gained entrance to the room with a passkey and found [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Because of the circumstances surrounding the death, namely, that no one was present at the time of death, and the cause of death was unknown, and the victim had been subject to violence in the recent past. The body was removed to the Southern Mortuary, Boston, Massachusetts for an autopsy.

67D  
[REDACTED] stated that a medical examination of the body at the time of death, led to a primary diagnosis [REDACTED] had died of natural causes after falling into a coma.

On March 18, 1965 [REDACTED]

67D  
[REDACTED] advised that the final report on the autopsy of [REDACTED] was not yet complete. However, the autopsy had definitely established [REDACTED] died of natural causes, namely, [REDACTED] seizure. This occurred apparently [REDACTED] asleep. [REDACTED] also suffering at the time of death from an overdose of a medical drug called Demaseen which induces sleep. This is a pill which had apparently been prescribed for him and which he apparently took regularly.

b7C

RE: [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED] stated that the autopsy was performed with great care since he was aware that the death could possibly be of interest to the local police department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He stated that it was interesting to him to note that although [REDACTED] reported to have been severely beaten on [REDACTED] in the [REDACTED] and, in fact, [REDACTED] claimed to have been severely beaten, there is no medical evidence that he received any severe or lasting damage from whatever beating he did receive.

On March 15, 1965, [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED] types, stated that on Wednesday, March 10, 1965, he had received a phone call [REDACTED] claimed that he had two suitcases full of NOI documents which he kept in New Haven. He suggested to [REDACTED] that if [REDACTED] would drive him to New Haven to pick up the suitcases, he would arrange for [REDACTED] to examine them and suggested that they could be of great value to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] made an appointment to drive [REDACTED] to New Haven on Monday, [REDACTED] advised he did not know whether or not to believe [REDACTED] possessed any documents of value, but felt that the trip would be well worth it if he actually had such material. From the tone of the telephone conversation, [REDACTED] felt [REDACTED] had he intended to try to sell it to [REDACTED] rather than give it to him.

Characterizations of the Nation of Islam, Organization of Afro-American Unity and the Progressive Labor Movement are contained in the appendix pages attached hereto.

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

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam," (NOI) and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the NOI; Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.



2.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam (Cont.)

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 7, 1964, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

1.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

On August 19, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

1.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY,  
PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT,  
"PROGRESSIVE LABOR"

A source advised on July 2, 1962, that Progressive Labor groups held a conference in New York City on July 1, 1962, where MILTON ROSEN acted as chairman. He read a statement at this conference setting forth their intention to form a new Marxist-Leninist party in the United States. ROSEN stated that a more formal organization was necessary, one which would provide a framework for all who wanted to join in a united effort to build an American vanguard. The forces of this new organization are to consolidate all existing forces around Progressive Labor and organize additional forces; expand and improve political activities; win additional forces to an outlook of Marxism-Leninism and increase the open advocacy of socialism; develop a significant Marxist-Leninist program for the new party; and organize a collective organization of leaders and members.

"The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, issue of January 7, 1962, Page Ten, Column Three, reported the expulsion of MILTON ROSEN, former Labor Secretary of the New York State Communist Party, from the Communist Party, United States of America.

A second and third source advised in February, 1963, that this new Marxist-Leninist party had not yet been organized on a formal basis, but that Progressive Labor groups had been formed in several localities in line with the proposals of MILTON ROSEN. The sources advised as of February, 1963, that the leaders of this group were referring to it as the Progressive Labor Movement.

A fourth source advised on March 15, 1964, that the Progressive Labor Movement follows, supports, and is politically orientated toward the Communist Party line of Red China rather than that of the Soviet Union.

A fifth source advised on March 28, 1964, that at a Progressive Labor Movement meeting held in New York City on that date, it was announced that the Progressive Labor

2.

APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY  
PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT,  
"PROGRESSIVE LABOR" (Cont.)

Movement would try to hold a national convention in New York City in September, 1964, to organize the Progressive Labor Movement on a more formal basis into a Progressive Labor Party.

The fifth source also advised that the Progressive Labor Movement publishes a monthly magazine called, "Progressive Labor" and also a quarterly theoretical publication called the "Marxist-Leninist Quarterly." The source also advised that starting June 1, 1964, the Progressive Labor Movement would start publishing a weekly newspaper in New York City.

The March, 1964, issue of "Progressive Labor" sets forth that it is published monthly by the Progressive Labor Company, General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York.

FBI

Date: 3/31/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33593)  
 SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, Aka  
 IS - MMI  
 (OO: NEW YORK)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five (5) copies of a letterhead memorandum regarding an appearance on the part of OSSIE DAVIS in Chicago on behalf of raising funds for the children of MALCOLM X. Two (2) copies of the letterhead memorandum are enclosed for New York.

Negative Nation of Islam contacts were conducted with the following [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] contacted by SA [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] contacted by SA [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] contacted by SA [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] contacted by SA [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] contacted by SA [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269

3 - Bureau (Encl. 5) (RM)  
 2 - New York (Encl. 2) (105-8999) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago  
 CES:SJB  
 (6)

ENCLOSURE  
 5- ENCLOSURE  
 GS - Wick

AGENCY [REDACTED]  
 REC. RECD [REDACTED]  
 DATE FORW. [REDACTED]  
 NEW FORW. [REDACTED]  
 BY [REDACTED]

18 APR 1 1965

1 - KEROX AIRTEL &amp; LHM

808A.8

SUB. CONTROL

Approved: [Signature]  
 6 APR 15 1965 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CG 100-33593

b7D

[REDACTED]

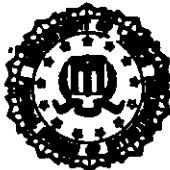
[REDACTED]

b7C

The information furnished [REDACTED]  
was given by SA [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Chicago, Illinois  
March 31, 1965

MALCOLM K. LITTLE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-31-83 BY SP6 JHE/MLH

Malcolm K. Little is described in the appendix pages of this communication under characterizations of Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, and Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Malcolm K. Little, according to voluminous public information sources, was assassinated February 21, 1965 at the Audubon Ballroom, New York, New York.

The March 31, 1965 edition of the "Chicago Sun-Times", a Chicago, Illinois daily newspaper, page 48 under the caption "Kup's Column" contained, among other items, in substance the following information:

Ossie Davis, a big name Broadway actor, will be in Chicago, ~~Illinois~~ on Sunday, April 4, 1965 to address the "Educational Fund for Children of Malcolm X", to be held that afternoon at the Tabernacle Baptist Church.

The 1964-65 Illinois Bell Telephone Directory lists the Tabernacle Baptist Church as being located at 4130 South Indiana Avenue.

Kup's Column is written by Irving Kupcinet, a publicly well known Chicago newspaper columnist and radio and television commentator.

67D [REDACTED] advised on March 31, 1965, that they possessed

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

ENCLOSURE

100-399321-392

RE: MALCOLM K. LITTLE

no information indicating the NOI was aware of or had any plans whatsoever which might interfere with the above address of Ossie Davis.

The NOI is described in the appendix pages of this communication.

670 An official of the [REDACTED] was advised of the above meeting on March 31, 1965. Likewise, [REDACTED] Region I, 113th INTC Group, and [REDACTED] Secret Service, Chicago, were advised of the above.



1: MALCOLM K. LITTLE

APPENDIX

IM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 10, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

A second confidential source advised on October 20, 1964, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which is also headed by MALCOLM X.

APPENDIX

RE: MALCOLM X. LITTLE

1

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

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APPENDIX

**RE: MALCOLM K. LITTLE**

**1.**

**APPENDIX**

**NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred  
to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, Aka.  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam**

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 7, 1964, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

SAC, New York (105-8999)

4/13/65

Director, FBI (100-399321)

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NMI

1 - Mr. Horner  
1 - Mr. Floyd  
1 - Mr. Rosack

ReBSlet 3/25/65 captioned [REDACTED] aka, SM - NOI," a copy of which is attached for the Newark Office which has not previously received copies. **b7c**

New York should carefully review the information contained in referenced letter has furnished by the late [REDACTED]. After this review, New York should determine whether [REDACTED] had been interviewed by the [REDACTED] during his visit there after the murder of Little. An attempt should be made to determine whether the information contained in referenced letter is already in the possession of the [REDACTED] particularly the information alleging that the individual who fired the shotgun at Little was supposedly a lieutenant from the Newark Temple of the Nation of Islam (NOI). In the event this information is not already in the possession of the [REDACTED] such information should not be furnished to the NYCPD without first receiving Bureau authority. **b7D**

Newark should review its files for the purpose of identifying the lieutenant in the Newark Temple of the NOI. If Newark has not already done so, a photograph of this lieutenant should be furnished to the New York Office for the purpose of having [REDACTED] **b7D**

[REDACTED] This matter should be handled promptly.

Boston should in the future insure that copies of all communications are furnished to every interested office so that it will not be necessary for the Bureau to furnish copies of such communications to additional interested offices.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

2 - Newark (Enclosure) (100-399321-393)  
1 - Boston (100-27649) MAILED 19

APR 13 1965

COMM-FBI

EX-103

19 APR 13 1965

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

56 APR 20 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to New York  
Re: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
100-399321

NOTE:

b7D [REDACTED] was found dead [REDACTED] of natural causes. He had been previously interviewed by our Boston Office on [REDACTED] at which time he appeared to be in good health. [REDACTED] furnished information allegedly received from other unnamed individuals regarding the individual firing the shotgun as mentioned above. It is known that [REDACTED] was given a police guard during his stay in New York City immediately after the death of Little and undoubtedly was interviewed exhaustively by the [REDACTED]. Nevertheless we should determine if such information is available to the [REDACTED] and, if not, we will obtain approval to furnish such information to the police along with a photograph of the individual involved.

FBI

Date: 4/9/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) (P)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS-MMI

Re NK airtels, 3/4/65 and 3/8/65, and NY airtel, 3/23/65,  
referring to a LINWOOD X.

The photo of [REDACTED] enclosed with  
NK airtel 3/4/65, was displayed to the [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] with negative results:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 [REDACTED]

REC 5

- 3- Bureau (RM)  
2- Newark (100-40295) (RM)  
1- New York [REDACTED]  
1- New York [REDACTED]

TLB:mmad  
(8)

APR 10 1965

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~

**مقدمہ**

100-441765-623

SAC, New York

~~Secret~~

4/12/65

Director, FBI

100-399321-

1 - Mr. Floyd  
1 - Mr. Bates  
1 - Mr. Rosen

MUSLIN MOSQUE, INC.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MNI  
NYfile: 100-152759  
Bufile: 100-441765

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
NYfile: 100-4013  
Bufile: 100-16

DECLASSIFIED  
ON 2/21/83 BY SP-8 BTJ/bic

FOIA #223666

ReNYlet 4/6/65 captioned "Malcolm K. Little, aka, IS-MNI," containing information indicating that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was making a concerted effort to publish a book tentatively titled "Malcolm X Speaks." \*

New York should, in submitting future information of this type, caption communications utilizing the title or titles of the organizations involved rather than the captions of the individual case concerning Little. It is pointed out that information of the nature mentioned above relates primarily to the organizations involved. It would appear that the only information which should be submitted under the Little caption is that information concerning the New York City Police Department investigation relating to the murder of Little or other information which relates solely to Little's former activities. u

Utilization of the organizational caption will facilitate the handling of information at the Bureau. u

① 100-399321 (Malcolm K. Little)

TPR:pah  
(9)

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 5/12/72

~~Secret~~

69 APR 20 1965

Classified by 155  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5/16/95 DNL/UR



FBI

Date: 4/6/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ALBUQUERQUE

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from the Director dated 2/12/65 to Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, with the indicated copies. This is classified Confidential.

The enclosed letter was given to Senior Resident Agent

[REDACTED] This letter was attached to a Writ of Habeas Corpus sent by the Department of Justice to one [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It appears obvious that this letter was attached to the Writ of Habeas Corpus by mistake, therefore the Albuquerque Office is returning it to the Bureau so appropriate action may be taken to return it to the Department of Justice. It appears that this copy was sent to Mr. JOHN DOAR, Acting Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division and the indicated file number is set out on the block stamp. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] have no other information concerning this and merely called it to the Bureau's attention to have it returned through appropriate channels.

3 - Bureau (Enc 1)  
1 - Albuquerque  
fd  
(4)

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8869 [REDACTED]

REC-18

100-399321-395

ST-116

5 APR 8 1965

D. D. WICK

b7c

SUNNY [REDACTED]

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

FBI

Date: 4/9/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

~~Confidential~~

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

OTHERWISE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-39918)

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS - MMIClassified by 8269 jhe/ueh/hag  
Declassify on: OADR

RePHairtel to Director, 3/30/65, cc New York; NYairtel to Director, 4/1/65, cc Philadelphia; Buairtel to New York and Philadelphia, 4/2/65. U

A photograph of EDWARD OLIVER, furnished by the New York Office, was exhibited to [REDACTED] could identify OLIVER. They stated that to their knowledge they had never seen him before. U

b7D In reNYairtel it is noted that [REDACTED] resembled two individuals who sat in the middle of the audience at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City, on 2/21/65 and jumped up at about the time MALCOLM X appeared at the rostrum. One of these individuals shouted that someone "got into his pocket." U

b1 [REDACTED]

3 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - New York (105-8999) (RM)  
2 - Philadelphia  
1 - 100-39918  
1 - [REDACTED]

EMC:lac  
(7)

Classified by 6845  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

5/16/85

DML/CAS

APR 10 1965

19

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

Confidential

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

SUB CONTROL

INDEXED

PH 100-39918

~~Confidential~~

61 [REDACTED]

(C) X

~~Confidential~~

4/14/65

Airtel

To: SAC, New York (105-8999)

From: Director, FBI (100-399331) - 396

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - RMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 JHE/STH/STY

ReBuairtel 4/2/65, NYairtel 4/5/65 and PHairtel  
4/9/65, all concerning captioned matter.

In view of information submitted indicating that

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

MAILED 30  
APR 14 1965  
COMM-FBI

pah:ltl  
(5)

NOTE:

FBI - 10211CE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

[REDACTED]

It is noted that [REDACTED]

(NOTE CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO)

70 APR 21 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

B-71R

Airtel to New York  
Re: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
100-399321

NOTE CONTINUED:

Hayer [REDACTED] was involved in the initial diversionary move to attract attention prior to the murder of Little. Hayer has been arrested. [REDACTED]

b7D

FBI

Date: 4/5/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)  
SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
IS - MMI

ReButel dated 4/2/65, captioned as above.

[REDACTED] photograph has been reviewed [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a person  
resembling [REDACTED] had been observed at the above mentioned  
[REDACTED] although he could not make a positive identification.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-31-83 BY 8269 [REDACTED]

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

3-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York

JCS:pam  
(5)

*[Handwritten signature]*

100-399321-

APR 6 1965

SUBV. CONTROL

Approved: *[Handwritten signature]*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge  
70 APR 21 1965

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : *pub* SAC, NEWARK (100-40295) (P)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS-MMI

DATE: 4/21/65

Re Bureau letter to New York, 4/13/65.

*b7D*  
Referenced Bureau letter concerns information furnished to the Boston Office [redacted] alleging that the individual who fired the shotgun at LITTLE was supposedly a lieutenant from the Newark Temple of the NATION OF ISLAM (NOI).

*b7C*  
*b7D*  
At the time subject was killed, there were only two lieutenants at MUHAMMAD's MOSQUE (MM) #25, Newark, N.J. They are [redacted] Newark files on both of these individuals have been opened and assigned and investigation to date has failed to positively identify either. [redacted] has described these individuals as follows:

*b7D*

[redacted]

Sex  
Race  
Age  
Height  
Weight  
Hair  
Eyes  
Build  
Complexion  
Characteristics

Marital Status  
Occupation  
Employer

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 JHE/MS/K

2. APPROX

*Pitt*  
100-397321-397

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York (105-8999) (info) (RM)  
4 - Newark

REC-19

3 APR 22 1965

*GRB*  
GRB:mam  
(7)

SUBV. CONTROL

69 MAY 3 1965

1563

Let S.O.P.R.B.

Let 3/25/65 captioned "Sm-nol," to Newark 4/3/65  
[redacted] 0-7

NK 100-40295

**Sex**  
**Race**  
**Age**  
**Height**  
**Weight**  
**Hair**  
**Eyes**  
**Build**  
**Complexion**  
**Characteristics**

**Marital Status**  
**Occupation**

**APPROX.**

*NG*

Investigation is continuing to identify [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] photographs will be furnished to New York  
Office.

Referenced Bureau letter included a copy of Boston  
letter dated 3/25/65, captioned [REDACTED]  
aka; SM-NOI", but did not include a copy of the letterhead  
memorandum submitted to Bureau with that letter.

The Bureau is requested to furnish Newark with a  
copy of this letterhead memorandum.

100-430081



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 4/20/65

FROM : Legat, London (100-3313) (RUC)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka.  
IS - MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

[REDACTED]

12-21-83  
Classified by 8269 jhe/mch/ky  
Declassify on: OADR

O-1 TONY 5-5-65  
REBUAIRTEL 4-14-65.  
DATE AIRTEL WILL BE  
SUBMITTED?  
STATUS OF INVEST.

- 2 - Bureau
- 1 - Liaison (sent direct)
- 1 - London

rn  
(4)

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 5/19/83

Classified by 6555  
Exempt from GDS Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5/16/83 DM4 CIO

WKS 58 3 08 BH .22

70 APR 29 1965

DGM INLETT DIA  
SEC.D

REC-50 100-399321-398

APR 26 1965

BUBV. CONTROL

67C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]

FROM : **b7C** SAC, NEWARK [REDACTED] (C)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

DATE 4/28/65

**b7C** Re New York radiogram to Bureau, 3/3/65.

Newark airtel to Bureau, 3/4/65.

New York airtel to Bureau, 4/9/65, all captioned  
"MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka; IS-MMI". **b7C**

**b7C** Referenced New York radiogram reflected one [REDACTED]  
was believed to be one of the conspirators in the death of  
LITTLE. Referenced Newark airtel enclosed a photograph of  
subject to be displayed to informants for possible identification

**b7D** Referenced New York airtel reflected the  
photograph of subject was displayed [REDACTED]

**b7D** with negative results.

[REDACTED] could furnish no current  
information regarding subject.

Since subject was last reported to be active in the  
NATION OF ISLAM (NOI) in December, 1963, and [REDACTED]  
could furnish no information indicating subject attended  
MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC. (MMI) meetings in New York, it is believed  
no further investigation is warranted in this case and it is  
being placed in a closed status at Newark.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-30-83 BY 8269 JHE/STY

100-399321

3 - Bureau (RM)  
(1 - 100-399321) (MALCOLM LITTLE)  
2 - Newark  
(1 - 100-40295) (MALCOLM LITTLE)

GRB:mam  
(5)

70 MAY 4 1965

NOT RECORDED  
150 APR 28 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 4/28/65

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

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

O.I. NY 5-17-65  
let NY 5-20-65

b7c

b7D [redacted] NYC, advised on 4/21/65, that the [redacted] at this time has no important suspects at large arising out of their investigation of the murder of MALCOLM X. [redacted] stated that he is trying to determine from police officials and the NY District Attorney's Office if the NYCPD is to continue with the investigation of the shooting of MALCOLM X or to prepare for trial against TALMAGE HAYER, THOMAS JOHNSON and NORMAN BUTLER for the murder of MALCOLM X.

b7D [redacted] stated the PD is still trying to locate and interview [redacted] both of whom, according to [redacted] were in front of the stage acting as bodyguards for MALCOLM X when he was shot and killed on 2/21/65 at NYC.

b7C Current investigation is being conducted by the NYO re [redacted]

b7D NYO continuing liaison with [redacted] for the purpose of keeping abreast with [redacted] investigation of the murder of MALCOLM X.

cc 808 RB.  
(6) - Bureau (RM)

- b7C
- (1) - [redacted]
  - (1) - [redacted]
  - (1) - [redacted]
  - 1 - Newark (INFO) (RM)
  - 1 - New York
  - 1 - New York
  - 1 - New York
  - 1 - New York
  - 1 - New York
  - 1 - New York
  - 1 - New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/15/84 BY SP1 GSK/DO  
EX 110 #212322

100-399321-399  
6 APR 30 1965

JCS:mmc  
(13)

50 MAY 10 1965

INT. SEC. [signature]

SUBV. CONTROL



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33593) (RUC)  
SUBJECT: MALCOLM K LITTLE, aka ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
IS - MMI HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
(OO: NEW YORK) DATE 12-21-13 BY 8269 JHE/NEW/STY

DATE: 6/13/68

Re Chicago airtel and LHM to Bureau and New York, above caption dated March 31, 1965, and New York letter to Bureau, above caption dated March 10, 1965, regarding photograph of TALMADGE HAYES.

Referenced airtel, page 2, stated the Bureau would be appropriately advised of any developments regarding the raising of funds for the children of MALCOLM X by way of an appearance of OSSIE DAVIS in Chicago on April 4, 1965. This appearance was sponsored by the "EDUCATIONAL FUND for CHILDREN OF MALCOLM X LITTLE" (EFCML) and was held at the Tabernacle Baptist Church, Chicago.

Inasmuch as inquiry reflected this was a Communist infiltration of Racial Matters (CIRM) case all pertinent details were subsequently handled relative to that program and EFCML and furnished the Bureau and New York.

Regarding the request set forth in relet the photograph of TALMADGE HAYES was exhibited to the following [redacted] of the Chicago Office, [redacted]

All contacts in this regard were negative.

6 - Bureau (RM)

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

(CIRM)

(EDUCATIONAL FUND FOR CHILDREN OF MALCOLM X LITTLE)

2-(105-8999)

4 - New York (RM)

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

(EFCML)

5 - Chicago

1 - 100-41324

1 - 100-

1 - 100-41743

(CIRM)

(EFCML)

REC 36

EX-112

15 MAY 20 1965

SUBV. CONTROL  
INT. SEC.

64 MAY 15 1965

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

CG 100-35593

672C  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

In view of the above this case is being RUC'd by the  
Chicago Office.

FBI

Date: 5/20/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)  
 SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
 IS - MMI

ReButel dated 4/14/65.

The name of [REDACTED]  
 from photograph as identical to a person he observed  
 participating in the killing of MALCOLM X at the Audubon  
 Ballroom on 2/21/65; was not on the list of names furnished to  
 the NY Police Department by the NYO as being present in above  
 ballroom when subject was shot.

Upon receipt of reference airtel, SA [REDACTED]  
 made available to [REDACTED] on 4/16/65,  
 [REDACTED] name and it was left to his discretion as to what  
 action the NYCPD will take concerning [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 JPL/wct/ty

REC-113

3-Bureau (RM)  
 1-New York

JCS:pam  
 (5)

16 MAY 21 1965

100-399321-402  
 5-7M  
 SUPPLY CONTROL

Approved: [Signature]  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 6/2/65

FROM :

SAC, NEWARK (100-40295) (P)

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS-MMI

Re Bulet to New York, 4/13/65.  
Newark letter to Bureau, 4/21/65.

Enclosed to the New York Office are 12 photographs, six each of [REDACTED] four each of [REDACTED] and two each of [REDACTED]

Referenced Bulet reflected [REDACTED] furnished information to the Boston Office reflecting a lieutenant from Muhammad's Mosque (MM) #25, Newark, N.J., was alleged to have been involved in the slaying of subject.

Referenced Newark letter reflected [REDACTED] (LNU) and [REDACTED] (LNU) were the only two lieutenants at MM #25 at the time subject was slain. Two photographs of [REDACTED] are also enclosed to the New York Office since [REDACTED] was the lieutenant at MM, Paterson, N.J., at the time MALCOLM LITTLE was slain.

*Muhammad's Mosque*

Any information developed by the New York Office concerning the identity of [REDACTED] should be furnished expeditiously to the Newark Office since investigation to identify these individuals is continuing at Newark.

The enclosed photographs need not be returned.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 [REDACTED]

REC-25

100-399321-403

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (enc. 12) (RM) (105-8999)
- 5 - Newark

JUN 3 1965

GRB:mfm  
(9)

313

70 JUN 16 1965

SUBV. CONTROL



DIRECTOR, FBI (100-

5/25/65

b7c SAC, NEW YORK [REDACTED] (C)

EUGENE 2X  
SM-NOI  
(OO: NEW YORK)

ReNYtel 3/29/65, to Director, FBI, captioned,  
"MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka IS-4411".

b7D Retel contained information to the effect that [REDACTED] advised on 3/29/65, that the [REDACTED] has learned from interviewing NOI members concerning the killing of MALCOLM X, that one [REDACTED] had been connected with a few homicides in the NY area.

b7D On 4/22/65, [REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] that the identity of [REDACTED] has never been obtained by the [REDACTED] through its investigations. He commented that [REDACTED] is not a suspect in the killing of MALCOLM X at this time. According to [REDACTED] has been running into the problem of obtaining information on persons with identical X numbers and without the persons true last name, they are unable to make a true identification of possible suspects.

b7c b7D The indices of the NYO reflects case file [REDACTED] on one [REDACTED] not further identified, who was reportedly active in the NOI from 8/62 to 7/64. Subsequent to 7/64, the NYO has received no information concerning [REDACTED]. The information concerning the activities of one [REDACTED] in the NYO has been furnished [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] was recontacted on 4/14/65 by SA [REDACTED] at which time the [REDACTED] stated that the last name of [REDACTED]

4 - Bureau (RM)  
(2-100-399321)  
2 - New York  
JJD:ats  
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-11-82 BY SP7 MAC/SC

100-399321

NOT RECORDED  
172 MAY 27 1965

244  
56 JUN 4 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN 25-330971-34-261

NY 100-149947

67D [redacted] could furnish no other information concerning this individual. A check of the indices of the NYO was made on 5/12/65, in regard to [redacted]. However, no reference was located which was deemed to be identical with the subject, based on the information furnished.

The records of the [redacted] as checked by SA [redacted] on 5/24/65 and 5/25/65, contained no record identifiable with [redacted] based on the information furnished.

67D  
67E The indices also reflect reference 105-7809-1B292 page 5, which contains information to the effect that on 2/5/65, [redacted] made available information to the effect that one [redacted] joined the NOI on 2/14/50. [redacted] could furnish no information concerning one [redacted]

67C  
67E On 4/12/65, [redacted] NY, was contacted under [redacted] pretext by SA [redacted] at which time he stated he had no recollection of anyone by the name of [redacted] ever residing at this address.

67C The records of the Manhattan Board of Elections, as reviewed by IC [redacted] for the years 1945 to 1956 contained no information concerning one [redacted]

67D  
67E The records of the [redacted] as checked on 4/16/65, and the [redacted] as checked on 4/20/65, by SA [redacted] were negative in regard to [redacted]

67C The records of the Credit Bureau of Greater NY as checked by IC [redacted] on 4/12/65, were negative in regard to one [redacted]

67D  
67E The following [redacted] were contacted concerning [redacted] with negative results:

NY 100-149947

b7D  
b7C

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

b7D  
b7C

It is noted that this case was opened on information received from the [REDACTED] on 3/29/65, in regard to one [REDACTED] as previously set forth. The [REDACTED] has been unable to establish this individual's identity. It can not be established at this time if [REDACTED] is either identical with [REDACTED]. It is also noted that photographs are not available on any of these individuals.

b7C

Therefore, due to the lack of positive identification in regard to one [REDACTED] this matter is being placed in a closed status at this time.

Mr. Sullivan

Y. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Casper

NATION OF ISLAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NATION OF ISLAM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-13 BY 1269 JHE/BJH

By letter dated 5/25/64, the New York Office advised that information previously furnished by the [redacted] indicating that a lieutenant from the Newark Temple of the Nation of Islam had fired a shotgun at the time Malcolm X Little was assassinated 2/21/63 had not been furnished to the [redacted]. It is recommended that Bureau authority be granted to furnish this information to the [redacted].

The New York Office had been previously instructed to recheck information furnished to the Boston Office by [redacted] relating to the knowledge of circumstances surrounding the murder of Little. One of the items was the above-mentioned allegation that the unnamed lieutenant from the Newark Temple of the Nation of Islam had participated in the murder. [redacted] advised that [redacted] had been interviewed by the police but furnished no information regarding individuals [redacted] believed participated in the murder. [redacted] to have been reinterviewed by the police concerning this investigation, but before this was possible. [redacted] in Boston. He had been interviewed just [redacted] by our Boston Office.

[redacted] investigation of the murder of Little is continuing and three suspects are presently awaiting trial. According to our New York Office, no additional suspects have been developed. Inasmuch as the police have the primary responsibility in the investigation of the death of Little, it is believed that information furnished [redacted] should be made available to the police in order that they can continue whatever investigation they determine necessary.

Enclosure

1 - 100-399321 (Little)

TPH:deb  
(9)

CONTINUED - OVER

100-399321-  
NOT RECORDED  
128 JUN 7 1965

56 JUN 8 1965

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: NATION OF ISLAM

b7D  
Our Newark Office has been continuing an investigation to fully identify the lieutenant referred to [redacted] and has advised that [redacted] were lieutenants of this Temple. Photographs were to be furnished by Newark to our New York Office.

b7D  
[redacted] a member of the Nation of Islam until December, 1964, when he was [redacted] for reportedly having advised [redacted] not to contribute large sums of money to the Nation of Islam. [redacted] indicated that he became a follower of Little.

RECOMMENDATION:

b7D  
That the attached letter be approved authorizing New York to furnish to the [redacted] the allegation regarding the participation of a lieutenant from the Newark Nation of Islam Temple in the murder of Little and to furnish necessary photographs.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 6/3/65

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
IS-MMI

~~Confidential~~

12-21-83  
Classified by 2269 JHE/mwt/ty  
Declassify on: OADR

b1  
[REDACTED]

b1  
[REDACTED]

Dissemination is being made locally by separate communication. u

10/15/61  
SP/CEX/100  
6/13/65  
# 212382

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF 6/17/65  
DATE 5/19/78

5- Bureau (100-399321) c 808  
(1-25-330971) (NOI)

(1-  
(1-  
(1-

1- New York (105-8999)

mmh  
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

REC-24

100-399321-404

11 JUN 4 1965

Classified by 10575  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~Confidential~~

SUBV. CONTROL

INT SEC

7 JUN 11 1965

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

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 5/25/65

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
IS-MMI

ReBulet to NY, dated 4/13/65, in which the NYO as asked to review information furnished by the late [REDACTED] to the BSO particularly the information alleging that the individual who fired the shotgun at LITTLE on 2/21/65, was supposedly a Lieutenant of the Newark Office of the Nation of Islam. In referenced letter, NYO was to determine if this information is in possession of the [REDACTED] and if not, Bureau authority must be obtained before furnishing this information to the [REDACTED]

On 4/22/65, [REDACTED] 24th Precinct, NYCPD, 151 W. 100th St., NYC, advised SA [REDACTED] that when PHILLIPS was interviewed by the [REDACTED] prior to his death, he failed to pinpoint any possible suspects in the killing of MALCOLM X.

On 5/4/65, [REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] that when [REDACTED] was interviewed he did not mention the names of persons he thought killed MALCOLM X. [REDACTED] said that [REDACTED] promised to appear at the [REDACTED] for a second interview while in NY, but failed to appear and returned to Boston where [REDACTED]

In view of the above, NYO requests Bureau authority to advise NYCPD that PHILLIPS, when interviewed by Bureau Agents in Boston, stated that a Lieutenant from the Newark Temple of the Nation of Islam fired the shotgun when MALCOLM X was assassinated on 2/21/65.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
- 1 - Boston [REDACTED] (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York

JCS:nbc  
(6)

JUN 10 1965

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

EX-102

SUBV. CONTROL



SAC, New York (105-8999)

6/1/65

Director, FBI (25-330971)

1 - Mr. Belmont 1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Mohr 1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. DeLoach 1 - Mr. Rosack  
1 - Mr. Sullivan

NATION OF ISLAM  
IS - NOI

ReNYlet 5/25/65.

Authority granted to advise the [REDACTED] that, according to the late [REDACTED] a lieutenant from the Newark Temple of the Nation of Islam had fired a shotgun when Malcolm X Little was murdered on February 21, 1965. Available photographs of [REDACTED] should also be furnished as soon as available.

You should continue to keep the Bureau advised of all developments in this matter.

1 - New York (105-7809)

1 - Newark (14-169)

① 100-39932 599321

TPR:deh  
(13)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-11-82 BY SP-7 MAC/SC

LITTLE

DUPLICATE YELLOW

100-399321-

NOT RECORDED  
98 JUN 9 1965

106  
66 JUN 16 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-399321-54-262



F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

~~Confidential~~

6/15/65

~~CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED~~Via AIRTELREGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: Director, FBI (100-399321)  
 FROM: SAC, Philadelphia (100-39918)  
 SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
 IS - MMI  
 -----  
 OO: New York

DATE

DECLASSIFIED BY 826.9 JHE/WB/KEY  
ON 1-11-84

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies;  
 for New York are four copies; for Chicago are two copies; and for  
 Los Angeles are two copies of a self-explanatory letterhead memoran-  
 dandum titled as above. u

b7D

ENCLOSURE

- 5 - Bureau (Enc.-8)
  - 3 - 100-399321
  - 1 - 25-330971 (NOI)
  - 1 - 100-441765 (MMI)
- Chicago (Enc.-2) (RM)
  - 2 - 100-35636 (NOI)
- New York (Enc.-4) (RM)
  - 2 - 105-8999 (LITTLE)
  - 1 - 100-152759 (MMI)
  - 1 - 105-7809 (NOI)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Enc.-2) (RM)
  - 2 - 105-2604 (NOI)
- 4 - Philadelphia
  - 1 - 100-39918
  - 1 - 100-47471 (MMI)
  - 1 - 25-26094 (NOI)

Classified by 1855  
 Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite  
 5/10/95 DML/CAS

14 JUN 17 1965

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ATTACHED

Approved: C.C. - Wid

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

CONFIDENTIAL

UNRECORDED  
FILED IN 25-330971  
UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN

100-441765

REC 44

100-399321 406

INT SEC

58 JUN 25 1965

F43 C.C. - Wid

SDS

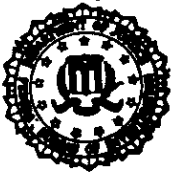
PH 100-39918

b7D

[REDACTED]

(u)\*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

June 15, 1965

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
-----

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP6 RHE/wjg*  
ON *1-11-84*

[REDACTED] (u)

[REDACTED] (u)

Source identified Malcolm Little as leader of Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and Elijah Muhammad as the leader of Nation of Islam (NOI). u

Characterizations of Muhammad's Mosque Number 12, Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, and Nation of Islam are attached to this memorandum. u

[REDACTED] (u)

[REDACTED] (u)

[REDACTED] (u)

~~Confidential~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *DD-1-100*  
DATE *6/19/65*

*1* XEROX  
JUN 22 1965

100-399321-406  
ENCLOSURE

Classified by *SP5*  
Exempt from GDS Category *8*  
Date *5/10/83* Done *1/25*

(1)

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NUMBER 12

Two sources advised on May 22, 1964 that the organization of which ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader and founder, is known in Philadelphia, Pa., as Muhammad's Mosque #12 (MM #12). These sources advised MM #12 was located at 4218-20 Lancaster Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; but, in September, 1963, moved to 2204 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

The first meeting at 2204 North Broad Street was held on September 23, 1963.

A third source on May 22, 1964 advised the organization has been meeting in Philadelphia, Pa., since 1954.

~~Confidential~~

(1)

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964 edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964 a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim Cult  
of Islam, aka Muhammad's Temples  
of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam", (NOI) and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 3, 1964, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the NOI; Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, Muhammad and other NOI officials when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commented using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 6, 1958 the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 7, 1964, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1952, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

(2)

A second confidential source advised on October 20, 1964 that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which is also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

June 15, 1965

Title

MALCOLM K. LITTLE

Character

Reference

Letterhead memorandum, dated and  
captioned as above, at Philadelphia.

b7D [REDACTED]

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



XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET13

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

- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) \_\_\_\_\_ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☒ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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

100-399321-407

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ENCLOSED

Classified by 8249 J. J. J. / Key  
Declassify on: OADR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 6/24/65

SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) (P)

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
IS - MMI

REC-47

On 6/24/65, [REDACTED]  
24th Precinct, NYCPD, 151 West 100th Street, NYC,  
advised that he just received a communication from

[REDACTED] Boston, Massachusetts, which stated that [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] was believed to have been  
involved in the killing of Malcolm X on 2/21/65, at NYC.  
Communication continued by stating that [REDACTED] is believed  
to have been wounded when Malcolm X was killed and could  
not be located in the Boston area and is believed to be  
in Florida, recuperating from his wounds."

NYO indices contain numerous references in the  
name [REDACTED] but is unable to locate pertinent  
information identifiable with [REDACTED]

Bureau and Boston Office are requested to check  
their indices on [REDACTED] for pertinent  
information to determine his whereabouts.

Boston Office is requested to contact [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] for photo and information that connects  
with the killing of MALCOLM X.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 JET/CL/Key

REC-47

100-399321-408

JUN 25 1965

15808 RB


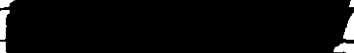
2-Bureau (RM)  
2-Boston (RM)  
1-New York

JCS:pam  
(5)

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

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Records Branch**

19

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527  
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524  
☐ Forward to File Review  
☒ Attention   
☒ Return to   
Supervisor Room Ext.

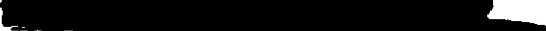
**Type of References Requested:**

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)  
☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)  
☐ Subversive References Only  
☐ Nonsubversive References Only  
☐ Main References Only

**Type of Search Requested:**

☐ Restricted to Locality of \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)  
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

Subject   
 Birth   
 Address \_\_\_\_\_

Localities 

Ra  Date 6-28 Searcher Initials 

Prod. 1-1 **JUN 28 1965**  
 FILE NUMBER SERIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 2-21-83 BY 1049 ghu/ky

MF 1601




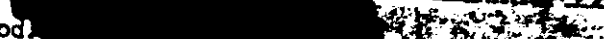
MF 1601

MF 1601

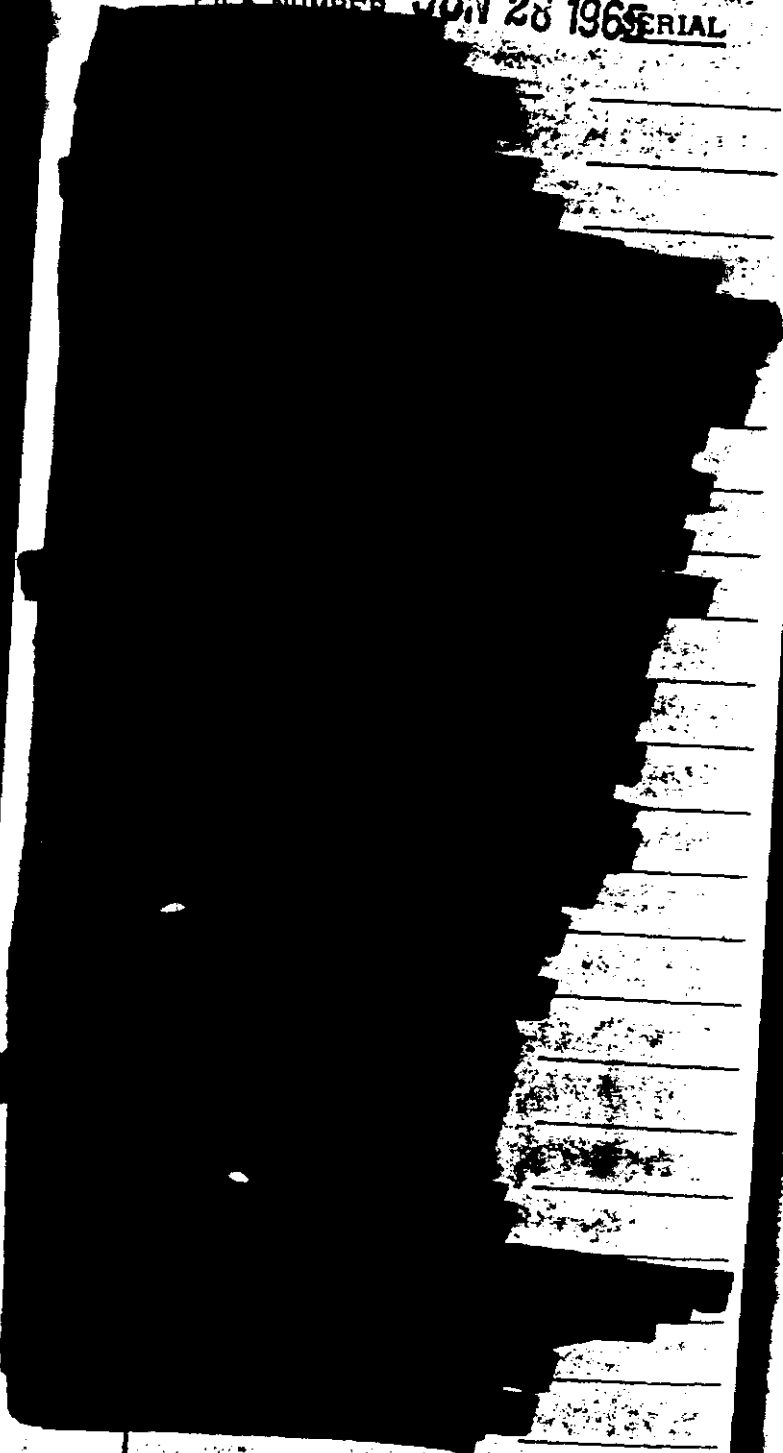
R601

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj:   
 Supervisor   
 R  6-28 Searcher Initials ADH  
 Prod. 

FILE NUMBER **JUN 28 1965** SERIAL



R601

100-309321 (100-309321)

Director, FBI (100-309321) - 488

REC-17  
MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Reference is made to New York letter to the Bureau, 6/24/65, which requested a check of Bureau files for any information identifiable to [REDACTED]

No record identifiable with [REDACTED] could be located in Bureau files based on identifying data set forth in referenced letter.

1 - Boston

RFB:alt  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-21-83 BY 8269 JHE/ach/ky

MAILED 8  
JUN 30 1965  
COMM-FBI

244  
JUL 13 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**MALCOLM X LITTLE**

**PART 18 OF 24**

**BUFILE: 100-399321**

( )

FILE DESCRIPTION  
BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 100-399321

Section 18

Serials 409-442

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

67C

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

June 30, 1965  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/83 BY 1267

I would like to know either the  
the Press or by return mail or both  
why we never even heard of any  
Investigation in anyway shape or form  
in regards to the skilling or murder of  
one of the gangs or leader Malcolm X. I  
never saw anything in papers or Television  
at all even as some thought the Black  
Moslems or Mulems killed him

about the woman from Detroit in Chicago  
Now when the as you call them the Klu  
Klux Klan was ordered trailed down  
by our President as well as you and the  
F.B.I. and god knows how many  
W.D. Marshall B. out of Washington what  
what is wrong they didnt waste a lot  
more money to find out about who  
killed Malcolm X and they afraid  
it will give the National Capitol  
a black eye, or will it give  
you and other a black eye on  
you fight for Civils Rights

11/19/65

JUL 1 1965

CORRESPONDENCE



I would like to hear from you within  
about ten days or I am going to  
have Mr Frank Bost my Congressman  
bring it up or put an Opera House  
in papers down there and up here to  
I am sending the same letter to Attorney  
General Katzenbach to see what answer  
I get from in the same mail and  
probably one to President Johnson  
because he was one of the most who  
broadcast about the Klu Klux Klans  
Hoping something will be heard Radio  
or otherwise, I hope hear from you  
Yours Truly

67C

P.S. I am a man 75 years old and I want  
to see if there is a square deal for all  
and not a cover up like the Bobby  
Baker for the President and others

July 7, 1965

REC 27100-397326-409

B. APPROX. 1890

EX - 107

67C

Dear [REDACTED]

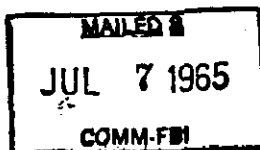
Your letter dated June 30, 1965, has been received in Mr. Hoover's absence.

Your communication will be brought to Mr. Hoover's attention when he returns; however, I know he would want me to inform you that the murder to which you referred does not constitute a violation of Federal law coming within the investigative jurisdiction of the FBI. With reference to the other matters you described, information in FBI files is confidential, pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. In this connection, I would like to point out that this Bureau is continuing to make every effort to discharge its responsibilities with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch.

Enclosed are publications which I hope you find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/83 BY 826 JNE/WEB  
del



Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary

Enclosures (2)

U. S. News & World Report article, 12-21-64  
The FBI... Guardian of Civil Rights

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles under the names of [REDACTED] 67C

DCL:ket (3)

51 JUL 23 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

REC'D-READING ROOM

JUL 7 5 07 PM '65

TRUE COPY

b7C  
M J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau Investigation  
Washington D C.

[REDACTED] June 30, 65

I would like to know either through the Press or by return mail or both why we never even heard of any Investigation in anyway shape-or form in regards to the killing or murder of one of the gangs or leader Malcolm X I never saw anything in papers or Television at all even as some thought the Black Moslems or Mulems killed him About the woman from Detroit in Alabama now when the as you call them the Klu Klux Klan was ordered trailed down by our President as well as you and the F. B. I. and god knows how many W. S. Marshalls out of Washington what what is wrong they didnt waste a lot more money to find out about who killed Malcolm X are they afraid it will give the National Capitol a black eye, or will it give you and other a black eye on yor fight for Civils Rights I would like to hear from you within about ten days or I am going to have Mr Frank Box my Congressman bring it up or put an Opera Forum in papers down there and up here to I am sending the same letter to Attorney General Katzenbaum to see what answer I get from in the same mail and probably one to President Johnson because he was one of the most who broadcast about the Klu Klux Klan

Hoping something will be heard Radio or otherwise, I hope hear from you

Yours Truly

b7C [REDACTED] /s/

P. S. I am a man 75 years old and I want to see if there is a square deal for all and not a cover up like the Bobby Baker for the President and others

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/22/83 BY 8269 JHE/EC/d

17C 76-65 cm  
67-7-65

67C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : *FLW3*  
SAC, NEWARK (100-40295) (P)

SUBJECT: MALCOM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS-MMI

DATE: 7/16/65

RE: Newark letter to Bureau, 6/2/65, and  
New York letter to Newark 6/7/65.

Enclosed to the New York Office is a photograph  
of [REDACTED] taken 6/30/59.

*b7C*  
*b7D* [REDACTED] has been identified as the  
[REDACTED] referred to in referenced letter. This  
photograph is furnished, complete with physical description  
and FBI number, to the New York Office in order to  
establish if [REDACTED] can be identified as one of the  
individuals responsible for subject's murder.

The enclosed photograph need not be returned to  
Newark.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/21/83 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/DJ

*1808 R/B*

*b7C, D*

2-Bureau (RM)  
2-New York (105-8999) (Enc.1) (RM)  
2-Newark  
(1- [REDACTED])  
GRB:lad  
(6)

REC 72  
ST-100

*100-399321-410*

5 JUL 19 1965

66 AUG 4 1965

SUBV CONTROL

① INT  
REC  
153

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *del*  
DATE *12-23-83*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-27649) (P)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS - MMI

DATE: 8/4/65

CONFIDENTIAL

Re New York letter dated 6/24/65.

*67D*  
*DECLASSIFIED BY 8269 JHE/MLC  
ON 10-12-1983*

*67D*  
[redacted] furnished a photostatic copy of letter dated 6/18/65 which was sent by [redacted] which is apparently identical with that mentioned in relet. *u*

[redacted] advised he was forwarding to [redacted] copy of a communication received by the Suffolk County Superior Court Probation Department, Boston, Mass. This anonymous communication dated 6/13/65 received by the [redacted] reads as follows: *u*

[redacted] Black Moslem, said to be hiding in another state with gunshot wounds due to the fact that he was involved in the killing of Malcom X. Try questioning his wife. Florida is a likely place. *u*

"He was on probation." *u*

The return address on the above anonymous communication was [redacted] in his letter to the [redacted] said the latter address is fictitious, there being no such address in Boston. [redacted] advised in his letter that the individual referred to in this anonymous communication was believed to be [redacted] further mentioned his department had been unable to locate [redacted] *u*

REC-51

100-399321-411

*67C*  
2-Bureau (100-399321)  
2-New York (105-8999) (Encs. 5)  
4-Boston [redacted]  
KPW:mm  
(5)

AUG 2 1965

Exempt from GDS, Category 1

Date of Declassification Indefinite

CONFIDENTIAL SUBV. CONTROL

AUG 24 1965

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

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL 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.

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☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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

100-399321-411 page 2

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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BS 100-27649

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C It should be noted that Boston on 6/15/64 and again on 6/18/64 submitted an airtel and letterhead memorandum entitled "Muslim Mosque, Inc., IS-MMI" (Bufile 100-441765 and New York file 100-152759). Therein information was set forth concerning an altercation between some members of the MMI and NOI including [REDACTED]

b7D For the information of New York, a copy of the anonymous communication and envelope plus [REDACTED] letter is being sent to New York. In addition, two copies [REDACTED] photograph are being sent to New York. [REDACTED] description is as follows:

Race: [REDACTED]

Date of Birth: [REDACTED]

Place of Birth: [REDACTED]

b7C Height: [REDACTED]

Weight: [REDACTED]

Build: [REDACTED]

Hair: [REDACTED]

Eyes: [REDACTED]

Wife: [REDACTED]

LEADS:

BOSTON

b7C At Boston, Massachusetts. Will continue efforts to develop a specific address [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8/20/65

Airtel

1 - Mr. Floyd  
1 - Mr. Bates  
1 - Mr. Phillips

To: SACs, Miami (Enclosure)  
New York (105-8899)  
Boston (100-27649)

From: Director, FBI (100-399321)

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

ReNYlet to Bureau and Boston 6/24/65 which, for the information of Miami, reported that the [REDACTED] had received a communication from the [REDACTED] to the effect that [REDACTED] was believed to have been involved in the killing of Malcolm X (subject) on 2/21/65 at New York City. According to the [REDACTED] is believed to have been wounded at the time, could not be located in [REDACTED] and was believed to be in Florida recuperating from his wounds.

Subsequent investigation by the Boston Office as reported in its letter 8/4/65 has been negative relative to locating [REDACTED]. A copy of the Boston letter is enclosed for the information of Miami.

[REDACTED]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SFP:bp  
(10) bp

EX-110  
REC-66

100-399321-412

MAILED 30  
AUG 20 1965  
COMM-FBI

19 AUG 20 1965

AUG 27 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



Airtel to SACs, Miami  
New York  
Boston  
Re: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
100-399321

b7c Miami is instructed to immediately attempt to locate [redacted] and advise the Bureau and New York so that the New York Office may in turn advise the [redacted]. Interview with [redacted] relative to his possible participation in the killing should be handled by New York City authorities rather than Bureau Agents. However, Miami should stay very close to the situation so as to obtain all available information concerning [redacted] activities particularly as they pertain to the Muslim Mosque, Inc.

Keep the Bureau promptly advised of all pertinent developments, and information which may be disseminated should be included in letterhead memoranda.

CABLEGRAM

CODE

DEFERRED

CONFIDENTIAL

TO [REDACTED]  
FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-445343)

SM - 12M

FRANCIS HAS BEEN A LEADER IN THE MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED, A BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION, SINCE ITS FORMATION BY MALCOLM X. LITTLE AND WAS WITH LITTLE AT THE TIME OF LITTLE'S MURDER ON FEBRUARY TWO ONE, LAST. AT THAT TIME FRANCIS SHOT AND WOUNDED ONE OF LITTLE'S ASSASSINS. FRANCIS WAS CHARGED WITH FELONIOUS ASSAULT AND WAS RELEASED ON A TEN THOUSAND DOLLAR BOND. HE FAILED TO APPEAR IN COURT ON MAY TWO ZERO, LAST, AND HIS WHEREABOUTS HAS BEEN UNKNOWN SINCE THAT TIME. NO UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID PROSECUTION (UFAP) WARRANT EXISTS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS IN NEW YORK DO NOT DESIRE THAT ANY ACTION BE TAKEN LEADING TOWARDS SUBJECT'S APPREHENSION.

1 - NEW YORK (100-146782)

1 - 100-399321

1 - (9)

53 SEP 3 1965

DUPLICATE YELLOW OF  
MESSAGE THAT CONFIDENTIAL

NOT RECORDED

191 SEP 1 1965

Classified by [REDACTED]  
Declassify on: OADR  
12/6/81  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Classified by [REDACTED]  
Exempt from GDS, Category [REDACTED]  
Date of Declassification Indefinite Note Page Two  
(1/7/79 OADR review)

100-399321

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-339321-NR page 2

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL 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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\_\_\_\_\_ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-399321-413

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X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 8/31/65

FROM :

SAC, NEWARK (100-40295) (RUC)

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS - MMI  
(OO: New York)

Re Newark letter to Bureau 7/16/65.

Referenced letter enclosed a photograph of [REDACTED] for possible identification as one of the individuals responsible for subject's murder.

Review of subject file at Newark reflects no outstanding leads at this time and is therefore considered RUC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

EX - 107

DATE 12/21/83 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/20

REC-41

100-399321-414

1 808 RB

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
  - 2 - New York (105-8999) (RM)
  - 1 - Newark
- GRB:as  
(5)

3 SEP 1 1965

SUBV. CONTROL

F50  
57 SEP 17 1965

SAC, Newark [REDACTED]

9/7/65

Director, FBI [REDACTED]

1  
1  
1

SECURITY MATTER - NOI

Reurrep 8/17/65 concerning [REDACTED] and Bulet 6/1/65, captioned, "Nation of Islam, IS - NOI."

If you have not already done so, you should advise New York of the identity of [REDACTED] for its use in the Malcolm X Little case.

1 - 100-399321

[REDACTED] jec  
(7)

NOTE:

[REDACTED] Information developed previously that a Lieutenant from Newark NOI may have been involved in slaying of Malcolm Little on 2/21/65. At that time, it was determined that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Rerep does not indicate that New York has been advised of the identity of [REDACTED] for use in the Little case.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/89 BY 6269 JHE/wes/dld

DUPLICATE YELLOW

100-399321-

NOT RECORDED

174 SEP 8 1965

240  
38  
06 SEP 9 1965

140-10  
7/10/65  
U. S. GOV. 37

2010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 25, 1965

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

The New York Office has advised that Rueben M. Francis, who is being sought by the New York City Police Department after failure to appear in court, is possibly residing in [redacted] Mexico. New York requests authority to advise the New York City Police Department of the address at which Francis could possibly be located.

Malcolm X Little, leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, a Black Nationalist organization, was murdered on February 21, 1965. The New York City Police Department has arrested three individuals suspected of being the assassins. In addition, the police arrested Rueben M. Francis, who was with Little at the time of his murder and shot and wounded one of the assassins. Francis was charged with felonious assault and was released on \$10,000 bond. Francis was scheduled to appear in court on May 20, 1965 in connection with this charge. He did not appear and the New York City Police Department has been attempting to determine his whereabouts ever since.

The charge for which Francis is being sought comes within the scope of the Unlawful Flight Statute and the New York Office previously has discussed with police officers handling this matter the possibility of seeking Bureau assistance under the Unlawful Flight Statute. While the New York Office is receiving a continuing flow of unlawful flight cases from the New York City Police Department, there has been a hesitation in asking our assistance in this particular case. The New York Office

Enclosure

- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips
- 1 - Mr. Rosack

Classified by 4855  
Exempt from GDS Category  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

TPR:JBE:dln  
(11)

50 SEP 17 1965

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONTINUED - OVER  
Classified by 2267 JHE/EC/CONTROL  
Declassify on: OADR  
INT. SEC.

REC 1  
100-399321-415

SEP 2 1965

Memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan  
RE: MALCOLM X LITTLE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

advises that officers responsible for the Francis case have been convinced that Francis has been hiding out in the New York City area. We have received similar reports; however, the current information clearly indicates Francis has fled to Mexico. The New York Office on August 24, 1965, advised that with the current information indicating subject is out of the country, the New York City Police Department in all likelihood would request Bureau assistance under the Unlawful Flight Statute.

If a Federal unlawful flight warrant is obtained, our [redacted] would very likely be able to have Francis deported to the United States where he could be taken in custody by Bureau Agents.

With this in mind the New York Office is being instructed to contact the New York City Police Department and, utilizing the current information indicating subject has fled the country, fully explore the possibility of obtaining a Federal unlawful flight warrant.

ACTION:

There is attached for approval an airtel instructing the New York Office, based on information that subject has fled to Mexico, to fully explore the possibility of obtaining a Federal unlawful flight warrant concerning subject Francis.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



8-25-65

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Gale  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Phillips  
1 - Mr. Rosack

airtel

To: SAC, New York (105-8999)

From: Director, FBI (100-399321)

MALCOLM X LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

Reurtele 8-23-65 and telephone call to New York  
Office 8-24-65.

Since information has now been received indicating  
Rueben M. Francis is in Mexico, you should, utilizing this  
information, fully explore with appropriate officials of the  
New York City Police Department the possibility of obtaining  
a Federal unlawful flight warrant concerning him.

In the event there is a continuing reluctance on  
the part of the New York City Police Department to request  
FBI assistance under the Unlawful Flight Statute in this  
matter, you should furnish the Bureau full details.

This should be promptly handled and the Bureau  
advised of results.

NOTE: See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan dated 8-25-65, same  
caption, prepared by TPR:JBE:dln:lam.

MAILED 25

AUG 25 1965

COMM-FBI

5 SEP 2 1965

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1 - New York

TPR:JBE:dln:lam

50 SEP 17 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 2269 JHE/WES/KED

F B I

Date September 2, 1965

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority) *WPM*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
 FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (105-5591) (RUC)  
 RE : MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka.  
 IS - MMI  
 OO: New York.

Re Philadelphia airtel dated 6/15/65, enclosing copies of a letterhead memorandum.

Re Los Angeles airtel dated 2/4/65, enclosing a letterhead memorandum relating the circumstances of LITTLE's trip to Los Angeles, California, on 1/28/65. This airtel was entitled "Organization of Afro-American Unity, IS - Misc." Copies were sent to New York, Chicago and Philadelphia.

Enclosed for the Bureau, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia are 8, 2, 4, and 4 copies respectively of a letterhead memorandum.

1808 RB

1808 RB

- ⑤ - Bureau (Encs. 8) (Air Mail - Registered)  
 (3 - 100-399321)  
 (1 - 25-330971) (NOI)  
 (1 - 100-441765) (MMI)  
 2 - Chicago (Encs. 2) (Air Mail - Registered)  
 (2 - 100-35636)  
 4 - New York (Encs. 4) (Air Mail - Registered)  
 (2 - 105-8999) (LITTLE)  
 (1 - 100-152759) (MMI)  
 (1 - 105-7809) (NOI)  
 4 - Philadelphia (Encs. 4) (Air Mail - Registered)  
 (1 - 100-39918) (LITTLE)  
 (1 - 100-47471) (MMI)  
 (1 - 25-26094) (NOI)  
 (1 - [REDACTED])

1 - Los Angeles (105-5591)

LHE:HMS  
(16)REC-31  
EX 105

25 SEP 6 1965

INT. SEC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12/21/83 BY 84672/ELW/ED

Approved: *[Signature]*  
 50 SEP 5 1965 Agent in Charge

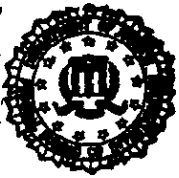
Sent

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 105-330971-26

LA 105-5591

b7C The information in the enclosed letterhead memorandum regarding the interview with Los Angeles attorney Mrs. GLADYS TOWLES ROOT was previously furnished the Bureau in the report of SA [REDACTED] dated 4/23/65.

Los Angeles airtel to the Bureau dated 8/30/65, reported the information about the paternity suit being off calendar.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Los Angeles, California  
September 2, 1965

MALCOLM K. LITTLE

Reference the letterhead memorandum dated June 15, 1965, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, wherein Malcolm Little was identified as the former leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (see appendix) and Elijah Muhammad as the leader of the Nation of Islam (see appendix).

"The "Chicago Tribune" which is a daily newspaper published in Chicago, Illinois on February 25, 1965, reported an interview with Los Angeles Attorney Mrs. Gladys Towles Root who represented clients who filed the paternity suits in Los Angeles against Elijah Muhammad. Root disclosed on February 24, 1965, that Malcolm X, the Negro Nationalist Leader slain Sunday in New York, planned to be a witness against Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader in the two paternity suits. Malcolm X was reported to be the intermediary for Elijah Muhammad in trying to settle out of court the claims of the two women plaintiffs before he split with Muhammad. Mrs. Root reiterated that after the paternity suits were filed on July 2, 1964, Muhammad had tried to induce an assistant to assume responsibility for the paternity so that Muhammad could keep his spiritual image on a high plain in the eyes of his followers. She stated that Malcolm X had stated he had intended to tell all of this in court when the cases came to trial and he also said, "If these cases are not hurried, I'll never be alive." The two women who filed paternity suits were reportedly residing together and they moved twice since the suits were filed, according to the lawyer. She said that there had recently been an explosion at the dwelling next to the one occupied by the two plaintiffs. Mrs. Root explained she had not attempted to get an early trial set for the two cases because the women had been receiving \$100 a month support for each child. The money was described as having come "from the church" by the attorney, and she said that she could not define the source of the money more specifically. It was developed during the interview that the paternity actions may have to be transferred to Chicago because that is where Muhammad has property in his own name.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/21/83 BY 826 JHE/WEA

ENCLOSURE

100-399321-417

MALCOLM K. LITTLE

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

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

1. MALCOLM K. LITTLE.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE) former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

MALCOLM X. LITTLE

2

APPENDIX CONTINUED

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

A second confidential source advised on October 20, 1964, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which is also headed by MALCOLM X.

APPENDIX

MALCOLM K. LITTLE

1

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam," (NOI) and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the NOI; Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

APPENDIX CONTINUED



MALCOLM K. LITTLE

2

APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

On May 7, 1964, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

APPENDIX

MALCOLM X. LITTLE

1

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

On August 19, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

APPENDIX

**SECRET****FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

REPORTING OFFICE <b>NEW YORK</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE <b>9/8/65</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>7/15 - 8/20/65</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b>	TYPED BY <b>cl</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>67C</b>	
		IS-MMI <b>CONFIDENTIAL</b>	

**REFERENCE:** Report of SA **[REDACTED]** dated 1/20/65,  
at New York.

CC TO: Post Office  
REQ. REC'D 8-25-70  
SEP 4 1970  
ANS.  
BY: C. W. [REDACTED] AEL

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF **DMT-DEC**  
DATE **5/18/71**

**ADMINISTRATIVE**

In view of the fact that the subject was shot and killed, this case is being closed. Subject's name has been taken from the Security Index and the Key Figure List.

Classified by **E26TJE/WEB/20**  
Declassify on: **OADR 12/21/83**

APPROVED **[Signature]** SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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- ④ - Bureau (100-399321) (RM)  
3 - New York (105-8999)

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**100-399321-418** REC-46

15 SEP 10 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by **6855**  
Exempt from GDS, Category **2**  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
**3/13/77 DML/GSR**

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency	<b>Yongley</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>CIA</b>	
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	<b>9-17-65</b>			
How Fwd.	<b>RS</b>	<b>RS</b>	<b>RS</b>	
By	<b>WHE/CA</b>			

Notations

**INT. SEC.**  
**Bates**

**SUB. CONTROL**  
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REC-35  
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50 OCT 4 1965

**CONFIDENTIAL****SECRET**

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Although the subject is dead, his activities up until the time of his death are being reported for intelligence purposes in view of the fact he had been in contact with foreign Governments for the purpose of embarrassing the United States Government on its racial problems.

Since the subject is dead, an extra copy of this report is not being furnished to the Bureau for dissemination to Secret Service. No local dissemination is being made to Secret Service at New York City. Secret Service has been advised of MALCOLM X's death by separate communication.

b7C SA [REDACTED] reviewed MALCOLM X's appearance on the "Kups Show", on WBBB TV on 1/30/65, at Chicago, Illinois.

The following information was not set out in the attached report in view of the nature of the information which could not be verified by other [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED] (S)

b1 [REDACTED] (S)

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Confidential in Department  
of State, Airgram dated  
5/2/65, captioned "MUSLIM  
WORLD LEAGUE REPRESENTATIVE  
TO VISIT US TO INVESTIGAT  
BLACK MUSLIMS" received from  
Bureau, 6/5/64

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] X u

[REDACTED]

File Number Where Located

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105-8999-5569

100-152759-992

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

67D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CLASSIFICATION

67D

This report is classified "Secret" because of information furnished by [REDACTED] which was classified "Secret."

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**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

~~**S E C R E T**~~

Copy to:

Report of: SA JOHN C. SULLIVAN  
Date: 9/8/65

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File #: 105-8999

Bureau File #: 100-399321

Title: MALCOLM K. LITTLE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY-  
MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

Synopsis: LITTLE, formerly known as MALCOLM X, leader of the  
MMI, was shot and killed while addressing an OAAU public  
rally in the Audubon Ballroom on 2/21/65, at New York City.  
Three members of the NOI were arrested by the NYCPD in  
connection with the death of MALCOLM X. MALCOLM X was  
buried in Ferncliff Cemetery, Hartsdale, New York, on  
2/27/65. Information pertaining to MALCOLM X's foreign  
travel and association with Foreign Governments set forth. *7/8/65*

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~~**S E C R E T**~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.**

*12/6/83*  
Classified by *8269 JHE/wes*  
Declassify on: OADR



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DETAILS:

Characterizations of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU), and the Nation of Islam (NOI), and the Nation of Islam #7 (NOI #7) are included in the Appendix of this report.

I. ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X

b7D  
On February 21, 1965, at 3:10 PM, [REDACTED] advised that MALCOLM X had just been shot in the Audubon Ballroom, New York City, while addressing an OAAU public rally. [REDACTED] that REUBEN X FRANCIS, one of MALCOLM's officers, fired back at those shooting at MALCOLM X. He stated that a Negro male was captured outside the Audubon Ballroom immediately after the shooting.

b7D  
b7C  
[REDACTED] advised Special Agent (SA) [REDACTED] on February 21, 1965, that at approximately 3:10 PM, this date, he received a call at the station that a homicide was committed at the Audubon Ballroom, 654 West 166th Street, New York City.

b7D  
He stated that [REDACTED] advised the same date that MALCOLM X, Negro, male, age 39, of Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, Seventh Avenue and 125th Street, New York City, while on the stage of the Audubon Ballroom, was shot and killed by unknown persons. [REDACTED] stated that MALCOLM X was pronounced dead on arrival by Dr. J. A. COLLINS at Vanderbilt Clinic, Presbyterian Hospital, 168th Street and Broadway, New York City, on February 21, 1965. [REDACTED] stated that the NYCPD determined that the shooting of MALCOLM X occurred at about 3:10 PM, February 21, 1965.

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On February 21, 1965, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] both of the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that MALCOLM X was shot that afternoon during a rally of the OAAU at the Audubon Ballroom. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was on patrol on Broadway when he heard shots coming from the Audubon Ballroom. He immediately proceeded in that direction where he saw people coming out of the said ballroom shouting that MALCOLM X had been shot. Others were shouting, "Don't let him get away." [REDACTED] at that time, arrested a person identified as "THOMAS HAGAN" as he was running out of the Ballroom. When arrested, HAGAN had on him a .45 caliber automatic clip with four rounds. He had been shot in the left leg.

[REDACTED] further advised SA [REDACTED] on February 21, 1965, that the [REDACTED] obtained two witnesses immediately after the shooting, namely [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] gave statements in which [REDACTED] saw HAGAN with a gun in his hand while MALCOLM X was on the stage speaking. They said MALCOLM X suddenly called out "Hold it" and after this, [REDACTED] dropped to the floor and did not actually see MALCOLM X shot. They stated before they dropped to the floor, they saw HAGAN with a gun in his hand pointing it toward MALCOLM X. The next thing they saw was HAGAN trying to run out of the Ballroom with a gun in his hand. According to [REDACTED] as HAGAN ran out, one of MALCOLM's group shot three times at HAGAN with an automatic pistol. HAGAN did not have the pistol on him when he was arrested outside the Ballroom.

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b7D [REDACTED]  
b7C [REDACTED] who was sitting in the front row in the Audubon Ballroom, was shot in the foot during the shooting spree in which MALCOLM X was shot. He also stated that [REDACTED] was also hit during the shooting spree in the Ballroom and both [REDACTED] were treated at Columbia Presbyterian Hospital, New York City.

b7D [REDACTED] 12 gauge sawed-off double-barrel shotgun manufactured by J. C. Higgins, Model 1017, also bearing the number 5100. [REDACTED] upon examination, that the shotgun had been fired and left at the scene.

b7D [REDACTED] At approximately 7:45 PM. on February 21, 1965. [REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] that HAGAN was being detained in the prison ward at Bellevue Hospital, under guard. He stated that HAGAN had one bullet in him which entered his left thigh and shattered the thigh bone. He stated the hospital plans to put HAGAN's left leg in traction and that the bullet would stay in the leg for about two weeks until such time as the bone would be healed enough to permit an operation.

b7D [REDACTED] On February 21, 1965, [REDACTED] contacted the New York Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and stated that he had one of the pistols used to kill MALCOLM X. He stated he was, at that time, [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED] and asked that Bureau Agents meet him at the address as soon as possible. [REDACTED] when contacted the same date by SAS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was in the back of the Audubon Ballroom, the same date, to hear MALCOLM X speak. He stated he is a member of the OAAU. He said MALCOLM X was just introduced and began to speak when some people began to scream somewhere about eight rows from the front of the auditorium. He said people in that area began

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to move away and MALCOLM X put up his hands as though to quiet the people down and was heard to say "Keep your seats." Just then, according to [REDACTED] shots rang out, [REDACTED] could not see who was doing the shooting. After the shots were fired, [REDACTED] the persons shooting headed for the exit. Some of the people in the audience tried to stop them by throwing chairs at them or in their way. At this time, two of MALCOLM X's men were shooting at the assailants as they were trying to leave the Ballroom. [REDACTED] said the two men involved in the shooting passed him, but as the other two men involved were running toward the exit, one turned to fire back at MALCOLM X's men. As this man turned to run through the exit, [REDACTED] threw a "body block" into him, knocking him down the stairs, at which time, this person dropped a .45 caliber pistol. [REDACTED] picked up the gun and attempted to shoot the man he knocked down as he was running down the stairs, but the gun jammed and he ran out of the building. [REDACTED] checked the gun and noticed that three rounds were still in the clip. [REDACTED] then turned over to Special Agents of the FBI, a .45 caliber automatic pistol, serial number 335055, containing a clip with three rounds of ammunition.

At 10:15 PM. February 21, 1965 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] came to the Office of the FBI, at which time they were furnished a .45 caliber automatic pistol which was obtained by Agents of the FBI [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HAGAN, who was arrested immediately after the shooting of MALCOLM X, has been charged with homicide and that REUBEN X FRANCIS, a member of MALCOLM X's group, was charged with felonious assault and possession of a deadly weapon.

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b7D [REDACTED] has a witness who identified FRANCIS as the person firing back at assailants of MALCOLM X. He said FRANCIS was believed to have fired a shot which struck HAGAN in the leg. He said FRANCIS is suspected of being the person who fired a .32 caliber pistol, which has never been recovered [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] it is estimated that up to four persons may be involved in the killing of MALCOLM X.

b7D [REDACTED] an autopsy performed on MALCOLM X reflected that he had ten bullet wounds in his chest, thigh and ankle plus four bullet creases in the chest and thigh. The autopsy located one nine millimeter slug and one .45 caliber slug and several shotgun pellets in the body of MALCOLM X.

b7D [REDACTED] examined the Audubon Ballroom after the shooting, they found a sawed-off double-barrel shotgun wrapped in a green suit coat. In the suit coat pocket was found a key for a Yale lock, a package of Camel cigarettes and an empty eyeglass case bearing the name of an optometrist, "M M. FINE, Main Street, Flushing." The shotgun contained two discharge Remington express single 0 buckshot shells and there were indications that the gun was recently fired.

b7D [REDACTED] in the Ballroom was found three .45 caliber shells and slugs, six nine millimeter shells and two slugs, and three .32 caliber slugs and ten pieces of lead, presumably fired from the shotgun.

b7C The FBI Identification Division, on February 22, 1965, identified prints of the person arrested in the shooting of MALCOLM X as TALMAGE HAYER who, up until then, was known to the [REDACTED] only as THOMAS HAGAN. [REDACTED]

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b7C [REDACTED]

b7D  
b7C [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

MALCOLM X arrived at the Audubon Ballroom, February 21, 1965, in a white 1965 Cadillac. MALCOLM X was surrounded by his bodyguards and was then escorted into the front corridor of the Audubon Ballroom and then to the stage. When MALCOLM X began to speak, a disturbance occurred between two men up in the front near the stage. MALCOLM X's bodyguards started to move toward the two men causing a disturbance when MALCOLM X said "Hold it." Without hesitation, two men occupying the front seats, left side, middle aisle, looking toward the stage, got into a crouched position and fired several shots in the direction of MALCOLM X. The fire "spitting" from the guns "crashed" into the chest of MALCOLM X and he fell backwards as if knocked down by a sudden powerful force. Still in the crouched position, the gunmen hastily moved toward the exit in the back of the hall, stepping over persons who were lying on the floor. It is believed that approximately 20 shots in all were fired during the shooting.

b7D [REDACTED]

On February 23, 1965, [REDACTED]

b7D  
b7C Fingerprints were found on the clip of the .45 caliber pistol which was picked up [REDACTED] at the Audubon Ballroom the day MALCOLM X was killed and was turned over to the FBI.

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On February 26, 1965, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NOI member, [REDACTED] was arrested at  
[REDACTED] Avenue, [REDACTED] New York, was arrested at  
3:00 AM, same date, by the NYCPD, as one of the  
assassins in the killing of MALCOLM X on February 21,  
1965. [REDACTED] witnesses,  
including [REDACTED] placed [REDACTED] in the  
Audubon Ballroom at the time that MALCOLM X was shot,  
and he was identified as one of the persons who actually  
shot at MALCOLM X.

On February 27, 1965, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] identified TALMAGE  
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] both now in the custody  
of the NYCPD, as assassins in the killing of MALCOLM X.  
[REDACTED] was previously arrested in January, 1965, for  
shooting a Correctional Officer who had broken away  
from the NOI and, at the time he was arrested for  
killing MALCOLM X, he was on \$10,000.00 bail.

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b7D

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

N.Y.

b7D

[REDACTED] identified NOI  
member, [REDACTED] as one of the assassins of MALCOLM X. [REDACTED] is being held as a  
material witness with bail at \$50,000.00. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] said other witnesses previously failed to identify  
[REDACTED] as even being in the Ballroom when MALCOLM X  
was killed. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] was arrested between 3:00 and 4:00 PM, on March 3, 1965,  
by the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was pre-  
viously arrested with [REDACTED] in January,  
1965, for the shooting [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] was out on \$10,000.00 bail for the  
shooting [REDACTED] when he was  
arrested as an assassin of MALCOLM X.

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b7D [REDACTED] from photographs as the man who was [REDACTED] and said, "Get your hands out of my pocket", in the Audubon Ballroom, just before MALCOLM X was killed. [REDACTED] cannot recognize [REDACTED] from photographs as being in the Audubon Ballroom on February 21, 1965.

b7D On March 4, 1965, [REDACTED] stated that, as of this date, HAYER, BUTLER and JOHNSON, all arrested for the killing of MALCOLM X, have refused to furnish any information other than their name and age.

b7D On March 8, 1965, [REDACTED] that OAAU member, [REDACTED] was interviewed by the [REDACTED] on the same date. According to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] shot MALCOLM X and also observed [REDACTED] in the Audubon Ballroom the day MALCOLM X was killed. [REDACTED] run out the side exit after the shooting.

b7D [REDACTED] when arrested denied being in the Audubon Ballroom on February 21, 1965. [REDACTED] said after the shooting he picked up the [REDACTED] used to kill MALCOLM X and gave it to [REDACTED]. He said he also picked up a German luger pistol and gave it to another unknown person to hold until the police arrived.

b7D [REDACTED] German luger was never turned over to the Police Department and this gun could probably account for the nine millimeter slug in MALCOLM's body. [REDACTED]

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On March 10, 1965, [REDACTED] advised that persons interviewed by the [REDACTED] particularly OAAU and MMI members, who were present in the Audubon Ballroom when MALCOLM X was shot, seem to have the same "clear cut" story that they were in the Ballroom when MALCOLM X was shot and when the shots rang out, they fell to the floor and never got a look at the assassins. [REDACTED] stated that the [REDACTED] learned that [REDACTED] also knew [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] has instructed members of the MMI and the OAAU to cooperate with the Police Department but only say that they fell on the floor when the shooting started and cannot identify the person who shot MALCOLM X.

[REDACTED] is now shifting their investigation toward officials of the MMI, particularly toward [REDACTED]. He said witnesses have stated that, at the time of MALCOLM X's death, [REDACTED] supposedly MALCOLM X's trusted friend and associate, showed very little concern for MALCOLM X and did not even come over to look or assist MALCOLM X who was lying on the stage of the Audubon Ballroom dying. In reference to [REDACTED] that information has been received that [REDACTED] the day he was shot and has been seen in the Harlem area [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] also stated that on March 10, 1965, the New York County Grand Jury handed down first degree murder indictments in the killing of MALCOLM X on February 21, 1965, against TALMAGE HAYER, NORMAN 3X BUTLER and THOMAS 15X JOHNSON.

"The New York Times", a local daily newspaper, dated March 11, 1965, contained an article on these indictments.

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A. Death Certificate:

b7c On March 18, 1965, IC [REDACTED] reviewed Death Certificate number 4133, at the New York City Department of Public Health. This certificate reflected that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), also known as AL HAJJ MALIK EL SHABAZZ, 23-11 97th Street, Queens, New York, born May 19, 1925, at Nebraska, Father, EARL LITTLE, Mother, LOUISE HELEN, died on February 21, 1965. The Death Certificate reflected that on February 21, 1965, Dr. MILTON HELPERN, M.D., Chief Medical Examiner, City of New York, certified that the death of MALCOLM X was caused by multiple shotgun slugs and bullet wounds of the chest, heart and aorta.

B. Burial of MALCOLM X

b7D [REDACTED] Islamic funeral services were held for MALCOLM X at the Church of God in Christ, New York City, on February 27, 1965, and he was buried at Ferncliff Cemetery, Hartsdale, New York, on that same date.

II. RELATIONSHIP WITH SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

b7D [REDACTED] lectured at an affair held on [REDACTED] at Brooklyn, New York, where he discussed the Civil Rights Movement as one aspect of Revolutionary Action and as a struggle against American colonialism at home. [REDACTED] after the lecture, held a discussion period and during this session, remarked that "MALCOLM X was on the way to becoming a 'good Marxist' and that perhaps that was why he was murdered."

b7D [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED]  
(C)  
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A. Affiliation with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

The SWP is being designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

At an OAAU public rally held at the Audubon Ballroom at Broadway and 166th Street, New York City, on December 20, 1964, MALCOLM X was asked by a member of the audience if "The Militant" newspaper was his paper since it gave him so much publicity. MALCOLM X commented that it was not, but that it was a good paper and he urged everyone to buy it and read it.

b7D [REDACTED]

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the SWP.

At a SWP-New York Local meeting held on December 23, 1964, in New York City, it was announced that MALCOLM X would be the feature speaker at a SWP Forum scheduled for January 7, 1965, and will speak on the topic of "Prospects for Freedom."

It was also announced at this meeting that 30 copies of "The Young Socialist", a Young Socialist Alliance publication, was sold at the MALCOLM X meeting held the previous Sunday in New York City.

b7D [REDACTED]

A characterization of the SWP-New York Local and the Young Socialist Alliance is attached in the Appendix section of this report.

MALCOLM X was the feature speaker at a SWP Militant Labor Forum held in New York City on January 7, 1965. During this speech, MALCOLM X commented that 1965 would be the year of Negro military action, especially in the South.

b7D [REDACTED]

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b7D At a meeting of the SWP-New York Local, held on [REDACTED] in New York City, a discussion on the assassination of MALCOLM X was held and it was stated that several "comrades" were in the audience at the time of the shooting. Plans were then made to sponsor a SWP memorial service for MALCOLM X.

b7D At a SWP meeting held on [REDACTED] in New York City, it was stated that the closest radical group to the OAAU is the SWP, as evidenced by MALCOLM X's support of "The Militant", the SWP publication and MALCOLM X's statement that "The Militant" was the "only newspaper that told the complete truth about him." It was commented that the SWP supports the "right Civil Rights group" by lending its support to the OAAU, and it believes that the SWP will "reap fruit from this decision."

b1 b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

MALCOLM X spoke at a SWP Militant Labor Forum, held on January 7, 1965, in New York City. At this forum, he stated that the miracle of 1964 was that they (Harlem Negroes) restrained themselves. He then went on to state that there "will be blood and a lot of it downtown and uptown." MALCOLM X commented that he did not like non-violent liberals. "I like the other kind." According to MALCOLM X, there will be violence

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in 1965. He went on to say that people are prepared to go to Mississippi for the purpose of helping the Negroes there to register and vote. He indicated that the thing to do is to have people (Muslims) in Mississippi who would be "invisible and would melt into the population, and you could not see them, but you could feel them." MALCOLM X stated that the Mau Mau was the first liberation movement in Africa and the Mau Mau should be in the United States.

b7D [REDACTED]

On March 5, 1965, the SWP sponsored a Memorial service for MALCOLM X at 116 University Place, New York City.

b7D [REDACTED]

At Los Angeles, California

b7D At a SWP meeting held on [REDACTED] it was commented by an SWP member that " we have established a good relationship with MALCOLM X and his organization since he left the NOI; that some of our comrades have been attending MALCOLM X's weekly meetings and he, MALCOLM X, has spoken at our forums." This SWP member went on to say that the SWP also has better relations with the GHETTO and had been having much success with "our press" in these areas.

b7D [REDACTED]

At a SWP meeting held on [REDACTED] in Los Angeles, California, it was stated that the National Office of the SWP was called by the Executive Committee of the SWP-Los Angeles Local, in reference to the assassination of MALCOLM X. It was declared that the purpose of the call was to find out what line of action the Party (SWP) will follow on this matter since over the past few months, some of our comrades in the Central Office came to know MALCOLM X very well. It was also remarked that a SWP conference was held with MALCOLM X about a week ago at which time, MALCOLM X

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stated that he was just plain tired. The conference attended by MALCOLM X was for the purpose of discussing the publishing of some of his recent speeches and addresses to sell to the publishers, and plans had been made to meet MALCOLM X again at a future date.

b7D [REDACTED]

A characterization of the SWP-Los Angeles Local is attached to the Appendix section of this report.

At Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

b7D On [REDACTED] SWP held a meeting at the Hotel Philadelphia, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at which time, [REDACTED] representing the MMI, was the featured speaker. He spoke on the depression of Negroes by Whites and claimed that an "invisible power" was responsible for the death of MALCOLM X. He also stated that when a person is interviewed by the Police or the FBI, "You should always give them wrong information. If you are interviewed by two men, try to work one against the other, and then contact their office, and complain about one of the men. This way, you can pick your own policeman, get to know them, and then give them misinformation so that they will get a bad record." He further stated that the SWP paper, "The Militant", is the only paper in America to print truthfully about what MALCOLM X said. b7D [REDACTED] went on to state that MALCOLM X died an honorable death and if he were to die, he would like to die like MALCOLM X.

b7D [REDACTED]

A characterization of the SWP-Philadelphia Local is attached in the Appendix section of this report.

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At Seattle, Washington

[REDACTED] the SWP-Seattle Branch, held a memorial meeting for MALCOLM X, at Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Avenue NW, Seattle, Washington.

[REDACTED]

A characterization of the SWP-Seattle Branch is attached in the Appendix section of this report.

"The Militant", dated 2/8/65, Page 3, contained an article captioned "Radio Interview with MALCOLM X". The article indicated that HARRY RING, Militant Staff Writer, who has been writing a series of news commentaries over Radio Station WBAI-FM in New York, devoted his entire program of January 28, 1965, to an interview with MALCOLM X. Excerpts from this interview follow:

RING stated to MALCOLM X "Let me ask you a question about a problem that disturbs many White supporters of the Freedom Now Movement. Why do you reject the concept of non-violence?"

MALCOLM X stated, "Well, we think that when non-violence is taught to the Klu Klux Klan, the White Citizens Council and these other elements that are inflicting extreme brutality against blacks in this country, then we would accept it. If we are dealing with a non-violent enemy, then we would be non-violent, too. But as long as our people in this country have to face this continued brutality on the part of the racist element in the North as well in the South, then we do not think we should be called upon to be non-violent when they are non-violent, we will get non-violent."

The Klu Klux Klan is designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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RING: "A week or so ago, Police Commissioner MURPHY asserted that the recent warning of danger of an outbreak in Harlem could provide the fuel for such an outbreak. I know that you are one of those who recently made such a warning. What would you say about that?"

MALCOLM X: "Well, Commissioner MURPHY's attitude is one of the things primarily responsible for much of the ill feelings among the races and especially in the Black communities like Harlem..."

"His attitude is the same as the American attitude towards the existence of China. The general American attitude is that Americans are supposed to pretend that 700,000,000 Chinese do not exist, and that a little island off the coast of China is China. Well now, Commissioner MURPHY has this same attitude towards the conditions that exist in the Black community."

RING: "You have said that your attitude on many questions has changed in the past years. How about your attitude toward the established Civil Rights Organizations?"

MALCOLM X: "I'm for whatever gets results. I don't go for any organization be it. Civil Rights, or any other kind that has to compromise with the power structure and has to rely on certain elements within the power structure for their financing, and which puts them in a position to be influenced and controlled by the power structure itself. I'm for anything that they are involved in that gets meaningful results for the masses of our people."

RING: "But would you support concrete action by these organizations if you feel that they go in the right direction?"

MALCOLM X: "Yes, the OAAU will support fully and without compromise any action by any group that is designed to get meaningful immediate results."

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B. Affiliation with the May 2nd Committee

A characterization of the May 2nd Committee is attached in the Appendix Section in this report.

b7C MALCOLM X attended a May 2nd Committee sponsored affair "On the Congo", held December 14, 1964, in New York City. [REDACTED] was one of the featured speakers at this affair.

b7D [REDACTED]

III. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OAAU AND MMI

MALCOLM X was the founder and Minister of the MMI and founder and Chairman of the OAAU until his assassination on February 21, 1965, at an OAAU rally in New York City.

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D MALCOLM X attended three meetings and/or affairs of the OAAU in [REDACTED] in New York City.

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D MALCOLM X attended five meetings and/or affairs of the OAAU from [REDACTED] in New York City.

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D MALCOLM X attended five meetings and/or affairs of the OAAU from [REDACTED] in New York City.

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b7D [REDACTED] MALCOLM X spoke at a MMI meeting held on [REDACTED] in New York City.

b7D [REDACTED]

IV. AFFILIATION WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

A characterization of RAM is attached to the Appendix Section of this report.

b7D [REDACTED] a copy of a four-page memorandum [REDACTED] from a RAM official in New York City. This memorandum was entitled "Malcolm Lives", and bore the subtitle "Analysis of the Assassination". The last page of this memorandum indicates that it is published by "RAM-Revolutionary Action Movement".

This memorandum states that MALCOLM X had become a threat to "Charlie" (the white man) when he broke with the NOI and made his African trips. This threat was based on his growing influence in Africa and Asia, all of which was reason for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to want MALCOLM X to be assassinated.

The memorandum describes the burning of MALCOLM X's house as the "set up" which would make it look like MALCOLM X and the NOI were fighting each other, thus creating a motive for the assassination.

The memorandum discussed the assassination of MALCOLM X and described it as "well planned" and indicated that "Negro CIA Agents-hired killers" were in the audience.

This memorandum stated that the meaning of the assassination of MALCOLM X is that whenever a black man attacks the "white" power structure, he will be assassinated, jailed, or forced into exile. The memorandum further stated that the assassination of MALCOLM X shows that either black people or the white American government will be destroyed.

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The memorandum ended with the following phrase:

"Black Soul Brothers and Souls Sisters:  
Unite or Perish! Keep on Pushin!"

V. NOI ATTITUDE TOWARDS MALCOLM X

The November 8, 1964 edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York City, contained an article on page 218 which reflected that NOI officials in New York had denounced MALCOLM X, who was then on a tour to Mecca. The NOI officials described MALCOLM X as a "self-serving hypocrite consumed by a passion for personal power" over America's twenty million Negroes. They further stated "We only want MALCOLM to stop attacking ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, as he did from Mecca when he called him a religious faker. If he doesn't, we will fight him as hard as he fights us."

The following open telegram was dispatched December 7, 1964, by Captain Raymond Sharrieff of the Fruit of Islam of the Nation of Islam in North America to the former Malcolm X, defected from the Muslim movement, according to December 12, 1964, edition of "The Crusader", page three:

"Mr. Malcolm: We hereby officially warn you that the Nation of Islam shall no longer tolerate your scandalizing the name of our leader and teacher the Honorable Elijah Muhammad regardless of where such scandalizing has been."

Signed: "Captain Raymond Sharrieff, the Nation of Islam in North America."

"The Crusader" is a weekly newspaper published at 6429 South Park, Chicago, Illinois. It regularly features articles by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the Messenger of Allah, entitled "Mr. Muhammad Speaks."

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An article appeared in the "New York Courier", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, of January 16, 1965, page 1, column 2, which was captioned "Malcolm Insane, Says Brother and Elijah." This article reflected that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and PHILBERT X, MALCOLM X's brother, both criticized MALCOLM X and referred to him as a "hypocrite." This article reflected that PHILBERT X described MALCOLM as a victim of a mental illness and that he had falsely charged MUHAMMAD's family with seeking his ouster from the NOI. PHILBERT X was quoted as stating: "Unnecessary loss of blood and life" could only result from those who follow the reckless efforts of MALCOLM X. N.Y.

The February 6, 1965, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," on page 1, contained an article which reflected that MALCOLM X claimed that the NOI was out to get him and stated "My death has been ordered by higher-ups in the movement." He claimed attempts had been made against him in Los Angeles and New York City. This article also reflected that MALCOLM X had obtained a Show Cause Order staying a scheduled eviction from his home pending an appeal of the eviction ruling. This ruling had been obtained by the NOI which owns his house in which MALCOLM X resides and into which he had moved when he was an NOI official. This article went on to state that NOI officials in New York City and Chicago have vehemently denied that they, or their supporters, have made attempts on MALCOLM's life.

#### VI. FOREIGN TRAVEL AND/OR ASSOCIATION WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

##### A. Canada

At an OAAU meeting held on January 5, 1965, in New York City, it was announced that MALCOLM X was at that time, making a speech in Canada.

b7D [REDACTED]

##### B. Egypt

The New York "Journal American", dated February 24, 1965, contained an article which stated that reports have been received that "MALCOLM was considering an offer to go to work for Egypt's GAMAL ABDEL NASSER as Head of the African section of Cairo's Foreign Ministry."

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"The suggestion of foreign involvement also came from JAMES FARMER, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), that the killing 'was an international plot in a political killing.'

"MALCOLM X first went into the Arab world both as a Muslim and as a Negro, frequented the United Nations although he had no accreditation and conferred often in the Delegate's Lounge with African and Asian Diplomats.

"He told friends not long ago that he had been offered the job with NASSER of the United Arab Republic, and also had been approved to work for President KWAME NKRUMAH of Ghana.

"The Ghanaian job reportedly was to be NKRUMAH's anti-American speech writer and political advisor on East-West relations.

"United Nations Security guards shrugged and said "We had orders not to challenge him when asked why MALCOLM X had such easy access to the International Forum.

"For a year prior to his murder, MALCOLM could be seen in the lounge dispersing his message about American's abuse of Afro-Americans and discussing Mississippi, Harlem and other Negro Ghettos.

"Added to the mystery of why the Muslim renegade admittedly broke, could travel to Cairo, Ghana, and Mecca, could afford a body guard, dressed in a well-tailored suit and sport manicured hands."

On January 22, 1965, in discussing a future trip, MALCOLM X did not specifically state that his reason for planning to return to Egypt in April, 1964, was to cause the Muslim leaders to repudiate ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, National Leader of the NOI, thus causing the NOI to crumble, but made a very strong inference that this was the purpose behind his trip.

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C. England

b1D MALCOLM X stated on [REDACTED] that while in London, England, he will speak with West Indians about racial discrimination in the United States.

b7D [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED] (S)

b1 [REDACTED] (S)

b1 [REDACTED] (S)

b1 [REDACTED] (S)

The New York "Herald Tribune", local New York daily newspaper, dated February 17, 1965, contained an article which stated "Conservative Member of Parliament, PETER GRIFFITHS, of the town of Smethwick, plans to ask Home Secretary, Sir FRANK SOSKICE, to ban MALCOLM X from touring Britain as an undesired alien. MALCOLM X visited Smethwick, and GRIFFITHS said that the racially tense community is 'an area where everyone should use the greatest restraint.'"

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The "New York Times", a local New York City newspaper, dated February 14, 1965, contained an article captioned "Aid to MALCOLM X by BBC Assailed." This article in part stated that the "British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is being criticized for taking 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.

"If colored people here continue to be oppressed, it may start up a bloody battle, MALCOLM X stated. He added that he will not wait until 'Fascists' had built the simple gas oven."

The "New York Amsterdam News", dated January 30, 1965, contained an article captioned, "MALCOLM To Speak Here and Abroad." The article stated in part that the "Militant Voice of MALCOLM X" will be heard on both sides of the Atlantic during the month of February.

"MALCOLM is to spend February 6, 7, and 8, in Europe speaking in London and Paris. The English appearance is to be sponsored by the Council of African Organizations and in France, the sponsor is the African and Afro-American Organizations. The European sponsors were described as 'African student organizations.'"

D. France

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b1 [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED]

"The New York Times", a local daily newspaper of New York, dated February 10, 1965, contained an article captioned, "MALCOLM X Barred by French Security." This article datelined London, February 9, stated "MALCOLM X, an American Black Nationalist Leader, was refused entry to France Today. He returned here and said he defiantly said 'I never go to any place where I am not wanted.'

"MALCOLM X flew to Paris today to speak to an Afro-American rally there, but French officials met him with a Government order saying his presence was undesirable. He was back in London four hours after he had left it.

"He said he had offered an English penny to French Security men at Orly Airport in Paris, to give to DE GAULLE because the French Government is worth less than a penny."

b1 [REDACTED]

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b7D [REDACTED] At a meeting of the OAAU held in New York City on [REDACTED] it was announced that MALCOLM X, who was then on a trip to Europe, had been denied admission to France as an "undesirable." A group which included the OAAU and MMI members, then made plans to picket the French Embassy in New York City, on February 12, 1965, if approval for the picketing could be obtained from MALCOLM X.

The proposed picket of the French Embassy in New York City on February 12, 1965, was later cancelled.

b7D [REDACTED]

E. Saudi Arabia

The November 8, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York City, contained an article on page 218, which reflected that MALCOLM X had been endorsed by the World Muslim Council (WMC) of Saudi Arabia. According to the article, the WMC was founded in 1962 and is the supreme religious body in the Muslim World. It is governed by a body of 23 leading scholars from major Muslim countries and its Headquarters are in Mecca.

b7D At an MMI meeting held at UNIA Hall, 2395 Eighth Avenue, New York City, [REDACTED] MALCOLM X spoke on the future of the MMI in the United States and indicated that he had to change or correct his own line about the white man. He stated that, while he was abroad, he came in contact with white Muslims and it was necessary for him to face and accept this fact. He further stated that we must learn to condemn a person for their deeds and not their color. He added that it is hard for him to say this because "you know how much I talk about him" (the white man). MALCOLM X further stated that

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there would have to be special training in this for his followers. He added that he can trust the MMI more than he can trust the OAAU, because the MMI knows how to take care of business.

b7D [REDACTED] is living with MALCOLM X and plans to hold Islamic meetings and teach Arabic at MMI meetings in New York City.

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b7D During May, 1964, [REDACTED] advised that SHAYKH MUHAMMAD SURUR al-SABBAN, former Finance Minister and now the President of the Muslim World League (MWL), Saudi, Arabia, had expressed great concern about the "Black Muslims" in the United States. The MWL wants to send a representative to the United States to investigate the controversial movement since the MWL is interested in helping Muslims everywhere and has the finances to do so. However, the MWL wants the recipients of their aid to be genuine Muslims and "not merchants of religion or distorters of the teachings of Islam." The MWL in July, 1964, chose SHAYKH AHMED HASSOUN for this investigative mission. HASSOUN was described as a man of culture who can speak English. (X)(u) per state 12/8/86

The January 28, 1965 edition of the "Herald Dispatch", a weekly Negro newspaper published in Los Angeles, California, contained an article which reflected that MALCOLM X had announced that SHAYKH AHMED HASSOUN has arrived in New York City to teach Islam to the MMI. HASSOUN was sent by Grand SHAYKH MUHAMMAD SURER al-SABBAN, Secretary General of the MWL, to "help MALCOLM X in his present efforts to correct the distorted image that the religion of Islam has been given by the hate groups in this country." The article indicated that MALCOLM X planned to open Mosques throughout the nation.

The February 6, 1965 edition of the "New York Courier", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contains on page 16, a photograph of MALCOLM X and HASSOUN. An article under the picture stated that HASSOUN arrived in New York City from Mecca to teach Islam to the MMI in Harlem.

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F. Tanzania

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[REDACTED]

G. United Nations

An article in the "New York Times", dated January 2, 1965, captioned "MALCOLM X Cites Role to United Nations Fight" The article stated as follows:

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"MALCOLM X said this week that he had prepared the political groundwork in the capitals of Africa for the recent concerted attack on American "racicism" in the debate on the Congo in 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 government 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."

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The December 5, 1964 edition of "The Philadelphia Independent" contained an article reflecting an exclusive interview with MALCOLM X after his return from a four month tour of Africa. The article indicated that during the interview MALCOLM X "had nothing but praise for Red China and its support of the Congolese Rebels." The article quoted MALCOLM X as stating "I don't call it Red China. There is only one China, and that is the China of MAO TSE TUNG. There are more than 700,000,000 Chinese and they all support the Congolese in the fight for independence."

According to this article, MALCOLM X stated that the United States Press had attempted to brand him as a convert to Chinese Communism because he has supported the Congo Rebels. MALCOLM X claimed that these attempts are "just another tactic aimed at smearing me and discrediting my views."

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I. Other Information of MALCOLM X's Association  
With Foreign Governments

JACK ANDERSON, broadcasting on Radio Station WINS, New York City, for DREW PEARSON, on January 24, 1965, stated that MALCOLM X, the American black nationalist leader, has been secretly contacting African Governments to strengthen the ties between Africa and American Negroes. According to ANDERSON, MALCOLM X is also expected to be a star attraction at the coming Afro-Asian conference in Algiers where he likely will join in the propoganda against his own country for its racial discrimination. Ironically, some of the most striated Anti-American voices will speak from countries that mistreat their own minorities.

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VII. MALCOLM X's ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS AND/OR  
AFFAIRS OUTSIDE THE NEW YORK AREA

A. Boston, Massachusetts

MALCOLM X participated in a Harvard University Forum on December 16, 1964.

He later appeared on the JERRY WILLIAMS Radio program, station WHEX, Boston, Massachusetts.

MALCOLM X's appearance at the Harvard University Forum and radio show fell into the format established by MALCOLM X in his public appearances in which he is accustomed to stating that nothing is gained by being non-violent and loving your brother and you fight violence with violence.

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

B. Rochester, New York

MALCOLM X was the principal speaker at a meeting held in the Corn Hill Methodist Church at Rochester, New York, on February 16, 1965. He opened his talk with a discussion of the black revolution in the United States, Africa, England, and France. He said the United States, England and France all have common problems. The African revolution was called a "New Mood" by MALCOLM X. He explained the Negro Militancy in the United States have frightened the white people. He said the United States Negroes will never understand the Negro problems if he only considers the local level, the Negro must take the world situation into consideration.

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He said the United States cannot justify the dropping of bombs in Asia. He then stated that he has established a Muslim Mosque in New York City, claiming it is based on the real Muslim religion, calling his organization Afro-American Unity, and their motto is "By any means necessary." He said "we believe in the right to fight for freedom since the Federal Government, whose hands are tied, has shown no willingness to protect the black man as illustrated by the bombings of churches and the murder of Negroes in the South. We must equip ourselves and we will equip ourselves for our fight for freedom", stated MALCOLM X.

b7D [REDACTED]

C. Chicago, Illinois

MALCOLM X arrived in Chicago, Illinois, on January 29, 1965, and departed January 31, 1965, for New York. While in Chicago, MALCOLM X taped a "Kups Show" at WBKB TV, Channel 7, Chicago.

b7D [REDACTED]

A Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) viewed, on January 30, 1965, the "Kups Show", a TV Panel type discussion show, over WBKB TV, Channel 7, in Chicago, Illinois, at which MALCOLM X appeared and was interviewed.

D. Detroit, Michigan

b7D [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] that MALCOLM X, on February 14, 1965, spoke at a public affair called the First Annual Dignity and Projection Award Ceremony, sponsored by the Afro-American Broadcasting and Recording Company in Detroit, Michigan.

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During his speech, MALCOLM stated that while he traveled to Alexandria, Egypt, he spoke to President Nasser, who he considers a brilliant man and "I can see why they are so afraid of him and they are afraid of him because they know he can cut off their oil. The only thing power respects is power and whenever you fight, a man who is in a position to put power against power, than that man is respected."

MALCOLM X went on to talk about his recent trips to Africa and stated that he had an opportunity to speak to the African leaders in Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, and other African countries.

E. Los Angeles, California

b7D [REDACTED] advised that MALCOLM X had arrived in Los Angeles, California, at 3:00 p.m. on January 28, 1965, aboard TWA Flight Number 9 from New York City. The Los Angeles Police were present at the airport because of an alleged threat against MALCOLM X. MALCOLM X had come to Los Angeles in connection with a paternity suit which had been filed against NOI leader ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

MALCOLM X left Los Angeles aboard TWA Flight 26 on January 29, 1965, en route to Chicago, Illinois. At the time of his departure, two NOI members were observed at the airport watching MALCOLM X. Due to this, he was placed aboard the plane unobserved and all luggage on the plane was checked.

b7D [REDACTED] MALCOLM X on the latter's flight from Los Angeles to Chicago. [REDACTED] described MALCOLM X as quite nervous and MALCOLM X was quoted as stating that he expected to be killed by followers of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS

Other information pertaining to MALCOLM X is as follows:

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The February 6, 1965, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper, published in New York City, contains an article on page 1, which reflected an interview with MALCOLM X concerning finances. During this interview, MALCOLM X denied that he was getting funds from any foreign source and he asserted that his recent African trip was paid for by the MMI out of funds obtained from his article in "The Saturday Evening Post" magazine and from advance royalties from the Doubleday Book Company on his autobiography. The article went on to state that it had been reported that both the Post and Doubleday had paid \$20,000.00 each for the rights to this article and autobiography.

67D [REDACTED]

MALCOLM X had personally received a total of \$20,000.00 as payment for an article which appeared in the September 12, 1964, edition of the magazine, "The Saturday Evening Post", and as an advance on his forthcoming book to be published by Doubleday and Company, Incorporated.

The "New York Times", local New York City newspaper, dated December 21, 1964, contained an article captioned "MALCOLM Favors the Mau Mau in the United States." This article in part stated that, "Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader, declared yesterday that 'we need a Mau Mau' to win freedom and quality for Negroes in the United States.

"He hailed the Mau Mau -- the antiwhite terrorists active in Kenya before that country gained independence -- as 'the greatest African freedom fighters' who would hold an important place in history.

"He addressed a Harlem rally to support the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party's challenge to the seating of Mississippi's all-white Representatives in Congress.

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"Three hundred persons, about a third of them white, attended the rally, in the Williams Institutional Church, at 2225 Seventh Avenue, Near 131st Street.

"Malcolm X accused President JOHNSON, Vice President-elect HUBERT H. HUMPHREY and Mayor WAGNER of 'playing the same game as the Southern crackers.'

'I'm for anybody who is for freedom, justice and equality,' he said. 'I'm against anybody who tells black people to be nonviolent while nobody is telling white people to be nonviolent.'

'It is necessary to learn the right language to communicate with people, he said, adding: 'If the language is a shotgun, get a shotgun. But don't waste time talking the wrong language.

"The militant leader, wearing a small goatee, eyeglasses and a dark blue suit, asserted that freedom had to be taken, because it could not be given.

"Earlier this year, in a letter to a friend here, he wrote from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, that he had renounced black racism and had embraced the brotherhood of man, but his words yesterday bristled with militancy.

"Pointing his right forefinger vigorously and accusingly, he said justice demanded that 'he who kills by the sword shall be killed by the sword.'

'A black man has the right to do whatever is necessary to get his freedom,' he said. 'We will never get it by nonviolence.'

"Urging Negroes to 'even the score' with whites, he said: 'Let the Klan know we can do it, tit for tat, tit for tat. We have brothers who are able, quipped and ready to do that.'

"As the audience cheered, he observed: 'Freedom is gotten by ballots or bullets. These are the only two methods. Either ballots or bullets.'"

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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.

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☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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

100-399321-418 page 40

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NY 105-8999

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IX. APPENDIX

Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI)

Organization of Afro-American Unity,  
Incorporated (OAAU)

Nation of Islam (NOI)

Nation of Islam #7

Fruit of Islam (FOI)

Socialist Workers Party-New York Local

Young Socialist Alliance

Socialist Workers Party-Los Angeles  
Local

Socialist Workers Party-Philadelphia  
Local

Socialist Workers Party-Seattle Local

May 2nd Committee

Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)

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APPENDIX

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1.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964 edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

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APPENDIX

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2.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 209C Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965 while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

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APPENDIX

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ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN  
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

On May 17, 1965, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

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APPENDIX

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ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN  
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On April 13, 1965, a second confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

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APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

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In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam," (NOI) and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the NOI; Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD'S organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD'S teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

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APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

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On May 7, 1964, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

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APPENDIX

1.

NATION OF ISLAM, MOSQUE #7

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On May 3, 1965, a source advised that the Nation of Islam (NOI) affiliate in New York City is known as Mosque number 7, and is also referred to as Temple number 7. It is part of the national organization of the NOI headed by Elijah Muhammad with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois.

There are three branches of Mosque number 7; One at 105-03 Northern Boulevard, Queens (known as Mosque number 7B), another at 120 Madison Street, Brooklyn (known as Mosque number 7C), and one at 878 Prospect Avenue, Bronx (known as Mosque number 7D).

There is no branch in Manhattan, although plans are being made to obtain a located which will be the principal meeting place of the Mosque and will be known as Mosque number 7.

The date Mosque number 7 originated in New York City is unknown but in this connection it should be noted that in 1953, a second source advised that there was a Temple of the NOI (known to source then as the Muslim Cult of Islam) in New York City located at 135th Street and 7th Avenue, as far back as 1947.

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APPENDIX

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FRUIT OF ISLAM

On May 8, 1964, a source advised that the Fruit of Islam (FOI) is a group within the Nation of Islam (NOI) composed of male members of the NOI. The purpose of the FOI is to protect officials and property of the NOI, assure compliance of members with NOI teachings and to prepare for the "War of Armageddon." Members of the FOI are required to participate in military drill and are afforded the opportunity to engage in judo training. The FOI is governed by a military system wherein the members are controlled by general orders similar to those issued by regular military organizations.

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APPENDIX

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1.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-NEW YORK LOCAL

A source stated on August 25, 1960, that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) New York Local (NYL) was founded in 1938 in New York City.

A second source stated on April 16, 1965, that the NYL was affiliated with and followed the aims and purposes of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page one, column 3, disclosed that during April 15 through 17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page six, set forth the Founding Declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have some into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 7, 1965, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

The source further advised on May 7, 1965, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC) and through an official SWP representative at all YSA NEC meetings. The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section of the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 631, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist (YS)" is a monthly publication self-described in the April - May, 1964, issues of this newspaper as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The YS maintains the mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York, 10003.

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APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-LOS ANGELES LOCAL (SWP-LAL)

61 On [REDACTED] C  
advised that the SWP-LAL has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the SWP-LAL is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States, pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-PHILADELPHIA BRANCH

A source advised on May 25, 1964, that the Philadelphia Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (PBSWP) is an affiliate of the National SWP, which maintains headquarters at 116 University Place, New York, New York, and, as such, follows the aims and purposes of the National SWP. The source advised that the PBSWP, which has been an active organization in Philadelphia since 1940, does not have a headquarters at the present time but utilizes residences of various members for meetings and functions. The source added that the PBSWP utilizes the name "Militant Labor Forum" for public affairs and "Workers Party" as a ballot name when running candidates for public office.

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APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-SEATTLE BRANCH

In May, 1961, a source advised that during the month of May, 1941, the Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was reorganized and received official recognition as a branch of the Party from the national office of the SWP in New York, New York.

On May 6, 1964, another source advised that the Seattle Branch, SWP, with headquarters at 3815 5th Avenue Northeast, Seattle, Washington, is a present affiliate of the National SWP, following the aims and principles of the National SWP. According to source, membership in the Seattle Branch includes RICHARD FRASER, who is a member of the SWP National Committee, and his wife, CLARA FRASER, who is an alternate member of the SWP National Committee.

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APPENDIX

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MAY 2 MOVEMENT (M2M)  
Formerly known as May 2 Committee

A source advised on March 3, 1965 as follows:

The M2M is the name now used by the May 2 Committee which was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium "Socialism in America" being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Viet Nam.

The M2M is dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and has for its aim and purpose the embarrassment of the United States Government by meetings, rallies, picketing demonstrations and formation of university level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis is taken of United States domestic and foreign policies.

This source advised on May 19, 1965, that the current headquarters of the M2M is 640 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

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APPENDIX

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REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of RAM.

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963, by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, now residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto reflected that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, above, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the Crime of Kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba, where he now publishes a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader," from Havana.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised that he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization was begun in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of DON FREEMAN, Cleveland, Ohio, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin." FREEMAN now serves as RAM Chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, serving RAM as Field Chairman. This second source advised that there is no formal headquarters, as such, for RAM at present, but that headquarters are, in effect, with FREEMAN since he plays a dominant role in the leadership and directs the policies and activities of the organization.

This second source, in September, 1964, advised that RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in

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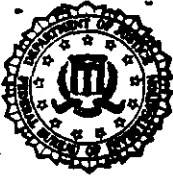
APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

the United States, by violence if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership. clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World," that is, the non-white races of the world, rather than to any national entity, as such.

To date, according to the second source, in November, 1964, RAM has organized units and membership in several of the larger cities in the United States east of the Mississippi River, and the organization is currently active, attempting to recruit new members and expand its sphere of influence.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
September 3, 1965

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Bufile 100-399321  
NYfile 105-8999

Title                      Malcolm K. Little

Character                Internal Security  
                             Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

Reference                is made to the New York  
report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated and captioned  
as above.

[REDACTED]

b1, b3,  
b7D [REDACTED] g

Another Government Agency which conducts  
intelligence type investigations [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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59

100-399321-418

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 8/30/65

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

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

Re telephone communication by Supervisor [redacted] on 3/3/65, at which time NYO was advised that the Bureau would be very interested in obtaining photographs of the shooting of MALCOLM X on 2/21/65, to be used in connection with agent training and National Academy groups.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

1 cc ar [redacted] ENCLOSURE "ENCL. BEHIND FILE"  
2 - Bureau (Encls. 144) (RM)  
1 - New York (Att: Supervisor [redacted])

[redacted] kpm  
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/12/83 BY 8267MEH/2380

100-399321-419  
REC-19 SEP 1 1965  
OCT 4 1965  
SUBV. CONTROL  
DND

EXP. PROC.

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☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

10/14

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 10/8/65

FROM :

SAC, BOSTON (100-27649) (P)

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS - MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

Re Miami airtel, 8/26/65.

Miami is requested to advise of the results of  
any additional investigation conducted concerning [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau (100-399321) (RM)
- 2 - Miami (105-8554) (RM)
- 2 - Boston (100-27649)
- (1 - [REDACTED])

mab

908 FB

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/83 BY 9269 JHE/wEB/del

EX 109

REC 7

100-399321-

420

OCT 11 1965

67C

STUDY CONTROL

67C



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: OCT 21 1965

FROM : SAC, Miami (105-8554) (RUC)

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

ReBu airtel 8/20/65; Miami teletype 8/26/65.

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of a LHM, dated and captioned as above.

Three copies are enclosed for Boston, and two for New York.

No information was found in any of the files reviewed, mentioned in attached LHM, indicating recuperating from gunshot wounds.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/10/80 BY SP2/STW/STW/STW

- 2 - Bureau (Encls.-6) (RM)
- 3 - Boston (100-27649) (Encls.-3) (RM)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 2 - New York (105-8999) (Encls.-2) (RM)
- 1 - Miami

JCM:GK  
(8)

ENCLOSURE

1cc & XEROX LHM  
808 RB

100-399321-421

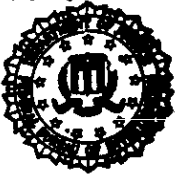
18 OCT 25 1965

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.  
DEPT: ISD, GMD, RAQ

DATE FORW: 11-1-65  
HOW FORW: R/S  
BY: RFB/STW

DO NOT INJECT DIA  
11-1-65

53 NOV 3 1965  
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Miami, Florida

OCT 21 1965

105-8554

RE: MALCOLM K. LITTLE;  
INTERNAL SECURITY -  
MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

b7D [REDACTED] Depart-  
ment received the following anonymous communication dated  
June 13, 1965, which had been addressed to the Suffolk  
County Superior Court, Probation Department:

b7C [REDACTED] Black Moslem, said to be  
hiding in another state with gunshot  
wounds due to the fact that he was in-  
volved in the killing of Malco\_m K. Try  
questioning his wife. Florida is a likely  
place.

"He was on probation." [REDACTED]

b7C b7D [REDACTED] the person referred to  
in this communication was believed to be [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/83 BY 8269 JHE/WED/86

ENCLOSURE 100-399321-421

RE: MALCOLM X. LITTLE.

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] advised on July 8, 1965, that he was handling [REDACTED] but in recent months had heard nothing from him.

b7D

[REDACTED] had not been seen in the [REDACTED] area on the afternoon when Malcolm X was killed, and is now reportedly hiding in Florida, address unknown.

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7C.D

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]



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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.



Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

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For your information: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



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

100-399321-421 page 3-5

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

RE: MALCOLM K. LITTLE

Characterizations of the Nation of  
Islam and Mosque 29 appear in the ap-  
pendix pages attached hereto.

b7DC

[REDACTED]

b7DC

[REDACTED]

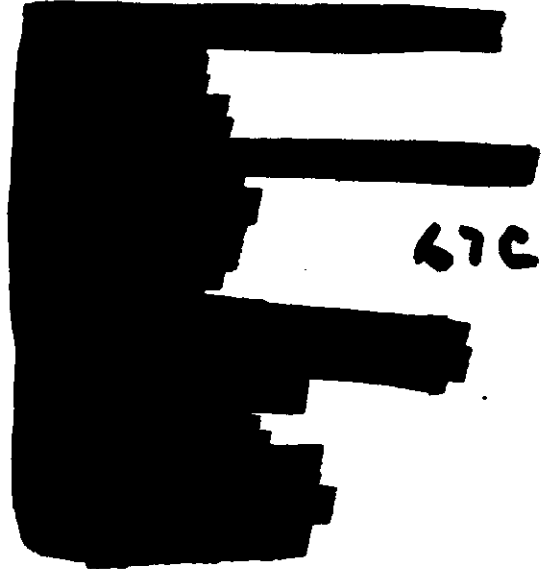
b7DC

[REDACTED]

**RE: MALCOLM K. LITTLE**

**Name  
Race  
Sex  
Date of Birth  
Place of Birth  
Height  
Weight  
Eyes  
Hair  
Complexion  
Father  
Mother  
Scars  
Occupation  
Characteristics**

**FBI Number**



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

APPENDIX

1

NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 7, 1965, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam Number 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 3, 1965, a third source advised Muhammad had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

RE: MALCOLM X. LITTLE

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM  
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #29  
MIAMI, FLORIDA

1

Two sources in Miami have advised that Mosque #29 of the Nation of Islam was established in Miami in October, 1958.

These sources advised that as of May 24, 1965, the Mosque was located at 4507 Northwest 17th Avenue, Miami. The Miami group is an affiliate of the National Nation of Islam and has about one hundred members.

According to these sources, this group adheres to the teachings of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Miami, Florida

OCT 21 1965

Title MALCOLM K. LITTLE.

Character INTERNAL SECURITY -  
MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.  
Reference Memorandum, dated and captioned  
as above, at Miami, Florida.

67D

[REDACTED]

SLIP(S) OF *dictated*  
DATE *12-23-80*

# DECODED COPY

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

☐ AIRGRAM    ☐ CABLEGRAM    ☒ RADIO    ☐ TELETYPE

R-105  
URGENT 11-24-65 4:42 PM  
TO DIRECTOR  
FROM PHILADELPHIA 242121

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, IS - MMI.

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE *6/15/77*

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NYO TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED AND MAIL COPY SENT.

REC 1 100-399321-422

RECEIVED: 5:01 PM JOCONFIDENTIAL

NOV 29 1965

1 - *Rm 808 RB*

Classified by *6855*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

*Ante to NY cc PH 11/26/65*  
*134/242 87A*

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP4 JML/WES/KBO*  
 ON *12/2/83*

11/24/65

LTC

airtel

1 - [REDACTED]

EX-107

To: SAC, New York (100-3999)

From: Director, FBI (100-399321) - 4/22

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS - MHI

Re: 11/24/65.

This will confirm telephonic instructions to New York to advise responsible local authorities of the information contained in rerad.

1 - Philadelphia (100-39918)

NOTE:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] New York Office, telephonically advised by 3:45 p.m., 11/26/65.

deh  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/93 BY 9269 JHE/KES/dm

MAILED 4  
NOV 26 1965  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_

67C [REDACTED] 11/26/65



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

JAN 3 1966

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 11-26-65

FROM : Legat, Paris [REDACTED] *b7c*

SUBJECT: *bc* [REDACTED] *b7c, D*

INFORMATION CONCERNING - MISCELLANEOUS

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS - MMI  
(Bufile 100-399321)

Re Paris letter to the Bureau 3-24-65 captioned  
MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka; IS - MMI.

[REDACTED] the following information regarding  
MALCOLM K. LITTLE:

[REDACTED] MALCOLM X group, which last February was interested in  
having MALCOLM X talk in Paris. The group is a mixture of  
people from Jamaica and America according to him. It has no  
formal name, no dues, and no formal meeting place. The  
meetings are impromptu and the members get together only for  
a few drinks and discussion. In February, 1965, at the time  
that MALCOLM X was planning to speak before a rally in Paris,  
the group is alleged to have had about 30 members and there  
are now "perhaps 10".

By airtel dated 2-10-65 under the caption MALCOLM K.  
LITTLE, aka; IS - MMI, the Bureau was advised that a group  
of approximately a dozen Negroes had appeared at Orly Airport,  
Paris, to greet MALCOLM X. They were not permitted to talk  
with him and he was denied entrance to France.

[REDACTED] The present group, [REDACTED]  
are not taking any stand on French politics and

7 - Bureau (1 - Liaison Section *REC-78*  
2 - Newark *EX-117*  
2 - New York)

2 - Paris (cc: 100-2171, Malcolm K. Little, aka) 1965

JFF:HD

(8)

NOT RECORDED

21 APR 18 1966

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/21/83 BY 12697HSL/LLD

b7C  
Paris [REDACTED]

their primary purpose had been to get MALCOLM X here in Paris to speak. They had had posters printed and had done other promotional work in this regard. [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] was not exactly sure what MALCOLM X stood for but believed that he had changed from the "white devil" thought to a more interracial approach.

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

Paris [REDACTED]

b7C

~~SECRET~~

b7D

It is desired that the New York and th. Newark  
Offices search their indices [REDACTED]

b7C

b7C

The above is furnished for the Bureau's information.

b2, b1

~~SECRET~~

100-399321-423

CHANGED TO

b7C [REDACTED]

APR 19 1966BE VGPALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 12/21/83 BY 1068 THE WEC/d

C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

7<sup>c</sup>  
12/20

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 12/17/65

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
SM - MMI

39

b7D On 12/16/65, New York County Assistant District Attorney [redacted] advised that the State of New York will present its case on the death of MALCOLM X to the jury in January, 1966.

b7C He stated that SA [redacted] of the NYO will be needed as a witness at the trial. SA [redacted] be needed to identify one of the murder weapons (a 45 calibre pistol) used in the killing of MALCOLM X and to show the chain of control of the evidence up until it was turned over to the NYCPD Lab.

b7C SA [redacted] received the weapon from [redacted] who was present at the Audubon Ballroom, NYC, where MALCOLM X was shot and killed on 2/21/65. [redacted] voluntarily turned this gun over to SAS [redacted] on 2/21/65, concerning which the Bureau was advised in detail under captioned matter.

b7C Bureau approval is requested to allow SA [redacted] to testify at the trial to be held at New York City.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/21/83 BY 2269 JHE/WEB/dl

REC-39

100-399321-424

DEC 20 1965

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York

JCS:pam  
(3)

SUBV. CONTROL



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

SAC, New York (105-8999)

12/23/65

REC-39  
Director, FBI (100-392321) 424

1 - Mr. Mack  
1 - Mr. Floyd

MALCOLM X. LITTLE  
SECURITY MATTER - MURDER

Reurlet dated 12/17/65.

b7c  
Bureau authority is granted for SA [redacted] to appear as a witness in the New York State proceedings concerning the death of captioned individual. You should keep the Bureau advised as to the outcome of the testimony of SA [redacted] at these proceedings and of any information coming to your attention in the intervening period which might adversely affect his appearance.

NOTE:

b7c  
New York County Assistant District Attorney advises that New York State will present its case concerning the death of the subject to the jury in January, 1966. He stated that the testimony of SA [redacted] of the New York Office will be needed to identify one of the murder weapons used in the killing of Malcolm X and to show the chain of control of the evidence up until it was turned over to New York City Police Department.

By way of background, [redacted] on 2/21/65 telephonically contacted the New York Office advising that he had one of the weapons used to kill Malcolm X, which he desired to turn over to the FBI. On that same date SA [redacted] and SA [redacted] obtained the weapon and a statement [redacted] as to how the weapon came into his possession. Later that same date SA [redacted] turned the weapon over to representatives of the New York City Police Department.

The above proceedings is the murder trial of the three subjects indicted in the slaying of subject. The Bureau has no jurisdiction in this matter. It appears the best interests of justice would be served by permitting SA [redacted] to testify to the chain of control of this weapon.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/11/83 BY 8262 JMS/bms/SP

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TJM:baf  
(5)

DEC 23 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DEC 22 1965  
COMM-FBI

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : *AW3* SAC, NEWARK (100-40295) (C)

DATE: 1/14/66 *1-17*

SUBJECT: *b7c* [REDACTED] *PC*  
INFORMATION CONCERNING - MISCELLANEOUS  
MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS - MMI

Re Legat, Paris, letter to Bureau 11/26/65.

*b7c.D* Referenced letter requested Newark to search indices  
[REDACTED]

*b7c* Newark indices contain no identifiable reference to  
[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/21/83 BY 261 THE/WR/20

100-399321  
NOT RECORDED

21 APR 18 1966

Copy to Legat Paris  
by routing slip for

☒ info ☐ action

date 1-19-66

by tgj/cen

*2c* - Bureau (RM)  
(2 - Legat, Paris) [REDACTED]

1 - Newark

*b7c*  
[REDACTED] aas

(5)



JAN 25 1966 *44*

REC-81

EX-103

JAN 17 1966

SUBV. CONTROL

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

SLIP(S) *Class*  
DATE *12-23-83*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 1/19/66

FROM : LEGAT, PARIS *b7c*

(P)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT:

INFORMATION CONCERNING - MISCELLANEOUS

FRANCE

Re Paris letter to Bureau 11/26/65, with  
copies to Newark and New York.

It is desired that the New York and Newark Offices  
search their indices

- 5 - Bureau
  - (1 - Liaison Section)
  - (1 - Newark)
  - (1 - New York)

- 2 - Paris
  - (1 - 100-2171, MALCOLM K. LITTLE)
  - (1 - eim)

Classified by *1261 JHE/WEA*  
Declassify on: OADR  
*12/21/83*

*100-399321*  
NOT RECORDED  
21 APR 18 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Copy to *New York*  
by routing slip for  
☒ info ☐ action  
date *1-27-66*  
*1/27/66*

REC-70

*100-399321-427*  
*27*  
18 JAN 24 1966

*7th St 3 02 611.22*

DO NOT WRITE DIA  
REC.D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*TELETYPE  
T-914/66*

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



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 1/21/66

FROM : SAC, WFO

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] **b7C**

INFORMATION CONCERNING - MISCELLANEOUS

**b7C**  
MALCOLM K. <sup>0</sup>LITTLE, aka  
(Bufile 100-399321)  
(NYfile 105-8999)  
(WFOfile 100-32805) (RUC)  
IS - MMI  
(OO:NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/22/98 BY 826 DHE/ew **30**

Re Legat, Paris letter dated 11/26/65 in captioned matter.

**b7C**  
[REDACTED]

**b7C**  
[REDACTED]

- 6 - Bureau  
(2 - Legat. Paris)  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100-2171) (LITTLE)  
1 - Newark (Info) (RM)  
2 - New York (Info) (RM)  
1 - WFO

2 Copy to Legat Paris  
by routing slip for

☒ info ☐ action  
date 1-27-66

REC-57

REC-117 JAN 21 1966

100-399321-

SUBV. CONTROL NOT RECORDED  
21 APR 18 1966

(10) nln

EB 11 1966

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

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# **FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION** **FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

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- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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

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100-399321-425, 426, 427, (428)  
**CHANGED TO**

b7c

[REDACTED]

APR 19 1966

BE VGP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 12/31/83 BY 8269 JHE/WEA/BJ

C

Routing Slip  
FD-4 (Rev. 3-4-64)

Date 1/25/55

To:

☒ Director

FILE # Bureau 100-399321

Att.: CCO

☐ SAC

Title

☐ ASAC

USIA INFORMATION CONCERNING-  
MISC.

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS - MMI

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

ACTION DESIRED

NOT RECORDED

3 FEB 9 1966

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Open Case

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Bring file

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Call me

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Correct

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Deadline

☐ Return file

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Return serials

☐ Delinquent

☐ Search and return

☐ Discontinue

☐ See me

☐ Expedite

☐ Send Serials

☐ File

to

☐ For information

☐ Submit new change out

☐ Initial & return

☐ Submit report by

☐ Leads need attention

REC-57 type

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken

by routing slip for

☒ info ☐ action

ReWFOlet 1/21/66 EX-103

date: 2-8-66

Attached photos [redacted] to Legat, Paris

SAC JOSEPH D. PURVIS

WFO

Office

100-399321

NOT RECORDED

21 APR 18 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/22/83 BY SP4 JHE/65860

FEB 16 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Sullivan *MS*

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *MS*

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
SECURITY MATTER - MUSLIM MOSQUE

DATE: 2/8/66

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Wick  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Bates

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Wick ☒  
Casper ☐  
Callahan ☐  
Conrad ☐  
Felt ☐  
Gale ☐  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☐  
Trotter ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Holmes ☐  
Gandy ☐

The trial of Thomas Hagan, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson accused of the murder of Malcolm K. Little, better known as Malcolm X, head of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI) a politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes, began in New York State Supreme Court on 1/12/66. Malcolm X had formerly been a leading spokesman for the Nation of Islam, an all-Negro, semireligious, antiwhite organization.

By letter dated 12/23/65, the Bureau authorized SA [redacted] of the New York Office to appear as a witness in this trial in order to identify one of the murder weapons used in the killing of Malcolm X, and to show the chain of evidence up until the time it was turned over to the New York City Police Department.

By way of background, [redacted] who was present at the scene of the murder, on 2/21/66 telephonically contacted the New York Office advising he had one of the weapons used to kill Malcolm X, which he desired to turn over to the FBI. On that same date, SAs [redacted] and obtained the weapon and also a statement from [redacted] as to how the weapon came into his possession. Later that same date, SA [redacted] turned the weapon over to the New York City Police Department.

On 2/8/66, SAC Donald E. Roney, New York Office, advised that SA [redacted] would testify in the Malcolm X murder trial on Wednesday, 2/9/66. Roney advised that the New York County District Attorney had stated that it would probably be necessary for SA [redacted] to produce the interview report form (FD 302) indicating receipt of the gun. Roney further stated that the New York Office had discussed production of the above-mentioned FD 302 with the United States Attorney's Office and had been advised by the United States Attorney that under the "Jencks Decision" and in conformity with New York State Supreme Court procedures, it will be necessary for SA [redacted] to produce the FD 302 if so requested by the Defense Counsel. Therefore, SAC Roney stated that SA [redacted] will have the FD 302 ready for production in court in the event the Defense Counsel requests it.

CONTINUED - OVER

55 FEB 17 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/21/89 BY 2061 THE/05 Bld

Baumgardner to Sullivan  
Re: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
100-399321

ACTION:

None. For information.

*rfh*

*wery*

FBI

Date: 2/9/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK [REDACTED] (RUC)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]  
INFO CONCERNING - MISC

Re Legat. Paris letters to Bu dated 11/26/65 and 1/21/66 captioned [REDACTED] INFO CONCERNING MISC and MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka, IS - MMI." **b7C**

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 8 copies of a LHM pertaining to captioned subject.

at the request of IC [REDACTED] **b7C**

- 5 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM) **REC 4**  
 (1 - Legat, Paris)  
 (1 - Legat, Liaison)  
 2 - Newark (Encls. 3)  
 1 - New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM K. LITTLE)  
 1 - New York [REDACTED]  
 1 - New York [REDACTED]

by routing slip for  
☒ info ☐ action  
 date 2-16-66  
 by [REDACTED]

NOT RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

DATE 12/22/83 BY [REDACTED]

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET3

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



Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C), (D) with no segregable material available for release to you.



Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.



Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.



Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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For your information: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



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100-399321-430

**CHANGED TO**

**b7c**

APR 19 1966

BE KOP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/83 BY 806 JHE/KWB/dcl

e

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: *[Handwritten initials]*  
FROM: *[Handwritten initials]*

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 2/9/66

SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
SM - MMI  
SECURITY MATTER - MUSLIM MOSQUE INCORPORATED

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Wick	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

ReBulet dated 12/23/65, granting authority for SA [redacted] to appear as a witness in the New York State trial concerning the death of captioned subject.

SA [redacted] testified on 2/9/66. During the cross examination, SA [redacted] was asked by the Defense Attorney to produce any notes taken in reference to his contact [redacted]. SA [redacted] produced an FD 302 which the Defense Attorney returned after his questioning. Defense Attorney's line of questioning centered upon whether or not SA [redacted] checked FBI reports to see if FBI Agents were in the audience at the Audubon Ballroom when MALCOLM X was killed. SA [redacted] was also questioned as to whether the FBI Lab examined the .45 calibre pistol used in the murder of MALCOLM X before it was turned over to the NYCPD. SA [redacted] advised the court that the FBI Lab did not examine the .45 calibre revolver before it was turned over to the NYCPD and that he did not check FBI files to determine if FBI Agents were present in the ballroom when MALCOLM X was killed.

The courtroom was cleared of the news media and spectators when SA [redacted] testified in view of the fact that his testimony, in effect, centered around [redacted] who gave SA [redacted] the above mentioned .45 calibre automatic pistol. REC 70

[redacted] testified in court on 2/3 and 4/66, after the courtroom was cleared of reporters and spectators, claiming his life was in danger if his identity was known.

2-Bureau (RM)

2-New York

(1) - Personnel File, SA [redacted]

JCS:pam  
(4)

FEB 11 1966

FEB 28 1966

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

EXP. PROC.

PERS. REC. UNIT

NY 105-8999

NY County Assistant District Attorney VINCENT DERMODY advised on 2/9/66 that he did not believe it would be necessary to recall SA [REDACTED] as a witness at a later date.

67C  
Mr. DERMODY expressed his appreciation to SA [REDACTED] for testifying and the NYO for its assistance during the State's investigation of the case.

Addendum

67C  
(SAC D. E. RONEY): On the late afternoon of 2/9/66, Mr. VINCENT DERMODY, Assistant District Attorney, New York County, telephoned me to convey his great appreciation to the Bureau for making available SA [REDACTED] to testify in the MALCOLM K. LITTLE trial. Mr. DERMODY said SA [REDACTED] was a wonderful witness, and used the word "terrific" to describe his testimony and demeanor on the witness stand. He said SA [REDACTED] certainly reflected great credit on the FBI. Mr. DERMODY also said he wanted to express his appreciation for the wonderful cooperation on the part of the NYO with the New York City Police Department and the District Attorney's office in this case. Mr. DERMODY said that the cooperation from the beginning of this case had been "terrific," and said this was a perfect example of real effective cooperation.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321) Date: 2/17/66

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-39918) (RUC)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS - MMI  
(OO: New York)

NATION OF ISLAM

The following information was furnished to SAS

b7D

b7D

b7D

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/14/89 BY 8219THH/BJP/BJP

- 2 - Bureau (100-399321) (RM)
- 6 - New York (RM)
  - 1 - 105-8999 (MALCOLM K. LITTLE)
  - 1 - 100-
  - 1 - 100-
  - 1 - 100-
  - 1 - 100-
  - 1 - 100-
  - 1 - 100-
- 4 - Philadelphia
  - 1 - 100-39918
  - 1 -
  - 1 -
  - 1 -
  - 1 -

REC-11

100 399321-43

EX-103

15 FEB 21 1966

INT. SEC.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2

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

☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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

100-399321-432 pages 2,3

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 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
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FBI

Date: 2/17/66

Transmit the following in AIRTEL  
(Type in plain text or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, NEWARK

SUBJECT

[REDACTED] INFORMATION CONCERNING - MISCELLANEOUS

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka.  
IS - KKK

(BUFILE 100-399321)

(NKFILE 100-40295) RUC

Re WFO letter to the Bureau 1/21/66, captioned as above.

New York airtel to the Bureau 2/9/66 captioned, [REDACTED] INFORMATION CONCERNING - "MISC".

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/22/83 BY 8269 JHE/WES/

- 5 - Bureau (Encs. 2) (RM)
- (2 - Legat, Paris)
- 3 - New York (RM)

- (1 - [REDACTED])
- (1 - 105-3999) (MALCOLM K. LITTLE)
- (1 - [REDACTED])

2 - Newark

(1 - [REDACTED])

amd

(40)

2 Cont. is with Photos  
by routing slip for  
☒ info ☐ action  
date 2-21-66  
by [REDACTED]

NOT RECORDED

21 FEB 19 1966

Approved: RWB

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

SUBMIT

[REDACTED]

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL 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.

☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(c), (b) with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-399321-NH Rec'd airtel 2/17/66 page 2

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100-399321-433

CHANGED TO

b7c

APR 19 1966

BE V&P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/21/83 BY 8269 JHE/WEA/DA

C



SAC, New York (105-8999)

Director, FBI (100-399321)

*lud*  
MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
SECURITY MATTER - MUSLIN MOSQUE, INC.

ReNYlet 2/9/66.

New York should closely follow the trial in progress concerning the assassination of captioned subject. The Bureau should be kept promptly advised of all pertinent developments.

Upon completion of the trial, if warranted, New York should consider submission of appropriate recommendations concerning the Special Agents who have participated in the investigation regarding the assassination of the subject.

NOTE:

*b7C*  
Bureau authorized SA [redacted] of the New York Office to appear as a witness in the ~~murder trial of the subject, better known as Malcolm X~~, concerning a firearm allegedly used in the assassination of Malcolm X. The New York Office has advised SA [redacted] has completed his testimony and was highly praised by the New York prosecuting attorney handling that case. Bureau Agents have played a very significant part in aiding local authorities in the prosecution of the defendants in this case.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/83 BY 269 JHE/4E6

REC-79

100-399321-434

11 FEB 23 1966

*b7C*  
MAILED 21  
FEB 18 1966  
COMM-FBI  
  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TELETYPE UNIT

FEB 23 1966

ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FBI NEW YORK

10:59 PM EST URGENT 2/28/66 W.F.R.  
TO DIRECTOR ///10/// (100-399321) AND NEWARK  
FROM NEW YORK (105-8999) 1 PAGE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE; IS DASH MMI

FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE BUREAU AND THE NEWARK OFFICE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, NEW YORK COUNTY, ADVISED THAT  
IN MALCOLM X MURDER TRIAL, TALMADGE HAYER, THIS DATE, OMITTED IN OPEN  
COURT THAT HE SHOT MALCOLM X AND ATTEMPTED TO EXONERATE OTHER DEFENDANTS  
DEFENDANTS, THOMAS JOHNSON AND NORMAN BUTLER.

END

EX-100

WA..EFH

FBI WASH DC

REC-3

100-399321-

435

MAR 1 1966

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/83 BY 8249 JHE/uec/ckp

FEB 23 15 20 W 11.52

69 MAR 7 1966

F B I

Date: 2/25/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)  
 SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
 SM-MMI

Re Bulet dated 2/21/66, requesting the NYO to closely follow the trial in progress concerning the assassination of captioned subject and to keep the Bureau advised of all pertinent developments.

On 2/21/66, Detective JOSEPH REISCH, a ballistics expert testified at the MALCOLM X murder trial at NY County Supreme Court, NYC, that cartridges taken from TALMAGE HAYER, one of 3 men charged with MALCOLM X's assassination, were linked with a .45 caliber weapon used to kill MALCOLM X. Detective REISCH said extraction marks found on .45 caliber cartridges taken from TALMAGE HAYER matched markings made by the weapon used to shoot MALCOLM X. N.Y.

Detective REISCH continued by stating that a microscopic examination of the shell casings of the cartridges taken from HAYER matched three shells found in the Audubon Ballroom when MALCOLM X was slain. REISCH said the extraction marks on a gun are significant and peculiar to that particular weapon. He said the markings are similar to an individual's fingerprints.

It is noted that the .45 caliber pistol mentioned above was made available to the NYPD by SA [REDACTED] on 2/21/66, the day MALCOLM X was slain. REC 100-399321-436

- 3 - Bureau (RM) - 100-399321-436  
 2 - Newark [REDACTED]  
 1 - (1 - 80- [REDACTED]) (POLICE COOPERATION)  
 1 - New York [REDACTED]  
 1 - New York (80-467) (POLICE COOPERATION)  
 1 - New York [REDACTED]

20 FEB 26 1966

JCS:lat

E.C. Wick

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/21/83 BY 2869 THE WES/202

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

54 MAR 7 1966

NY 105-8999

b7C On 2/16/66, SA [redacted] made available to NY County Assistant District Attorney VINCENT J. DERMODY 3 photographs. Two of the photographs consisted of a group of male negroes including HAYER in karate uniforms, the third photograph consisted of 3 persons one being TALMAGE HAYER with the photographer who took the group photographs.

b7C These photographs were made available to SA [redacted] by SA [redacted] of the NK Office. SA [redacted]

b7D [redacted]

Assistant District Attorney DERMODY stated that the photographs would be "excellent evidence" that HAYER is or was associated with the Black Muslims since HAYER has denied being a Muslim or even being "associated with them". Mrs. DERMODY said he could only use the photographs if HAYER is even called to the stand by his attorney.

b7C Mr. DERMODY and SA [redacted] then arranged that if HAYER was ever called to the stand during the trial, Mr. DERMODY would call SA [redacted] who would then contact SA [redacted] in NK to have him present copies of photographs mentioned above to [redacted] to determine if he took the pictures, when, and when and if he could identify HAYER. It was pointed out by Assistant District Attorney DERMODY [redacted] would have to be contacted only when HAYER is testifying.

b7C [redacted]

b7C On 2/23/66, Assistant District Attorney DERMODY contacted SA [redacted] and advised that HAYER was called by his attorney to testify on his own behalf and that he planned to show the above mentioned photographs to HAYER when he cross examined him, [redacted]

While on the stand, HAYER denied charges that he had killed MALCOLM X a year ago, that he was ever a member of the

NY 105-8999

Black Muslims, that he had ever learned or practiced karate or that he had a gun in his hand at the Audubon Ballroom the day MALCOLM X was killed.

While HAYER was being cross examined by Assistant District Attorney DERMODY, he was shown photographs of himself with a karate group and was "quite surprised", remained silent for a moment and said it looks like him but it wasn't him.

b7C In the meantime while HAYER was testifying, SA [REDACTED] of the NK Office contacted [REDACTED] and exhibited copies of the above mentioned photographs. [REDACTED] stated that he took the pictures at Muhammad's Mosque #25 at a Black Muslim bazaar in March, 1963. He identified the group photographs as that of a karate group which put on an exhibition and identified HAYER as TALMAGE only.

b7C The results of the contact with [REDACTED] was made available to Mr. DERMODY on 2/23/66, who was very pleased.

b7C Arrangements were made between Mr. DERMODY, SA [REDACTED] of the NYO and SA [REDACTED] NK, to have 3 members of the District Attorney's Office meet with SA [REDACTED] at 8:30 a.m., 2/24/66, [REDACTED] in turn would show the officials of the District Attorney's Office [REDACTED] in order that they could interview [REDACTED] to return to NYC to testify.

b7C On the afternoon of 2/24/66, Assistant District Attorney DERMODY advised SA [REDACTED] that DURANT testified on behalf of the State and identified the photograph as those taken by him in March, 1963, at Muhammad's Mosque #25, NK, NJ, of a karate team that put on a karate exhibition. He then identified HAYER as TALMAGE who actually introduced himself to him during the affair.

b7C Assistant District Attorney DERMODY again expressed his appreciation for the cooperation given to him by SA [REDACTED] and SA [REDACTED]. He stated that the state has just about completed its case and described the photograph and DURANT's testimony "as frosting on the cake" as for the presenting of his case to the court is concerned.

FBI

Date: 3/7/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399320)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
SM - MMI

ReNYairtel dated 3/3/66.

For the information of the Bureau and Newark Office, \_\_\_\_\_

NYC, advised SA \_\_\_\_\_ on 3/4/66, that THOMAS 15X JOHNSON and his wife testified at the MALCOLM X murder trial on 3/3 and 4/66.

Mrs. JOHNSON testified on 3/3/66, and stated that her husband was home all day on 2/21/65, when MALCOLM X was killed. When questioned by the prosecutor as to whether her husband ever had a gun at home, she refused to answer the question. Later during the trial, Defense Attorney WEAVER asked Mrs. JOHNSON if her husband ever had a gun, and she answered yes. The prosecutor then told Mrs. JOHNSON that he asked her the same question only a few moments ago and she refused to answer the question. Mrs. JOHNSON then remarked "I don't have to answer to the police".

THOMAS JOHNSON took the witness stand on 3/3/66 and the morning of 3/4/66. He denied ever leaving his home

- ③ Bureau (RM)  
1 - Newark (100-47257) (RM)  
1 - New York  
1 - New York

JCS:ep  
(6)

MAR 8 1966

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/83 BY 1267PHEW/COB

NY 105-8999

on 2/21/65, let alone killing MALCOLM X at the Audubon Ballroom on that date. He also stated he never handled a gun at any time in his life. Under cross-examination, JOHNSON admitted that he once bought a gun while he was unemployed and obtaining funds from the NYC Welfare Department.

b7D

[REDACTED] believed the case will go to the jury on or about 3/10/68.

AIRTEL

MAR 3 - 1966

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
SM - MMI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/15/81 BY SP1ESK/100  
212382

ReNY teletype dated 2/28/66.

For the information of the Bureau and Newark  
Offices. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] New York City, advised  
SA [REDACTED] on 3/2/66 that TALMAGE HAYER while  
testifying on the stand in the MALCOLM X Murder Trial on  
2/28/66 and 3/1/66, admitted he was hired to kill  
MALCOLM X for money, and had three other confederates  
whom he refused to identify. He did state that NORMAN 3X  
BUTLER and THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, also charged with the  
killing of MALCOLM X are innocent.

[REDACTED] stated that the defense called  
a Dr. KENNETH SESSLowe, Lincoln Hospital, Bronx, to the  
witness stand on behalf of NORMAN BUTLER, who claimed the  
doctor treated him for an injured leg when MALCOLM X

3 - Bureau (RM)  
MAR 14 1966 1 - Newark (RM) (AM) (

1 - New York  
1 - New York  
1 - New York  
1 - New York

JCS:1js  
(10)

50 MAR 22 1966

REC 51

EX-104

100-399321-438

MAR 4 1966

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INT. SEC  
BAC



NY 105-8999

b7D  
was killed. During the cross examination by Assistant District Attorney VINCENT J. DERMODY, the doctor admitted that he treated BUTLER, but four days after the killing of MALCOLM X and that the injury could have been caused by a person falling down a flight of stairs. It is noted that when [REDACTED] testified at the trial, he stated that one of the assassins jumped over TALMAGE HAYER while running down the stairs to get out of the Audubon Ballroom after MALCOLM X was killed. The defense attorneys according to [REDACTED] were disturbed by the doctor's testimony and said they would impeach the doctor. Judge CHARLES MARKS reminded the defense attorneys that the doctor was their witness.

b7D  
[REDACTED] stated that District Attorney DERMODY requested BUTLER about meeting with JOHN ALI, NOI National Secretary, at the Americana Hotel, NYC, the night before MALCOLM X was killed. BUTLER stated he knew JOHN ALI but never met him. [REDACTED] said information was received that JOHN ALI met with HAYER the night before MALCOLM X was killed, but that the witness to this meeting was later arrested for theft and was now considered undesirable as a state witness.

b7D  
[REDACTED] stated that CHARLES 37X MORRIS, was this date again called to the witness stand, this time on behalf of the defense. During cross examination MORRIS admitted that he was once a member of the NOI in NY and at that time knew BUTLER and JOHNSON as members of the NOI "Enforcement Squad" whose duty it was to talk to and sometimes "shake up people."

b7D  
According to [REDACTED] while BUTLER was on the witness stand Judge MARKS stated that if BUTLER's manners on the stand did not change, he would charged the jury to take into consideration BUTLER's mannerism and demeanor in determining if he was telling the truth on the witness stand. [REDACTED] stated

NY 105-8999

that BUTLER's actions on the witness stand was very detrimental to his case.

b7D [REDACTED] stated THOMAS 15X JOHNSON is scheduled to be called to the witness stand on his own behalf on the afternoon of 3/2/66.

TELETYPE UNIT  
MAR 11 1966  
ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Shuckford*

FBI NEW YORK

1 1/3 P URGENT 3-11-66 JAM  
TO DIRECTOR /4/ 100-399321  
FROM NEW YORK 105-8999 1P

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, SM-MMI  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/93 BY 2261 JHE/WES/DO

NEW YORK STATE SUPREME COURT JURY FOUND TALMAGE HAYER  
OF PATERSON, NEW JERSEY, NORMAN THREE X BUTLER AND THOMAS  
FIFTEEN X JOHNSON OF NEW YORK, GUILTY OF FIRST DEGREE ON  
MARCH ELEVEN NINETEEN SIXTYSIX FOR THE MURDER OF MALCOLM K.  
LITTLE COMMONLY KNOWN AS MALCOLM X.  
SENTENCE SCHEDULED FOR APRIL FOURTEEN NEXT.

LETTER FOLLOWS.

COPY OF INSTANT TELETYPE BEING SENT TO NEWARK BY MAIL.

CORR TIME SHD BE 143 PM

END

2- HL

FBI WASH DC

55 MAR 21 1966

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

REC 112/100-399321-439

10 MAR 15 1966

file 100-399321  
5-MS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 3/16/66

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) (P)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
SM-MMI

ReNYtel, 3/11/66.

b7D  
b7C [REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] on 3/11/66, that on that date NORMAN 3X BUTLER, THOMAS 15X JOHNSON and TALMAGE HAYER were found guilty of murder in the first degree for the killing of MALCOLM X on 2/21/65, at NYC.

On 3/14/66, Assistant District Attorney VINCENT J. DERMODY, NYC, advised SA [REDACTED] that the NY State Supreme Court jury deliberated over 20 hours and at 12:20 A.M. on 3/11/66, returned a verdict of murder in the first degree on the defendants BUTLER, JOHNSON and HAYER for the assassination of MALCOLM X. Mr. DERMODY stated that Justice CHARLES MARKS set 4/14/66 for sentencing. He further stated that if BUTLER, JOHNSON and HAYER are sentenced to life imprisonment, as is mandatory for murder in the first degree, the trio would have to serve a minimum of 26 years 8 months before they will be eligible for parole. b7D

The NYO will continue to follow this case and report results of sentencing on 4/14/66.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/21/83 BY 8261 JH/ewc/21

5-Bureau (RM)

b7C  
(1) [REDACTED]  
(1) [REDACTED]  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
1-Newark (100-47257) (Info) (RM)  
1-New York [REDACTED]  
1-New York [REDACTED]  
1-New York [REDACTED]  
1-New York [REDACTED]

REC-99

100-399321-440

3 MAR 17 1966

JCS:bob  
(10)



55 MAR 24 1966

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

~~SUBV CONTROL~~  
INT. SEC.

F B I

Date: 4/14/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) (RUC)  
SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
SM - MMI

On 4/14/66, [REDACTED] NY County, NYC, advised that on this date, NY County Supreme Court Judge CHARLES MARKS sentenced NORMAN BUTLER, THOMAS JOHNSON and TALMAGE HAYER to life imprisonment for the murder of MALCOLM LITTLE, commonly known as MALCOLM X.

It is noted that a person sentenced to life imprisonment for murder in the first degree in NY County must serve a minimum of 26 years, 8 months before they can be eligible for parole.

[REDACTED] also advised that as of this date, it has not been determined where the trio will be incarcerated to serve their sentences.

6 Bureau (RM)

(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - 100 [REDACTED])  
1-Newark [REDACTED]  
4-New York [REDACTED]

(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])  
(1 - [REDACTED])

JCS:pam  
(12)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/15/81 BY SP/CSK/bw

#212,982

51 APR 26 1966

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REC-76

(RM)

100-399321-441

3 APR 15 1966

APR 19 1966  
FBI - NEW YORK

4/1/66

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] **b7C**  
SM - QAAU  
(OO: BOSTON)

**b7C** Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM concerning a proposed Press Conference to be held [REDACTED] on or about 4/14/66.

Enclosed for Boston are two copies of same LHM.

**b7D** This LHM is classified confidential inasmuch as it contains information from [REDACTED]

- b7D**  
**b7C**
- ④ - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)  
(1 - 100-399321) (MALCOLM K. LITTLE)
  - 2 - Boston (Encls. 2) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM K. LITTLE)
  - 1 - [REDACTED]
  - 1 - New York

car  
(10)

100-399321-

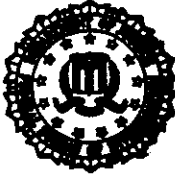
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

NOT RECORDED  
100 APR 11 1966

DATE 12/5/83 BY 2269 JHE/wed

51 APR 15 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
New York, New York  
April 1, 1966

Ella Mae Collins

b7D [REDACTED]

Ella Collins, current head of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), and sister of the late Malcolm X, who was the founder of the OAAU and Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), indicated that on or about April 14, 1966, she will call a Press Conference and send a telegram to the President, the Attorney General and to J. Edgar Hoover. The telegram will be to the effect that Malcolm X was killed while exercising his rights under the Constitution and that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) should conduct a full investigation and bring to trial the actual murderers of Malcolm X.

A characterization of the OAAU and  
MMI which includes a characterization  
of Malcolm X is attached hereto.

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]  
DATE 5/11/77

DECLASSIFIED BY 6855  
ON 3/13/77 Dmc/GSK

[REDACTED]

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

100-399321-

ENCLOSURE

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX

1.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes, only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals". The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.



**CONFIDENTIAL**

**APPENDIX**

2.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

This same confidential source advised on September 8, 1965, that the activities of the MMI following the death of MALCOLM X were limited to the teaching of classes in the Islamic religion and a class in judo for self-protection. These classes were held regularly until the latter part of July, 1965, when they were discontinued. Since then, the MMI has held no meetings and there has been absolutely no activity by the MMI which appears to be completely "dead".

**CONFIDENTIAL**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN  
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)


On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

On May 17, 1965, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

2.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN  
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On April 13, 1965, a second confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

4/2/66

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]  
SM - OAKU  
(OO: BOSTON)

67C ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/21/83 BY 8269 JHE/WES/8

67C Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an  
LHM concerning a proposed Press Conference to be held  
on or about 4/14/66.

Enclosed for Boston are two copies of same LHM.

67D [REDACTED]  
This LHM is classified confidential inasmuch as  
it contains information from [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

- 4 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM) 0  
① - 100-399321 (MALCOLM K. LITTLE)  
2 - Boston (Encls. 2) (RM)  
1 - New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM K. LITTLE)  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - New York

67C [REDACTED] car  
(10)

100-399321

NOT RECORDED  
172 APR 11 1966

54 APR 13 1966

FBI

Date: 2/23/67

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) (C)

SUBJECT: MEMORIAL MARCH AND SERVICE COMMEMORATING  
THE DEATH OF MALCOLM X  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(OO:NY)

Enclosed herewith are 13 copies of LHM dated and captioned as above.

Attached LHM is classified "Confidential" because it contains information furnished by [REDACTED]

Copies of attached LHM have been sent to 108th INTC, OSI, ONI, Secret Service and USA, SDNY.

SA [REDACTED] received the information from [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/14/83 BY SP6 JTE/WES/led

- 5 - Bureau (Enc. 13) (RM)
- (2 - 100-442235)
- 2 - Atlanta [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (100-153300) (OAAU)
- 1 - New York [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York [REDACTED]

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.:

FEB 24 1967

JJD:spv  
(14)

DATE FORW: [REDACTED]  
HOW FORW: [REDACTED]

BY: [REDACTED]

Sent

M

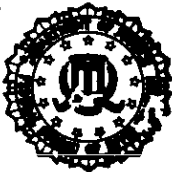
Per

Special Agent in Charge

MAR 2 1967

200 922 940

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF FILED



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

February 23, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bureau 100-399321

Memorial March and Service  
Commemorating the Death of  
Malcolm X  
Information Concerning

On February 23, 1967, [REDACTED]

67D

[REDACTED] advised that a Memorial March and Service Commemorating the Death of Malcolm X took place at approximately 12 noon on February 22, 1967, at the Audubon Ballroom, West 166 Street and Broadway, New York City.

Approximately one hundred people marched in a parade down Broadway to 145 Street, and then crossed over to Seventh Avenue. At this point, they marched down to 125 Street where they were joined by about another one hundred people. Here a Memorial Service for Malcolm X was conducted and a small bust of Malcolm X was unveiled.

Speakers were as follows:

Akiyole Awolowo, Chief of Information of the Harlem Peoples' Parliament.

[REDACTED]

*Declan 8/12/76 G11/100  
Appropriate officials + Agencies  
notified by 8/14/76 501/100*

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

100-399321-442

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorial March and Service  
Commemorating the Death of  
Malcolm X

Baba Oseijeman Adefunmi, the Prime Minister of the Harlem Peoples' Parliament, and High Priest of the Yoruba Temple who stated that the Negro people should buy goods from black people.

Stokely Carmichael, Executive Director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee who stated that from now on they will no longer celebrate the death of Malcolm X, but instead will celebrate his birthday.

Charles ~~37X~~ Morris, a Militant black nationalist who spoke in general laudatory terms about Malcolm X.

Ella Collins, <sup>SI</sup> President of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, who also spoke in general terms about the good that Malcolm X did while he was living.

The affair terminated at 2:30 PM with about two hundred people in attendance.

There were no arrests or incidents.

On February 23, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the Memorial Service for Malcolm X was held as scheduled with no incidents. According to this source, approximately two hundred people attended the affair in which a bust of Malcolm X was unveiled.

Characterization of OAAU is contained in the appendix.

Characterization of Malcolm X is contained in characterization of Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, and OAAU, which are in appendix.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

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On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

[REDACTED]



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

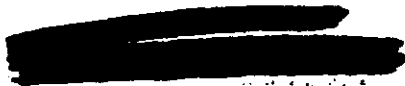
2.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

NATION OF ISLAM


In January, 1957, a source advised that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On April 29, 1966, a second source advised that, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by ALLAH, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised that MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~


APPENDIX (CONT'D)

2.

NATION OF ISLAM (CONT'D)

however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised that MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN  
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held at the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of Education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On February 28, 1966, a confidential source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is ELLA COLLINS, a half-sister of the late MALCOLM X, who resides in Boston, Massachusetts.

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

2.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN  
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU) (CONT'D)

On April 12, 1966, the same confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a second confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

[REDACTED]



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**MALCOLM X LITTLE**

**PART 19 OF 24**

**BUFILE: 100-399321**

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 100-399321

Section 19

Serials 443---

100-399321-443  
**CHANGED TO**  
157-8154-4

OCT 31 1967

gal/kc

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 9269 JHE/WEB/ld

①



F B I

Date: JUN 18 1964

Transmit the following in

(Type in plain text or code)

Via

~~Confidential~~

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-35713)

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.  
IS - MMI

Classified by 6855  
Exempt from GDS Category  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 5-18-77

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

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

This letterhead memorandum is being classified CONFIDENTIAL  
since the information furnished

- 3 - Bureau (100-441765) (Encls. 8)  
(1 - 25-330971) (Encl. 1)  
5 - New York (100-152759) (Encls. 2)  
(1 - 105-7809) (NOI) (Encl. 1)  
(1 - 105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (Encl. 1)  
(1 - 100- [redacted] (Encl. 1)  
2 - Chicago (100-35635) (Encl. 1)  
(1 - 100-33544) (Encl. 1)  
9 - Boston (1 - [redacted])  
(1 - 97-145) (NOI) (1 - [redacted])  
(1 - [redacted])  
(1 - [redacted])

ENCLOSURE

cover add  
encl 399321  
100-399321-  
JUN 19 1964

100-399321-  
NOT RECORDED

AGENCY [redacted]  
DATE FORW. 6-22-64  
HOW FORW. [redacted]

ENCLOSURE

Confidential

INX/SEC

CC-178

DECLASSIFIED BY 261 JHE/WES/BJP  
ON 12/21/83

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-441765

BS 100-35713

~~Confidential~~

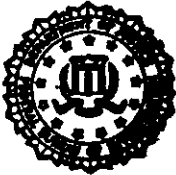
b7D  
b7C

The Agent who contacted  
is SA [REDACTED] u

b7D

[REDACTED] u

~~Confidential~~



**CONFIDENTIAL**  
**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**  
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

**Boston, Massachusetts**  
**June 18, 1964**

**MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI**

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D Mass: [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
**Group 1**

**Excluded from Automatic  
downgrading and declassification**

DECLASSIFIED ON 4/8/76 3101

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

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

☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
100-399321-Not Recorded letter dated 6/18/69 pages 2, 3, 4

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D [REDACTED] that Malcolm X's group does not have the appeal in Boston that it has in Harlem where conditions are such that anyone preaching on anything can promote some sort of following.

b7D Malcolm X's intention of going before the United Nations leaves Boston Negroes cold, since the situation of the Negro in Boston does not leave too much room for griping. [REDACTED] believes however that the United Nations approach would have a big appeal in Harlem.

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM,  
formerly referred  
to as the Muslim Cult  
of Islam, also known  
as Muhammad's Temples  
of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

On July 10, 1963, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by ALLAH, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon".

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2.

NATION OF ISLAM (con't)

On July 10, 1963, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his program.

7  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE OF ISLAM NO. 11  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, also referred to  
as the Nation of Islam (NOI)

On March 18, 1954, a source stated that the Nation of Islam (NOI) had become active in Boston, Massachusetts, and knew that it had held meetings as early as November, 1953.

On May 31, 1963, a second source stated that the Temple of Islam in Boston, Massachusetts, is known as Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 11, or Muhammad's Mosque No. 11. It is located at 35 Intervale Street, Dorchester (Boston), Massachusetts, and is the local branch of Muhammad's Temple of Islam whose headquarters are in Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and Minister of NOI Mosque #7, New York, who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in times of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

During an appearance over KYW - Television, Cleveland, Ohio, on April 7, 1964, MALCOLM X stated that the MMI does not stand for integration, but for complete freedom, justice, and equality for Negroes. He stated that Islam was the religious philosophy of the MMI, while the political, economic and social philosophy was black nationalism.

On May 15, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City, where they were established on March 16, 1964.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1.

NATION OF ISLAM  
MOSQUE #7, NEW YORK CITY

On May 3, 1963, a source advised that the Nation of Islam (NOI) affiliate in New York City is known as Mosque #7, also known as Temple #7, and is located at 102 West 116th Street, New York City. Mosque #7 is a part of the NOI headed by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. Mosque #7 follows the policies and programs as set forth by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

The date Mosque #7 originated in New York City is not known.

However, in connection with the origin of Mosque #7, it should be noted that in 1953, a second source advised that there was a temple of the NOI (known to source then as the Muslim Cult of Islam) in New York City located at 135th Street and Seventh Avenue, as far back as 1947.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bishop

EAC, Los Angeles

3/27/68

Director, FBI (100-399321)

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

b7c

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.  
(OO:NY)

Inclosed for Chicago, Los Angeles and Phoenix is a Xerox copy of an article which appeared in the March 9, 1968, edition of "The New York Times," page 23.

The above-mentioned article indicates that two film companies in Hollywood are currently preparing to start production on two separate films on the life of subject, now deceased, who is better known as Malcolm X. Columbia Pictures, which owns the movie rights to the book "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," will produce one of the movies to be released under that title. The script is being written by Janice Baldwin. The second movie is being produced by 20th Century-Fox and will be entitled "Malcolm X." The script for the latter is being written by Louis Lomax. All offices have previously been alerted under the "Nation of Islam, IS - NOI" caption, to a possible movie on the life of Malcolm X since it is anticipated that such a film would be detrimental to the Nation of Islam and its leader, Elijah Muhammad.

Los Angeles is requested to discreetly contact sources at the above two studios to confirm the information in the article and to determine details relative to these two films. Los Angeles should be particularly alert for indications that the Bureau will be mentioned or portrayed in either movie. Los Angeles should obtain advanced copies of these scripts in order that the interest of the Bureau may be protected. Handle promptly and furnish the results in a form suitable for dissemination to the Bureau and all interested offices.

Enclosure  
2 - New York (105-8999)  
1 - Chicago (Enclosure)  
1 - Phoenix (Enclosure)

ABF:lmr (12)  
NOTE: See memorandum [REDACTED] to W. C. Sullivan, dated 3/26/68, same captioned, prepared by ABF:lmr.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/99 BY 60322/UC/LP

MAILED 12  
MAR 27 1968  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

54 APR 2 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

EX-105 REC-74 100-399321-444

TSD

MAR 28 1968

W.C. Sullivan  
[Handwritten signatures and initials]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bishop

DATE: 3/26/68

FROM : [REDACTED] *m*

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Racial informants have previously advised of the possible production of a movie on the life of Malcolm K. Little, a former leading black nationalist who was better known as Malcolm X. Malcolm X was formerly an official in the Nation of Islam (NOI) before breaking from that group in 1964, at which time he formed his own two organizations, the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and the Organization of Afro-American Unity. He was assassinated on 2/21/65 and three members of the NOI have been convicted of his murder. Since then, Malcolm X has become a "saint" to the black nationalist movement.

The 3/9/68 edition of "The New York Times" contained an article indicating that two separate films on the life of Malcolm X are scheduled to be produced by two major Hollywood studios. Production is not expected before the late Summer of 1968.

Columbia Pictures will produce "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," based on the book of the same title, of which they own the movie rights. The movie script is reportedly being written by James Baldwin, a well-known Negro writer [REDACTED]

The second movie, to be entitled "Malcolm X," is being produced by 20th Century-Fox and the movie script is reportedly being written by Louis Lomax, a well-known Negro author.

## ACTION:

REC-41

100-399321-445

That the attached letter be sent instructing the Los Angeles Office to contact sources at these two studios in order to confirm the news article, to determine if the Bureau is to be mentioned or portrayed in either movie, and to obtain advanced copies of the scripts when available in order to protect the interests of the Bureau.

Enclosure *sent 3-27-68*  
ABF:lmr  
(6) *me*  
100-399321

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 1269 JH/VEB/68

54 APR 8 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

70  
3/14

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321) ✓

DATE: 5/2/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (105-5591) (P) ✓  
WGG  
gm

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X. LITTLE  
IS - MMI  
OO: New York

Re New York airtel dated 3/14/68, entitled

b7c [REDACTED] 444

Enclosed herewith are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) suitable for dissemination. Also enclosed for the New York Office is two copies and one each for Chicago and Phoenix of LHM.

b7D { [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/20/83 BY 9269JHE/WEE/dk

REC 16

NO DISSEMINATION

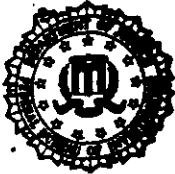
100-399321-446  
EX 101

12 MAY 8 1968

- ENCLOSURE
- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 11) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago (Encl. 1) (RM)
  - 2 - New York (Encl. 2) (RM)
  - 1 - Phoenix (Encl. 1) (RM)
  - 2 - Los Angeles

RACIAL/INT. SECT.  
[REDACTED]

51 MAY 21 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Los Angeles, California  
May 2, 1968

MALCOLM X. LITTLE  
IS - MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

b7D [REDACTED] advised Special Agent [REDACTED] that 20th Century-Fox Studio is considering making a motion picture based on the life of Malcolm X. As of now, this is an idea only, and is in the planning stage along with many other story ideas.

b7D { [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] should 20th Century-Fox decide to proceed with this story, it would take about two years to develop a script and to get it into production.

b7D [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/20/83 BY 826 JHE/wes/20 - 399321-446

ENCLOSURE

MALCOLM X. LITTLE

b7D

b7C

b7D, C

b7C

On March 21, 1968, Special Agent [REDACTED] made an attempt to ascertain information concerning [REDACTED] but obtained no information concerning these things.

b7D

b7D

[REDACTED] would remain alert to developments in this matter and would advise the FBI promptly if he should receive any information that might resolve the situation.

MALCOLM X. LITTLE

67C  
67D  
Special Agent [REDACTED] will maintain intermittent  
contact [REDACTED]

"Hollywood Reporter"  
Hollywood, California  
March 19, 1968  
Page 4

The above carried an article headed "Rosenberg & Worth Plan 'Lenny Bruce'". In substance the article revealed that the Lenny Bruce story was to be added to the production schedule of Marvin Worth with Stewart Rosenberg as Director. The article further explained that Marvin Worth was said to produce Malcolm X at Columbia with James Baldwin as writer of the script. Negotiations were under way for a director for the Malcolm X film and for a writer for the Bruce story. From present indications, both projects may go simultaneously this fall.

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



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (105-5591) (RUC)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X. LITTLE  
IS - MMI  
OO: New York

DATE: 6/24/68

Re Los Angeles letter to Director dated 5/2/68.

During the month of May and the fore part of June 1968, SA [REDACTED] made intermittent contacts with officials of Columbia Pictures, Hollywood, California, and has determined that nothing further has developed concerning the possible production of a film on the life of MALCOLM X.

Contacts will be maintained and when information is developed concerning the possible production of a film on the life of MALCOLM X, it will be furnished to the Bureau and New York.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/20/83 BY 8269 JHE/WED/08  
EX 101

100-399321-447

REC-64

1 JUL 1 1968

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (105-8999) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (105-5591)

HLG/vld

51 JUL 11 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.  
806

MA 5

339PM

URGENT 2-6-69 MTR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

FROM PHILADELPHIA (157-NEW)

VIA TELETYPE

FEB 6 1969

ENCIPHERED

MEMORIAL OBSERVANCE OF ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X, FEB. TWENTY-ONE SIXTYNINE, PHILA., PA.: RM

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED FEB. SIX INSTANT THAT THE PHILA. BOARD OF EDUCATION ARE ALLOWING STUDENTS IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM TO HOLD MEMORIAL SERVICES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS DURING FEB. TWENTY-ONE TO TWENTY-THREE OBSERVANCE OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X. THE SCHOOL BOARD FEELS BETTER SECURITY AND CONTROL OF STUDENTS CAN BE ATTAINED THROUGH THIS METHOD OF ALLOWING BLACK STUDENTS TO REGISTER THEIR ADMIRATION FOR MALCOLM X AND BLACK HEROES IN GENERAL. RI, SECRET SERVICE AND NSA, EDPA, COGNIZANT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 1269 JHE/REK/100

ADMINISTRATIVE

67D

THE FOLLOWING  
BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

5455825 1969

NO 2 SHD BE MALCOLM

SAC, Los Angeles (105-5591)

3-20-69

Director, FBI (100-399321)

PROPOSED FILM ON LIFE  
OF MALCOLM X  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re LAlet 6-24-68 captioned "Malcolm X Little, IS-121."

The 3-4-69 issue of "Look" magazine contained an article regarding the widow of Malcolm X. In the article (page 77) it was indicated that a motion picture based on the autobiography of Malcolm X would be released later this year. The article indicated that James Baldwin and Arnold Perl are writing the screenplay for Producer Marvin Worth and Columbia Pictures.

Through established sources Los Angeles should develop any available information regarding the film mentioned above.

1 - New York (105-8999)

JJD:sd (5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 THE/WE/DO

EX-110

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 23

MAR 20 1969

COMM-FBI

REC-25/00-399321-449

11 MAR 21 1969

MAR 28 1969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (105-5591) (RUC)

SUBJECT: PROPOSED FILM ON THE LIFE  
OF MALCOLM X  
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: 4/21/69

*G. E. Moore*

Re Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 3/20/69.

The following investigation was conducted by  
SA [REDACTED] on 4/2/69:

[REDACTED]

advised that the film concerning the life of MALCOLM X is still in the first draft writing stage. It is being written by JAMES BALDWIN and ARNOLD PERL and the first script is expected to be completed about mid-April 1969. After the script is completed it will then be evaluated and possibly rewritten a couple of times before it gets to the production stage.

According to [REDACTED] in all probability the film is still several months away from production.

REC-24

100-399321-450

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (105-8999) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles

3 APR 24 1969

HLG/fpd  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 JHE/EB/del

70 MAY 8 1969

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

100-399321-451  
**CHANGED TO**  
157-8154-5X

JAN 21 1971

C.M.K. / B.M.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY SP6 KJA/EWE/LLP

C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 25, 1969

FROM : [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW  
"MALCOLM X, THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS"  
BY GEORGE BREITMAN  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED] b7C  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

MALCOLM X

This memorandum presents a review of captioned book published in 1965 by Merit Publishers which is being placed in the Bureau Library.

## SYNOPSIS:

b7C George Breitman, [REDACTED] traces the life of Malcolm X from childhood to his violent death in 1965. The author shows how Malcolm X was introduced to the Nation of Islam headed by Elijah Muhammad while in prison and how, after released from prison, he devoted his time to speaking in favor of the Nation of Islam and helped transform the Black Muslims to a well-known organization. In 1964, he split with Muhammad's organization because of the growth of militancy and mass action in the Negro community and formed his own organization known as Muslim Mosque, Incorporated.

## ACTION:

For information.

REC 17

100-399321-452

100-399321

NO APR 30 1969

b7C 1 [REDACTED]  
1 - 62-46855 (Book Review File)

DETAILS PAGE TWO

CAP:bjr  
(9)

66 MAY 6 - 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/2/62 BY SP-1/AM

UNRECORDED COPY FILED

b7c

Memorandum [REDACTED] to W. C. Sullivan  
RE: BOOK REVIEW  
"MALCOLM X, THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS"  
BY GEORGE BREITMAN  
100-399321

DETAILS:

REVIEW OF BUREAU FILES

b7c

The author is [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] former editor of "The Militant" a publication  
of that organization. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

BOOK REVIEW

The author describes the life of Malcolm X from his childhood to his assassination in February of 1965. After the death of his parents, he lived at state institutions and boarding homes until the age of 15 when he went to live with his sister in Boston, Massachusetts, and drifted into a life of crime including gambling, drugs, hustling, and burglary. In 1946 at the age of 20, he was convicted of burglary and sentenced to ten years in prison.

During his incarceration which continued for six years, he was introduced to the Nation of Islam headed by Elijah Muhammad. During this period he educated himself and learned to speak and debate. The author described him as the most respected debater in the country. After parole, he traveled to Chicago, Illinois; met Elijah Muhammad; was accepted into the Nation of Islam; and in a few short years his work, through his plain direct speaking style, helped transform the Black Muslims from a virtually unnoticed to a well-known organization.

While in the Black Muslims, Malcolm X traveled throughout the country as Muhammad's troubleshooter and came to know the ghetto areas nationally. According to the author, Malcolm X

CONTINUED - OVER





100-399321-453,454,455,456

**CHANGED TO**

157-8154-7X3,7X1,10,11

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/dd

JAN 21 1971

Gmk / BAn

C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 6/5/70

FROM :

SUBJECT:

BOOK REVIEW  
"THE SPEECHES OF MALCOLM X  
AT HARVARD"  
BY ARCHIE EPPS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

This is a review of captioned book published in 1969 by Apollo Editions. The book is being placed in the Bureau Library.

Epps is Assistant Dean of Harvard College. He is described as founder and adviser of "The Harvard Journal of Negro Affairs."

Book, 191 pages, divided into two parts, latter part being verbatim texts of speeches by Malcolm X on 3/24/61, 3/18/64, and 12/16/64. First 112 pages are analysis by Epps of the speeches in effort to determine personal motivations and goals of Malcolm X (true name Malcolm Little). Epps noted first speech given at time when Malcolm X was deeply involved in Nation of Islam (NOI) and was dedicated follower of NOI head Elijah Muhammad. His remarks showed Black Muslim view of the white man as a lowly animal but freedom of the black man from yoke of white man was placed in terms of redemption by God. Shortly before second speech, Malcolm X resigned from the NOI because of disillusionment. In the second speech, he appeared no longer to believe to rely upon God to save the black man from the white man but presented the Negro people as both judge and executioner of the whites. The final speech was made shortly after he had

100-399321

1 - 62-46855 (Book Review File)

REC-6

100-399321-457

JUN 10 1970

JCM:rad  
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/dd

CONTINUED - OVER

RACIAL MATTERS

66 JUN 18 1970

F 4 2 8

**Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan**

**Re: Book Review**

**"The Speeches of Malcolm X at Harvard"**

**By Archie Epps**

returned from an extensive trip to Africa and just two months before his assassination. The author concludes that Malcolm X saw himself and the Negroes as exiles in a society which was a jungle for them, threatened by daily violence. He was a mixture of prophet, escapist and revolutionary.

No mention of the FBI is made in the book.

**ACTION:**

For information.

*jem*

*je*

*WCL*

*D*

100-399321-458  
**CHANGED TO**  
157-19145-X

JAN 21 1971

Gmk / Bpk

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 JHE/WES/dcl

C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM :

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW

"The Assassination of Malcolm X:  
Unanswered Questions And The Trial"  
By George Breitman and Herman Porter  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

1 -

DATE: 8/20/70

1 -

1 -

To: ☒ Mr. Sullivan  
To: ☒ Mr. Brennan  
To: ☒ Mr. Callahan  
To: ☒ Mr. Casper  
To: ☒ Mr. Conrad  
To: ☒ Mr. Felt  
To: ☒ Mr. Gale  
To: ☒ Mr. Rosen  
To: ☒ Mr. Tavel  
To: ☒ Mr. Walters  
To: ☒ Mr. Soyars  
To: ☒ Mr. Tele. Room  
To: ☒ Mr. Holmes  
To: ☒ Gandy

This is a review of captioned booklet published in 1969 by Merit Publishers which is being placed in the Bureau library.

## REVIEW OF BUREAU FILES:

Breitman is [REDACTED] a former editor of "The Militant," a publication of the SWP. Porter is [REDACTED] a writer for "The Militant."

## BOOK REVIEW:

This booklet consists of 12 articles which appeared in "The Militant" between July, 1965, and March, 1966. Of the three subjects arrested, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Malcolm X the authors claim that one was undoubtedly guilty but he was not proved to be a member of the Black Muslims. The other two subjects who were Black Muslims were not a part of the assassination and were framed by the police in order to show Malcolm's death was caused by the rival organization. Breitman writes in an introductory note "Readers should also understand that if the New York police were involved in the assassination (and nothing said or done at the trial, or in the four years since the crime, has absolved them of this charge), that involvement could not have been on their own initiative, but must have resulted from the decision and direction of the Government in Washington, that is, the CIA."

## MENTION OF THE FBI:

The FBI is mentioned on pages 5, 6, 9, 11, 22, and 29. On the first three listed pages, mention is made of the Bureau in connection with its investigations and development of informants

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - 62-46855 (Book Review File)

5.5 SEP 1 1970

REC-1

AUG 26 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/21/82 BY [REDACTED]

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN  
62-46855-

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan

RE: BOOK REVIEW

"The Assassination of Malcolm X:  
Unanswered Questions and The Trial"  
By George Breitman and Herman Porter

in extremist groups. On the last three mentioned pages the FBI is referred to as to testimony given during the trial and evidence obtained.

ACTION:

For information.

gtt

WPK

*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*

100-399321-460  
**CHANGED TO**  
157-16639-1912

JAN 21 1971

CMK / BAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 9269JAE/WER/dd

C

14  
C  
b  
1 - [REDACTED]  
b7c  
SAC, New York (100-37235)  
Attention: Liaison Section  
Director, FBI (62-46355)

4/20/72

**PURCHASE OF BOOKS  
BOOK REVIEWS**

You are authorized to obtain discreetly one copy each book listed below for use of Bureau. Mark books to attention of Research Section, Domestic Intelligence Division.

1. "The Struggle for Black Power" by Edward Pease. Scribner's; \$7.95
2. "The End of White World Supremacy: Four Speeches by Malcolm X." Merlin House; \$6.00

1 - Extremist Section (Route through for review) [REDACTED] b7c  
1 - [REDACTED] 6221 IB

AMB:jvl  
(6)

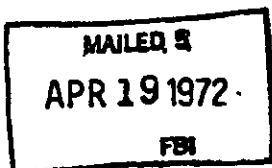
NOTE:

Books requested by [REDACTED] Extremist Section, Domestic Intelligence Division. Book #1 will be used as a reference; book #2 will be reviewed. Books will be placed in Bureau Library.

ma  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EX-109  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 JHE/WGB/22

REC-32 100-399321-461  
NOT RECORDED  
25 APR 21 1972

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Campbell \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalley \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Hates \_\_\_\_\_  
Wickert \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



60 APR 25 1972  
TJS/ELR

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

35 APR 20 1972

TJD  
4-23

ORIGINAL FILED IN



SAC, Albany

4/19/72

Director, FBI

BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY - MALCOLM X  
MAY 19, 1972  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

1 - Mr. A. Rosen  
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

*Sw*  
Malcolm K. Little, better known as Malcolm X, a black militant leader, was born 5/19/25. He was killed in New York City (NYC) 2/21/65.

Because many of today's black revolutionaries regard Malcolm X as a hero and a martyr, the possibility exists that the anniversary of his birthday may be marked by them with acts of violence. As an example, last year two NYC police officers were seriously wounded in a machine gun attack by black assailants the night of 5/19. Anonymous letters claiming credit for the attack linked the shooting to "Malcolm's Birthday."

Bring this to the attention of all Agents handling black extremist matters so that they may be alert for any information concerning possible violence in connection with Malcolm X's birthday. Instruct black extremist informants to be particularly alert to obtain and report such information.

If any such information developed, promptly advise Bureau under appropriate caption and handle in accordance with existing instructions.

2 - All Offices

HEH:aso (124)

EX-109

19 APR 21 1972

NOTE: See memorandum [REDACTED] to Mr. E. S. Miller, dated 4/18/72, captioned as above, prepared by HEH:aso.

APR 20 1972

Tele. Room  
Felt  
Campbell  
Rosen  
Mohr  
Bishop  
Miller, E.S.  
Callahan  
Casper  
Conrad  
Dalbey  
Cleveland  
Ponder  
Bates  
Waikart  
Walters  
Soyars  
Tele. Room

66 APR 26 1972

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 886 THE/WEB/BJR

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO

FROM

SUBJECT: BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY - MALCOLM X  
MAY 19, 1972  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

DATE: 4/18/72

1 - Mr. A. Rosen

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson  
Felt  
Campbell  
Rosen  
Mohr  
Bishop  
Mittler  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Dalbey  
Cleveland  
Fowler  
Gale  
Rosen  
Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

Purpose of this memorandum is to secure approval of a letter to all field offices instructing they be alert for information regarding possible violence to mark birthday anniversary of Malcolm X, born 5/19/25.

Malcolm K. Little, better known as Malcolm X, an exconvict and black militant leader, was at one time a national leader of the black separatist Nation of Islam (NOI). He broke with the NOI in 1964, set up his own organization known as the Muslim Mosque Incorporated, and developed a substantial following. On 2/21/65 he was shot to death while addressing a rally in New York City (NYC). Three Negroes, described as Black Muslims, were later convicted of his murder.

Malcolm X is regarded as a hero and a martyr by many black revolutionaries and the possibility exists his birthday may be marked by them with acts of violence. Last year, for example, two NYC police officers were seriously wounded in a machine gun attack by black assailants the night of 5/19 and anonymous letters claiming credit for the attack linked the shooting to "Malcolm's Birthday."

While no information has been received indicating any specific plans for violence to mark Malcolm X's birthday, it is deemed advisable to instruct the field to be alert to any such information and to target black extremist informants to be particularly alert to obtain and report such information.

**ACTION:** That attached letter to all field offices in line with above be approved.

Enclosure  
HEH:aso (6) 4-17-72

REC 17

3 APR 25 1972

54 APR 28 1972

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/26/83 BY 8242 JHE/psd

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/17/72

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (157-1882)(RUC)

SUBJECT: BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY - MALCOLM X  
5/19/72  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

Re Bureau letter to Albany, 4/19/72.

During May, 1972, Seattle sources and informants familiar with black extremist activity were contacted and advised they did not have any information relating to any possible violence in connection with MALCOLM X's birthday.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Seattle  
TASH/djs  
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 2266 JHE/LWE/Bld

EC-14 100-399321-464

EX-112 • MAY 22 1972

EXT. AND SEC.



MAY 26 1972

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

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 20 1972

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Dalbey  
Mr. Cleveland  
Mr. Fonder  
Mr. Bates  
Mr. Walkart  
Mr. Walters  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

NR008 WF PLAIN

455 PM NITEL 5-20-72 MWM

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

(ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE)

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD (157-4953) (FIVE PAGES)

BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY, MALCOLM X, MAY NINETEEN, SEVENTYTWO,  
EXTREMIST MATTERS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 9269 JHE/wec/ed

ALL SOURCES MENTIONED HEREIN HAVE FURNISHED RELIABLE  
INFORMATION IN THE PAST.

MALCOLM X (LITTLE) WAS A MILITANT CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST  
WHO WAS ASSASSINATED IN FEBRUARY, NINETEEN SIXTYFIVE IN NEW  
YORK CITY.

THE UNITED STATES PARK POLICE, WASHINGTON, D.C., ADVISED  
ON MAY TWELVE, SEVENTYTWO THAT A DEMONSTRATION WAS SCHEDULED  
TO BE HELD IN MERIDIAN HILL PARK, SIXTEENTH AND EUCLID  
STREETS, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C., ON MAY NINETEEN, SEVENTYTWO  
TO COMMEMORATE MALCOLM X (MX). AN ESTIMATED THREE HUNDRED  
PARTICIPANTS WERE ANTICIPATED.

ON MAY SIXTEEN, SEVENTYTWO SOURCE ONE ADVISED A FLIER HAD  
BEEN PREPARED FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION ANNOUNCING A BLACK ARTS  
FESTIVAL TO BE HELD IN HONOR OF MX ON MAY NINETEEN, SEVENTYTWO  
AT MX PARK, SIXTEENTH AND EUCLID STREETS, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C., FROM SIX O'CLOCK A.M. TO NINE O'CLOCK P.M. INCLUDING

END PAGE

55 MAY 25 1972

AGENCY: CRD, ISD, ITU, RAO, COT  
HOW FORM: 1051-1051 55  
DATE FORW: MAY 23 1972  
BY: [Signature]

100-399321-465

PAGE TWO

A SUNRISE SERVICE, AFRICAN DANCING AND DRUMMING, AND ARTS AND CRAFTS EXHIBITS. ATTACHED TO THE FLIER WAS A POSITION PAPER OF THE MX MEMORIAL COMMITTEE WHICH EXTOLS THE VIRTUES OF MX, STRESSES THE UNITY OF BLACK PEOPLE EVERYWHERE AND URGING BLACK PEOPLE TO BECOME TOTALLY INVOLVED IN THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK SURVIVAL.

SOURCE TWO ADVISED THAT ON FRIDAY MORNING, MAY NINETEEN, SEVENTYTWO, AT APPROXIMATELY SIX THIRTY A.M., NINE MALE NEGRO INDIVIDUALS DRESSED IN DASHIKIS AND AFRICAN-TYPE GARB WERE OBSERVED AT THE SPEAKER'S STAND IN MERIDIAN HILL PARK (MX PARK). THEY STOOD ABOUT FOR A BRIEF PERIOD OF TIME, SOME WITH HEADS BOWED, AND DEPARTED FROM THE PARK. BETWEEN SIX THIRTY A.M. AND SEVEN FORTY A.M. ON THAT DATE, NO OTHER ACTIVITY IN THE PARK WAS NOTED. BETWEEN THE HOURS OF FOUR O'CLOCK P.M. AND SIX O'CLOCK P.M. ON MAY NINETEEN, SEVENTYTWO, MUSIC AND BONGO DRUMMING ENTERTAINMENT WAS FURNISHED AND ABOUT SEVEN TABLES HAD BEEN SET UP IN THE PARK DISPLAYING AFRICAN TRINKETS, SOUVENIRS, AFRICAN ART AND CRAFTWORK. APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED PERSONS, ADULTS AND CHILDREN, WERE MOVING ABOUT

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

IN THE PARK. THERE WERE NO SPEECHES DURING THIS PERIOD OF TIME AND NO INCIDENTS WERE OBSERVED. A HEAVY RAIN BEGAN FALLING SHORTLY AFTER FIVE THIRTY P.M. THE EXHIBITS WERE TAKEN UP AND THE CROUD BEGAN TO DISPERSE.

SOURCE THREE ADVISED THAT A LOCAL RADIO STATION HAD ANNOUNCED ON LATE FRIDAY AFTERNOON, MAY NINETEEN, SEVENTYTWO, THAT THE EVENING ACTIVITY AT MX PARK HAD BEEN CANCELLED BECAUSE OF RAIN.

A SPOKESMAN [REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED] WASHINGTON, D.C., ADVISED ON MAY TWENTY, SEVENTYTWO THAT A RALLY IN HONOR OF MX SCHEDULED TO BE HELD AT NOON, FRIDAY, MAY NINETEEN, SEVENTYTWO IN THE VALLEY GREEN HOUSING PROJECT, THIRTYNINE HUNDRED BLOCK OF WHEELER ROAD, S.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. , DID NOT MATERIALIZE. AND THAT NO ACTIVITY PERTAINING TO MX TOOK PLACE AT THAT LOCATION.

SOURCE ONE ADVISED ON MAY TWENTY, SEVENTYTWO THAT A SMALL RALLY WAS HELD AT TWO O'CLOCK P.M. ON MAY NINETEEN, SEVENTYTWO AT THE COMMUNITY CENTER, WHEELER ROAD AND BARNABY  
END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

TERRACE, S.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. RALLY ATTENDED BY ABOUT FIFTY YOUNG NEGRO MALES AND ADDRESSED BY ARTHUR YOUNG, REPRESENTING THE AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY COORDINATING COMMITTEE (ALDCC), DESCRIBED AS A VEHICLE TO ACHIEVE BROAD NATIONAL SUPPORT AMONG BLACK PEOPLE FOR VARIOUS AFRICAN LIBERATION GROUPS. RALLY ALSO ADDRESSED BY REVEREND DOUGLAS MOORE, REPRESENTING ALDCC AND THE BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF), A MILITANT UMBRELLA-TYPE ORGANIZATION FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON, D.C. SPEAKERS PRAISED MALCOLM X AND URGED THOSE IN ATTENDANCE TO PARTICIPATE IN AFFAIRS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY AS WELL AS IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE ALDCC AND AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY ACTIVITY SCHEDULED FOR MAY TWENTYSEVEN, SEVENTYTWO IN WASHINGTON, D.C. THE RALLY ENDED WITHOUT INCIDENT.

ADMINISTRATIVE . RE BUREAU LETTER FOUR NINETEEN LAST IN INSTANT CAPTION.

SOURCES UTILIZED ARE:

67D [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

END PAGE FOUR

4

PAGE FIVE

[REDACTED] LTD

[REDACTED]

IN VIEW OF ABSENCE OF EXTREMIST ACTIVITY, NO DISSEMINATION  
BEING MADE LOCALLY. CASE CLOSED, NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED. C.  
END

cc- *Erwin*



**MAY 19 1972**

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Campbell \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, ES \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mrs. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Weikart \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

366  
70 MAY 31 1972 Included in summary to White House and Attorney General. Date 4/17/72 Data deleted

AGENCY: ~~CRC, ISO, ITU, MAO~~

HOW FORM: 225  
DATE FORM: MAY 22 1972  
BY: [Signature]

5-1-1944  
R.S. JOURNAL

PAGE TWO

TWELVE TO SEVEN O' CLOCK PM - MALCOLM X MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY  
AT FULTON STREET BETWEEN LEWIS AND SCHENECTEDY AVENUE,  
BROOKLYN. UNSPONSORED.

TWO O' CLOCK PM - BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION AT SEVENTH  
AVENUE AND ONE HUNDRED TWENTY FIFTH STREET, KNOWN IN BLACK  
COMMUNITY AS MALCOLM X SQUARE, WITH NO SPECIFIC SPONSOR  
INDICATED.

THREE O' CLOCK PM - DEMONSTRATION AT UNITED NATIONS  
BUILDING, FOURTY SECOND STREET AND FIRST AVENUE, NYC,  
SPONSORED BY SEVERAL BLACK ORGANIZATIONS FOR PURPOSE OF  
DISCUSSING PLIGHT OF UNITED STATES POLITICAL PRISONERS.  
ALSO TRIBUTES MAY BE GIVEN TO MALCOLM X.

ABOVE CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED NO ACTS OF VIOLENCE  
TO HIS KNOWLEDGE ARE BEING PLANNED, AND ABOVE ASSEMBLIES  
ARE TO BE MEMORIAL TRIBUTES. NEW YORK CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES  
WERE RECONTACTED REGARDING ABOVE AND NONE WERE ABLE TO FURNISH  
ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

USMUN ADVISED.

ADA.

NYO WILL MAINTAIN CONTACT [REDACTED] REGARDING ABOVE.

P.

END

AKKK FOR SEVEN PLS

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 712-A 9&D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/23/72

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-7584) (C)

SUBJECT: BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY - MALCOLM X,  
MAY 19, 1972  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

ReNYtel to Bureau, 5/18/72.

Contact with the following NY confidential and established sources on 5/19/72, regarding demonstrations set forth in referenced communication, failed to disclose any acts of violence, disorder or arrests taking place at those locations:

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/20/83 BY 826RTHB/WES/dcl

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York

EC-50

100-399321-467

LEB:MTM  
(3)

SI-117

MAY 25 1972

EXT. INT. SEC.



JUN 2 1972

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

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 17 1972

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Campbell	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Miller, E.	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Dalbey	
Mr. Cleveland	
Mr. Ponder	
Mr. Bates	
Mr. Walkart	
Mr. Walters	
Mr. Evans	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

NR 010 CI CODE

550PM NITEL 5/17/72 JJB

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

CHARLOTTE

FROM CINCINNATI (157-NEW) 3P P

RALLY AND MARCH IN HONOR OF MALCOM X, FRANKLIN PARK, COLUMBUS, OHIO, MAY NINETEEN NEXT; EM.

TODAY, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED A RALLY IS SCHEDULED AT TEN AM TO TEN PM, MAY NINETEEN NEXT IN FRANKLIN PARK, COLUMBUS, OHIO, IN HONOR OF MALCOM X. THE RALLY IS SPONSORED BY AFRO AM, A BLACK STUDENT ORGANIZATION, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, OHIO, AFRO SET, A BLACK EXTREMIST ORGANIZATION, HEADQUARTERS AT CLEVELAND, OHIO, WITH A BRANCH IN COLUMBUS, OHIO, BLACK MAN'S DEVELOPMENT CENTER, A SELF HELP DRUG BUREAU ORGANIZATION, COLUMBUS, OHIO, AND OTHER INTERESTED BLACKS. SOURCE STATED THAT ONE OF THE PRIME ORGANIZERS OF THE RALLY IS CHARLES O. ROSS, FORMER HEAD OF THE

END PAGE 010 1972

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 826 JHE/DEK

2 "cc to 150  
Adm. data deleted  
62 MAY 30 1972

REC-9  
100-399321-46  
MAY 18 1972  
DATE FORW: MAY 18 1972  
BY: [signature]  
HOW FORW: [signature]  
AGENCY: [signature]

PAGE TWO

BLACK STUDIES DIVISION, OSU, COLUMBUS, OHIO. SOURCE ADVISED  
THAT SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT THE RALLY ARE HOWARD ~~FULLER~~, <sup>OHIO</sup> PRESIDENT,  
MALCOM X UNIVERSITY, GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA, SONIA ~~SANCHEZ~~, <sup>OHIO</sup>  
A BLACK POETESS, AND CHARLES O. ROSS. SOURCE ADVISED PARTICIPANTS  
IN RALLY ARE SCHEDULED TO MARCH THROUGH THE EAST SIDE OF  
COLUMBUS, OHIO, FROM THE PARK BETWEEN FIVE THIRTY AND SEVEN THIRTY  
PM. SOURCE STATED BLACK COLUMBUS HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS ARE  
SCHEDULED TO ACT AS LEADERS DURING MARCH AND RALLY. SOURCE  
ADVISED STUDENTS FROM OTHER OHIO COLLEGES MAY ATTEND THE MARCH  
BUT THERE IS NO ORGANIZED EFFORT TO BRING THESE STUDENTS TO  
COLUMBUS AT THIS TIME. SOURCE ADVISED HE HEARD THERE IS NO  
PLANS FOR ANY VIOLENCE CONNECTED WITH THE MARCH OR RALLY.

TODAY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CONFIRMED THE ABOVE INFORMATION AND  
STATED THAT HIS SOURCE INDICATED THAT THE MARCH AND RALLY SHOULD  
BE PEACEFUL. [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT A NUMBER OF BLACK HIGH SCHOOL  
STUDENTS ARE EXPECTED TO SKIP SCHOOL AND ATTEND THE RALLY AND  
MARCH.

-ADMINISTRATIVE, REBULET TO ALBANY, CAPTIONED BIRTHDAY

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

ANNIVERSARY-MALCOM X, MAY NINETEEN, NINETEEN SEVENTY TWO; EM;  
DATED APRIL NINETEEN, NINETEEN SEVENTY TWO, AND CI AIRTEL  
CAPTIONED AFRO AM; EM, DATED APRIL TWENTY EIGHT, NINETEEN SEVENTY  
TWO.

U. S. SECRET SERVICE AND USA, COLUMBUS, OHIO, ADVISED OF ABOVE  
INFORMATION.

CHARLOTTE ADVISE OF [REDACTED]  
BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ANY PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.  
AIRMAIL COPY SENT TO CLEVELAND FOR INFORMATION.

END

MR. TRAILOR  
ROOM 712-A 92D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 16 1972

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Campbell, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Miller, ES, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Cleveland, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bates, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walkart, \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters, \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room, \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes, \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy, \_\_\_\_\_

NR 10 SD CODE

1100PM NITEL 5-15-72 LLC

TO BUREAU (ATTENTION D I D)

FROM SAN DIEGO (157-3191)(P) 4P

BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY - MALCOLM X, MAY NINETEEN NEXT, EXTREMIST  
MATTERS.

TWO SAN DIEGO SOURCES ADVISED SUBSTANTIALLY AS FOLLOWS  
ON MAY TWELVE LAST:

THE BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY OF THE LATE MALCOLM X, EARLY  
LEADER IN THE BLACK NATIONIST MOVEMENT, WILL BE OBSERVED  
WITH FESTIVITIES MAY NINETEEN AND TWENTY NEXT AT SOUTHCREST  
PARK, FORTIETH AND KEELER STREETS, AND AT RUSS AUDITORIUM AT  
SAN DIEGO HIGH SCHOOL, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA.

FESTIVITIES AT SOUTHCREST PARK WILL START ELEVEN THIRTY  
AM MAY NINETEEN AND WILL FEATURE SONGS, DANCES AND POETRY

END PAGE ONE

6 MAY 23 1972

2cc to: SD  
Adm. data deleted

10/15/72  
CCSS, CRD  
Adm. data deleted  
WHA/leg

57 JUN. 1972

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 8047 JHE/WEA/DA



SD 157-3191

PAGE TWO

READING, AS WELL AS TALKS BY COMMUNITY LEADERS. LAST YEAR'S MALCOLM X CELEBRATION AT THE PARK WAS ATTENDED BY AN ESTIMATED FIVE THOUSAND PERSONS.

AMONG THOSE SCHEDULED TO ATTEND AND ENTERTAIN THE GUESTS WILL BE LE ROI JONES, REFERRED TO AS IMAMU BARAKA, POET AND BLACK POLITICAL ACTIVIST; CAIPHUS SEMANYAN, LEADER OF A MUSICAL GROUP CALLED THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA; LETTA MBULU, AN ENTERTAINER FROM AFRICA; DAVID NELSON OF THE LASTS POETS, A POETRY READING GROUP, AND RUPERT CROSSE AND TATANISHA, STARS OF THE TELEVISION PROGRAM "ROOM TWO TWENTY TWO."

HIGHLIGHT OF THE CELEBRATION WILL BE THE FIFTH ANNUAL MISS AFROAMERICA SAN DIEGO BEAUTY PAGEANT AT EIGHT PM MAY TWENTY NEXT AT RUSS AUDITORIUM. THE THEME OF THE PAGEANT IS "BLACK WOMEN DASH AFRICAN ESSENCE REBORN." MASTER OF CEREMONIES DURING THE PAGEANT WILL BE BLACK ACOTR RICHARD  
END PAGE TWO

SD 157-3191

PAGE THREE

ROUNDTREE CURRENTLY STARRING IN A MOTION PICTURE TITLED  
"SHAFT".

THE TWO DAY CELEBRATION IS BEING SPONSORED BY THE  
CONGRESS OF AFRICAN PEOPLE (CAP), THE NATIONAL INVOLVEMENT  
ASSOCIATION (NIA), THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS (BSU) IN VARIOUS  
LOCAL SAN DIEGO COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOL CAMPUSES, AND OTHER  
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS.

CAP'S BASIC GOAL IS THE GLOBAL EXPRESSION OF BLACK  
NATIONALISM.

NIA IS A LOCAL SAN DIEGO BLACK ORGANIZATION SELF DESCRIBED  
AS A MOVEMENT FOR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM AND IS DIRECTLY  
AFFILIATED WITH CAP.

THE BSU IS A STUDENT DASH BASED BLACK MILITANT ORGANIZATION.

VERNON JOHN FONTENETTE, JR., REFERRED TO AS IMAMU SUKUMU,  
WESTERN REGIONAL CORRDIRATOR FOR CAP, WILL BE THE OFFICIAL  
HOST OF THE EVENT.

END PAGE THREE

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 712-A 9&D

SD 157-3191

PAGE FOUR

MALCOLM X WAS ASSASSINATED DURING A RALLY IN NEW YORK  
IN NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE AS HE WAS DELIVERING A SPEECH. HE WAS  
SPOKESMAN FOR THE NATION OF ISLAM (NOI) FOR TWELVE YEARS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

67D

AN LHM WILL BE SUBMITTED SETTING FORTH A DETAILED  
ACCOUNT OF CAPTIONED ACTIVITIES IN SAN DIEGO.

END

TMT FBI SOG ACK UR THRE CLR  
THREE.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 20 1972

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Campbell  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Miller, ES  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Dalbey  
Mr. Cleveland  
Mr. Ponder  
Mr. Bates  
Mr. Walkart  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

NR 033 CI CODE

157AM NITEL 5/20/72 DAH

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM CINCINNATI (157-403) C 2P

RALLY AND MARCH IN HONOR OF MALCOLM X, FRANKLIN PARK, COLUMBUS, OHIO  
MAY NINETEEN, NINETEEN SEVENTYTWO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 JHE

ON MAY NINETEEN LAST, A RELIABLE CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED  
THAT A RALLY CONSISTING OF APPROXIMATELY ONE THOUSAND NEGROES WAS  
HELD IN FRANKLIN PARK, COLUMBUS, ON MAY NINETEEN LAST IN HONOR OF  
MALCOLM X. SOURCE ADVISED HOWARD FULLER, PRESIDENT OF MALCOLM X  
UNIVERSITY, GREENBOROUGH, N.C. TOLD THE RALLY HE RECENTLY SPENT EIGHT  
WEEKS WITH RHOD ?  
BEHIND THEIR AFRICAN BROTHERS. FULLER CLAIMED POLICE IN THE U.S. ARE  
IN COLUSION WITH BLACK DRUG PUSHERS TO PREVENT BLACKS FROM BEING  
INVOLVED IN REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES. FULLER URGED CROWD TO TRAVEL  
TO WDC FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY, MAY TWENTYSEVEN NEXT.

SOURCE ADVISED CROWD MARCHED FROM PARK THROUGH EAST SIDE OF  
COLUMBUS RETURNING TO PARK AND DISPERSING AT TEN PM MAY NINETEEN LAST  
ALL WITHOUT INCIDENT.

ON MAY NINETEEN LAST, [REDACTED]

ADVISED RALLY ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY ONE THOUSAND  
AGENCY: CRD, ISD, IIB, RAO, CD,

END PAGE ONE

"cc to ISO  
Adm. data deleted"

HOW FORM: 215

DATE FORM: MAY 23 1972

BY: [REDACTED]

JUN 8 1972

MAY 30 1972

PAGE TWO

CI 157-403

NEGROES. NO ARRESTS MADE OR INCIDENTS REPORTED IN CONNECTION  
WITH RALLY.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RECITELS MAY SEVENTEEN AND NINETEEN LAST AND CETEL MAY EIGHTEEN  
LAST. AIRMAIL COPY TO CHARLOTTE. [REDACTED] 67D

[REDACTED] U.S. SECRET SERVICE AND USA BOTH COLUMBUS,  
OHIO ADVISED. NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

END

CORRECT CIFILE NO. IS 157-4903

END

HOLD

TMT FBI SOG



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-3115) (C-)

SUBJECT: BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY-MALCOLM X  
MAY 19, 1972  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

DATE: 6/5/72

RE: Bureau Letter to Albany, 4/19/72.

No information concerning above captioned matter has come to the attention of agents of the New Haven Office handling extremist matters.

UACB, no further investigation being conducted by New Haven in this matter.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/20

REC-51

EX-112

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-New Haven  
JGN:ljd  
(3)

3 JUN 8 1972

67C

EXT SEC



1972

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

F B I

Date: 5/31/72 *ESH/CEH*Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (157-15652)(C)

BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY - MALCOLM X  
MAY 19, 1972  
EXTREMIST MATTERS *B.C. [signature]*

Re Bureau letter to Albany dated 4/19/72.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight  
copies of an LHM re captioned matter.One copy of LHM is being furnished to USA, Jackson,  
and Secret Service, Jackson; two copies are being furnished  
MIGp, Jackson, Miss *S**LTD**b7C**b7C*

REC 16

*S*  
ENCLOSURE

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)  
2 - Jackson  
(1 - 157-15652)  
(1 - [redacted])

EX-109

HMR/jsk  
(4)

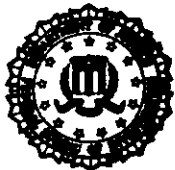
AGENCY *SS, TSD (2cc)*  
REQ. REC'D  
DATE FORW. *6-6-72*  
HOW FORW. *R/S*  
BY *EDT/jan*

100-399321-472  
JUN 3 1972EXT. SEC. 1  
JUN 8 1972ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE *12/20/83* BY *SP4 JTF/wdd*

60 JUN 15 1972

Approved *[signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Jackson, Mississippi

May 31, 1972

BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY -  
MALCOLM X  
MAY 19, 1972

---

On May 23, 1972, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that The Black Unity Coordinating Committee and the Social Science Division of Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, furnished a program in connection with Malcolm X's Birthday of May 19, 1972.

Source stated this meeting was held on May 17, 1972, and that the principal speaker, Norman Hodges, was invited to speak by Roy Walker, senior student at Tougaloo College and president of The Black Unity Coordinating Committee, Tougaloo College.

Source stated that during the afternoon and evening sessions actual attendance was only 60 to 70 persons, primarily students.

Attached herewith is a copy of the program in connection with Malcolm X's birthday.

12/1/75

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/24/83 BY 8249 JHE/WES/NO

100-399321-472

ENCLOSURE



THE BLACK UNITY COORDINATING COMMITTEE

and

SOCIAL SCIENCE DIVISION

presents

DR. NORMAN E. W. HODGES

Speaking on the topic: "THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN"

Wednesday Night 8:00 P.M.

Warren Hall

May 17, 1972

MISSISSIPPI CONF. N.Y. V.A.

*NORMAN*

Dr. Hodges talk will be in commemoration of Malcolm X's birthday which is May 19, 1972. He will be arriving on campus at 2:00 in the afternoon and will take part in a "rap" session discussing the life and writings of Malcolm X to be held in the Coffee House at 3:00.

A native of Michigan, Dr. Hodges is an alumnus of Fisk University, the London School of Economics, Yale University, and Columbia University, where he earned his doctorate in African studies. Following the completion of his undergraduate work, he received a Fulbright Scholarship to study in England where he was awarded a graduate diploma in International Affairs. He taught African and Afro-American history at Hampton Institute before joining the Vassar College faculty where he is an Assistant Professor of History. He is also a Seminar Professor of Black Studies at Columbia University. Dr. Hodges has visited Africa several times, having led groups of college students to Kenya, Ghana, and Tanzania. Especially interested in international affairs and the struggle for racial and social justice, the professor's area of specialization is African and Afro-American studies.

Dr. Hodges is author of the book, Black History, which is presently being used as the text in Freshman Social Science Seminar. His book, Breaking The Chains Of Bondage will be published in the late spring. He is the author of an article that appeared in the January 1972 edition of the Black Scholar entitled, "Neo-colonialism: The New Rape of Africa."

The Black Unity Coordinating Committee  
Tougaloo College  
Tougaloo, Mississippi 39174

BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY -  
MALCOLM X  
MAY 19, 1972

---

Tougaloo College is a privately owned institution, predominately Negro, with an enrollment of approximately 700 students. During the 1960's this school has been the staging area for the civil rights movement in Mississippi.

Tougaloo College is located seven miles north of Jackson, Mississippi.

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, MIAMI (157-3337) (C)

SUBJECT: BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY - MALCOLM X  
MAY 19, 1972  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

DATE: 6/9/72

ReBulet dated 4/19/72.

All appropriate sources of the Miami Office were alerted for any information concerning possible violence in connection with MALCOLM X's birthday.

The date of his birthday has passed and no information was received that any individual or organization planned violence in connection with his birthday.

Also, no violence took place in the Miami area concerning MALCOLM X's birthday.

Above is set forth for the information of the Bureau.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Miami

ACD/jky  
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/30/83 BY 826 JHE/WEC/20

REC-104

100 + 399321 - 473

10 JUN 12 1972



F2P  
60 JUN 16 1972

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: June 21, 1972

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (157-6918) C

SUBJECT: Birthday Anniversary  
Malcolm X  
May 19, 1972  
Extremist Matters

Re: Bureau letter to Albany dated 4/19/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above with two copies each to Charlotte and WFO.

This LHM is being classified "Confidential, Group I", inasmuch as the unauthorized disclosure of information contained therein could be prejudicial to the defense interest of the nation.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269JHE/WES

Copies of enclosed LHM are being furnished to the Charlotte Office for information.

Copies of LHM to WFO for information inasmuch as this festival was held to help raise money for the expenses of the African Liberation Demonstration Day march held in Washington, D.C. on 5/27/72.

1REC-42/00 - 392321-474

EX-112

16 JUN 23 1972

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 5)
- 2 - Charlotte (Encl. 2) (Info)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - (157-MALCOLM X UNIVERSITY)
- 2 - WFO (Encl. 2) (Info)
- 1 - (157-AFRICAN LIBERATION DEMONSTRATION)
- 1 - Baltimore

AGENCY 157(2)/JS  
REQ. REC'D  
DATE FORW. 7/14/72  
HOW FORW. JS  
BY JS/m

EXT. INT. SEC.



7 JUL 18 1972

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

BA (157-6918)

Appropriate extremist sources Baltimore Division were alerted and no information was developed that any incidents of violence occurred in connection with the anniversary of Malcolm X's birthday on 5/19/72.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL 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.

☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

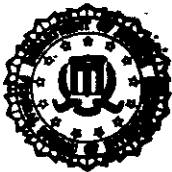
\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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

100-399321-474 page 3

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
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X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 157-6918

Baltimore, Maryland

June 21, 1972

RE: BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY  
MALCOLM X  
May 19, 1972  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

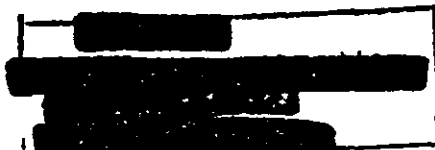
On May 8, 1972, [REDACTED] advised that information had been received that a birthday party will be held for Malcolm X in Druid Hill Park, Baltimore, on May 19, 1972.

On May 15, 1972, [REDACTED] advised that a Malcolm X birthday party would be held in Baltimore on Friday, May 19 and on Sunday, May 21. [REDACTED] advised that the rally occurring on Sunday, May 21 will be held in Druid Hill Park and will be considered a picnic and plans are to have African dancers, drummers, poetry, and art. Also scheduled are black skits. [REDACTED] advised that a Malcolm X festival is to be held at the Calvert Adult Education Center, Baltimore from 8 p.m. to 12 p.m. The festival will feature dancers and skits. The main speaker for the festival will be WUSU SADAKAI who is described as a master teacher for the Malcolm X University. Admission prices will be charged at a rate of \$2.00 and \$1.50 for Students.

*N.C. / D.D.*

On May 21, 1972, [REDACTED] advised that the members of the Ujamaa Shop, Soul School, Black United Front, and Black Student Union, all from Baltimore, Maryland presented a Malcolm X festival at old Polytech, located at North Avenue and Calvert Streets on May 19, 1972. The admission fee is \$1.50 for students, \$2.00 for adults. About 500 people attended in spite of the rain. The affair was given to help raise money for the expenses of the African Liberation Demonstration Day march in Washington, D.C.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.



100-399321-474

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-10  
ON 5/16/82

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 HLF/MLG

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF PMF-08C  
DATE 5/18/77

BA (157-6918)

S.O.U.L. SCHOOL, aka  
THE SOCIETY OF UNITED LIBERATORS, INC.

The S.O.U.L. School was formed in July, 1968, in Baltimore, Maryland. Its objective is to enlighten black people through education and action and has printed literature advocating black revolution. Generally, African or Arabic names are used and members are forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages, use dope or eat pork.

THE BLACK UNITED FRONT

The Black United Front is a federation of Black people who have banded to promote the interests of the Black Community collectively and aggressively. The Black United Front recognizes the divisiveness of the power structure when it deals with Black organizations; however, the Front offers a platform by which the Black Community can come together to promote unity and to assemble points of view relevant to the liberation of Black people from oppression and exploitation. We shall chart courses of action toward issues that will motivate the Black Community to meaningful answers and alternatives.

Without the existence of such a Black United Front, the Black Community will continue to represent an image to destroy the prevailing system and attitudes which for so long have kept the Black masses in subjugation, degradation and humiliation.



**CONFIDENTIAL**

BA (157-6918)

#### UJAMMA SHOP

The Ujamma Shop, 1606 Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland is a retail outlet established for purpose to offer for sale African garments and miscellaneous African trinkets to the black community.

#### BLACK STUDENT UNION

The Black Student Union is a group of high school and college age individuals, which was formed under the auspices of the Soul School, 522 N. Fremont, Baltimore, Maryland. The BSU is directed by officials at the SS; has its headquarters at the Soul School; and its classes are conducted at the SS.

b7D [REDACTED] advised that members of the Ujamma Shop, Soul School, and other brothers presented a play showing how the black man was exploited by the white slave master through out civilization. The white man came to Africa, killed, raped, and robbed the black man of his land and possessions. He then brought them into bondage to America. These same problems went on until the black man was so called "freed" after the Civil War. This so called freedom turned into a political and economical stage where the white man still controlled the life of the black brother. Next the black man is forced to go to war to fight a man who has done him no harm. When the black brothers reached the war zone he finds that the man who he has been told to fight calls him brother. Then the black brother returns home to find out that the white man has enslaved his brothers and sisters by filling the community with dope. The black brothers should form a force and kill the white dope peddler and clean up his community.

There was a group of singers called the "Vandals" who the audience liked very much. The Super Simba Boot dancers of New Jersey performed African military marches directed by a leader, who spoke Swahili.

The main speaker was OWUSU SADAUKAI (master [REDACTED])

**CONFIDENTIAL**

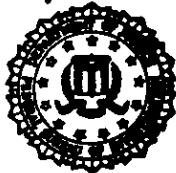
BA (157-6918)

teacher) from Malcolm X University. He informed the audience it was "nation" time and all black brothers must march in the African Liberation Demonstration in Washington, D.C. The purpose of the march is to protect the exploitation of the blacks by white nations. SADAUKAI stated that he fought against white with black brothers and sisters and saw that most of the military equipment came from America. America has raised corporations and has billions of dollars invested in the lands of Africa and do not wish to see the black man free to own his own land because it would bankrupt his holdings. All of the persons attending the festival were invited to attend the celebration of Malcolm X's birthday to be held at Druid Hill Park, Sunday, May 21, 1972.

b7D On May 22, 1972, [REDACTED] advised that a celebration for Malcolm X's birthday was held in Druid Hill Park on May 21, 1972. This festival sponsored by the same groups that sponsored Friday nights festival lasted all day. African dances were performed by the young brothers and sisters. African art was shown, drums were played and refreshments were sold. All those who attended were urged to travel to Washington, D.C. for the African Liberation Day Demonstration march to be held May 27, 1972.

b7D On May 22, 1972, [REDACTED] advised that no information came to the attention of [REDACTED] concerning any incidents which arose out of the Malcolm X festival which was held in Baltimore on May 19-21, 1972.

[REDACTED]



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 157-6918

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland

June 21, 1972

Title MALCOLM X

Character EXTREMIST MATTER

Reference Communication dated and captioned  
as above.

b1D

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/13/72

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-14254) (RUC)

SUBJECT: BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY - MALCOLM X  
MAY 19, 1972  
EXTREMIST MATTERS

Re Bureau letter to Albany, dated 4/19/72.

[REDACTED] con-  
tacted by SA [REDACTED] expected  
no violence on 5/19/72.

[REDACTED]  
was recontacted by SA [REDACTED] and advised  
[REDACTED] had not received any information concerning vio-  
lence occurring on May 19, 1972.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] had no information  
concerning possible violence on 5/19/72.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] had re-  
ceived no information concerning any acts of violence taking  
place on May 19, 1972.

- ② - Bureau  
1 - San Juan



JUN 23 1972

EXT. INFO. SEC.

FBI

Date: 6/2/72

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, CINCINNATI (157-4903) (C)

SUBJECT RALLY AND MARCH IN HONOR OF  
MALCOLM X, FRANKLIN PARK,  
COLUMBUS, OHIO  
MAY 19, 1972  
EM  
(OO:CI)

Re CI tels, 5/17, 19, and 20/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies  
of an LHM captioned as above. A copy of this LHM is  
being forwarded to Charlotte for their information

A copy of this LHM is being disseminated  
locally to the United States Secret Service, Columbus,  
Ohio.

This matter is being placed in a closed status  
in the Cincinnati Division.

2-Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)  
1-Charlotte (Enc. 1) (RM)  
1-Cincinnati

PLM:cjh  
(4)

AGENCY: CRD, ISD, TIV, BAO, CD.

18 JUN 9 1972

HOW FORM: R/S

DATE FORM: JUN 13 1972

BY: [redacted]

58 JUL 7

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

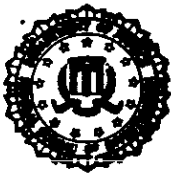
Per \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/13 BY 8069 JIM/SP/LLD

ENCLOSURE

REC-6100-399321-479

EXT. INT.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Cincinnati, Ohio

June 2, 1972

RE: RALLY AND MARCH IN HONOR  
OF MALCOLM X, FRANKLIN PARK,  
COLUMBUS, OHIO  
MAY 19, 1972

-----

On May 17, 1972, a first confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a rally was scheduled for 10:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m., May 19, 1972, in Franklin Park, Columbus, Ohio, in honor of Malcolm X. The rally is sponsored by Afro-Am, a black student organization at Ohio State University (OSU), Columbus, Ohio; Afro Set, a black extremist organization headquartered at Cleveland, Ohio, with a branch in Columbus, Ohio; Black Man's Development Center, a self-help drug cure organization, Columbus, Ohio; and other interested blacks.

AFRO-AM

The Afro-Am was officially recognized as an organization at Ohio State University (OSU) during March, 1970, after black students participated in a demonstration and presented demands to the Vice President of OSU.

The organization's stated purpose is to govern all black organizations on the OSU campus, and to act as an information center for all black students.

On March 13, 1970, OSU obtained a common pleas injunction prohibiting any further disruption by the students who engaged in campus disruptive tactics by that date. This injunction included the Afro-Am.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 JHE/WEP

1 ENCLOSURE

100-399321-476

RE: RALLY AND MARCH IN HONOR  
OF MALCOLM X, FRANKLIN PARK,  
COLUMBUS, OHIO  
MAY 19, 1972  
-----

AFRO SET,  
Also Known As,  
Black Nationalist  
Party for Self-Defense

The Afro Set, also known as Black Nationalist Party For Self-Defense, a black extremist organization, was founded in Cleveland during the summer of 1967 by HARLLEL B. JONES, who refers to himself as the Prime Minister, and who is the absolute leader of this group. The Afro Set has as its primary goal, complete takeover and control of the black community. It teaches hatred of white people and outside authority. The Afro Set is headquartered in Cleveland, Ohio, and has a chapter in Columbus, Ohio.

Source advised that one of the prime organizers of the rally is Charles O. Ross, Former Head of the Black Studies Division of Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. Source advised that scheduled to speak at the rally were Howard Fuller, President, Malcolm X Liberation University, Greensboro, North Carolina; Sonia Sanchez, a black poetess; and Charles O. Ross. Source advised that participants in the rally were scheduled to march through the East Side of Columbus, Ohio from the Park between 5:30 and 7:30 p.m. Source stated that black Columbus high school students were scheduled to act as marshals during the march and rally. Source further advised that students from other Ohio colleges may attend the march, but there was no organized effort to bring these students to Columbus, Ohio. Source further advised that there were no plans for any type of violence connected with this march or rally.

RE: RALLY AND MARCH IN HONOR  
OF MALCOLM X, FRANKLIN PARK,  
COLUMBUS, OHIO  
MAY 19, 1972  
-----

MALCOLM X LIBERATION UNIVERSITY

Malcolm X Liberation University is described as an institution formed in 1969 at Durham, North Carolina, now located at Greensboro, North Carolina, to train young black people in the skills necessary to take over the institutions of the United States. The school is to produce black militants with the capacity of extremist acts with their loyalty primarily to black people regardless of the nation in which they live.

On May 17, 1972, [REDACTED]

6TD [REDACTED] advised that his sources indicated that the march and rally would be peaceful and confirmed the above information. Sources advised that a number of black high school students were expected to skip school and attend the rally and march.

On May 19, 1972, the first confidential source advised that the rally in honor of Malcolm X sponsored by the above organizations began in Franklin Park, May 19, 1972. It was advised that three hundred fifty (350) black students marched to Franklin Park from Linden-McKinley High School, Columbus, Ohio, and joined approximately five hundred (500) blacks, many being junior high and high school age, gathered in the park. Source advised that there was a festive atmosphere at the rally and there were no plans for any type of violence. Howard Fuller, President, Malcolm X Liberation University, Greensboro, North Carolina, addressed the crowd along with Charles O. Ross, Former Head of the Black Studies Division at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. Sonia Sanchez, black poetess scheduled to attend the rally, cancelled her appearance.

Source further advised that Fuller addressed the crowd at the rally and stated he recently spent eight weeks with Rhodesian freedom fighters in Africa and that black



C O

RE: RALLY AND MARCH IN HONOR  
OF MALCOLM X, FRANKLIN PARK,  
COLUMBUS, OHIO  
MAY 19, 1972  
-----

people must unite behind their African brothers. Fuller claimed that the police of the United States are in collusion with black drug pushers to prevent blacks from being involved in revolutionary activities. Fuller urged the crowd to travel to Washington, D.C. for African Liberation Day scheduled for May 27, 1972. Source also advised that the rally marched from the park through the East Side of Columbus, Ohio returning to the park and dispersing at 10:00 p.m., on May 19, 1972, without incident.

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

On May 19, 1972, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that the rally in Franklin Park in honor of Malcolm X, Columbus, Ohio, was attended by approximately one thousand (1,000) blacks and that there were no arrests or incidents reported in connection with this rally.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Campbell \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_  
Marshall \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_  
Mrs. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller

1 - [REDACTED]

DATE: 8/1/72

FROM :

[REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW

"The End of White World Supremacy"

(Four speeches by Malcolm X)

Edited by Benjamin Goodman

EXTREMIST MATTERS

This is review of captioned book, published in 1971 by Merlin House, Inc., The book is being placed in the Bureau Library.

## REVIEW OF BUREAU FILES

Malcolm X, (true name - Malcolm Little) was Harlem hoodlum and ex-convict who became Muslim while imprisoned. He rapidly rose to become Nation of Islam (NOI) minister and major spokesman until split with NOI in March, 1964, and formed Muslim Mosque, Inc., (a quasi-religious, politically-oriented black nationalist group), and Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), (a militant civil rights action group aligned with all African descendants). He was assassinated, at age 39, by three Muslims 2/21/65 while addressing 400 OAAU followers in New York City (NYC). He has since been considered hero and martyr by many revolutionaries.

Editor Benjamin Goodman (true name - Augustus Benjamin Goodman) is Negro, aged 40, former NOI Assistant Minister, who defected from NOI with Malcolm X and was his primary assistant.

## BOOK REVIEW

EX-114

REC-38

100-399321-477

This book is collection of four speeches by Malcolm X introduced by Goodman who relates background of this "impassioned and inspired" black nationalist and describes setting for each speech.

1 - 100-399321 (Malcolm X Little)

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - 62-46855 (Book Review File)

16 AUG 10 1972

TF:sak 546

1 AUG 15 1972

CONTINUED - OVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/82 BY 8269 JHE/ep  
dd

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-41955

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
Re: Book Review "The End of White World Supremacy"  
100-399321

These speeches were delivered during period 12/62-12/63, the final year of Malcolm X's NOI affiliation, and all except one were presented in NYC.

The first and longest speech entitled "Black Man's History" was presented at Malcolm X's NOI Mosque No. 7 in Harlem 12/23/62. It includes rambling, grossly distorted, anti-white view of history emphasizing blacks' oppression by "white devils."

"The Black Revolution," the second speech, was delivered NEW YORK, NY at Adam Clayton Powell's Abyssinian Baptist Church, NYC. Text relates view only lasting solution to race problem is complete racial separation. Malcolm X proposed that U. S. should give blacks land in proportion to population ratio or send blacks back to Africa and provide their subsistence there for 25 years.

"The Old Negro and the New Negro," the third speech, is actually Malcolm X's comments during appearance on Philadelphia radio station, Fall 1963, following address at University of Pennsylvania. Comments include his views on decline of European colonialism, awakening of "dark" world, and development of black pride and self-reliance.

The last speech, "God's Judgement of White America," (subtitled "The CHICKENS are Coming Home to Roost"), was delivered at Manhattan Center, NYC, on 12/3/63. He declares that decline of U. S. as world power is God's punishment for enslavement of 22 million blacks and, unless whites "repent," further retribution will occur. NEW YORK, NY

#### MENTION OF FBI

FBI is not mentioned in book.

#### ACTION

For information.

TF  
LUNA

**SUPPLEMENTAL CORRELATION SUMMARY**  
(See Correlation Summaries dated 8/22/61 and 9/25/63 filed as 100-399321-47 and 71 respectively)

Main File No: 100-399321  
See Also: 9-35568  
25-367776  
44-21493

~~Confidential~~

Date: 10/22

Subject: Malcolm K. Little

Date Searched: 3/7/72

All logical variations of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as set out on page 2:

Also searched as Malcom X. See page 34 in summary.

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed on page 2. All references under these names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY. References indicated in the block as SI contain the same information as the foregoing serial although the information may have been received from a different source.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE AND IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

Analyst

Supervisory Clerk

Approved

jmo;pah

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ENCLOSURE

End. Ind. file  
Search slip only

Classified by 6855  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1, 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

5/16/75  
38 OCT 18 1972

~~Confidential~~

Classified by 8261 JHE/WEA/26  
Declassify on: OADR

100-399321-478

AUG 11 1972

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/29/83 BY 2110

WCM12 VNC 11 1973

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Little, Malcolm K.~~  
~~Al, Hajj Malik El Shabazz~~  
~~Carlton, Jack~~  
~~El, Hajj Malik El Shabazz~~  
~~El, Shabazz Al Hajj Malik~~  
~~El, Shabazz El Hajj Malik~~  
~~El, Shabazz Malik~~  
~~Hajj, Malik El Shabazz Al~~  
~~Hajj, Malik El Shabazz El~~  
~~Khalil, M.~~  
~~Little, Big Red~~  
~~Little, Detroit Red~~  
~~Little, Malcolm~~  
~~Little, Malcolm Shabazz~~  
~~Little, Malcolm X.~~  
~~Little, Malcom~~  
~~Little, Malcomb~~  
~~Little, Rythmn Red~~  
~~Little, Shabazz~~  
~~Malcolm, One~~  
~~Malik, El Shabazz~~  
~~Malik, El Shabazz Al Hajj~~  
~~Malik, El Shabazz El Hajj~~  
~~Shabasz, Joseph~~

~~Shabazz, Al Hajj Malik El~~  
~~Shabazz, El Hajj Malik~~  
~~Shabazz, El Hajj Malik El~~  
~~Shabazz, John~~  
~~Shabazz, M.~~  
~~Shabazz, Malachi~~  
~~Shabazz, Malcolm~~  
~~Shabazz, Malik~~  
~~Shabazz, Malik Al~~  
~~Shabazz, Malik El~~  
~~Shabazz, Malikel~~  
~~Shabazz, Maluchi~~  
~~Shabazz, Alhaji Malik~~  
~~X, Macolm~~  
~~X, Maicholm~~  
~~X, Malcoln~~  
~~X, Malcolm~~  
~~X, Malcolm Little~~  
~~X, Malcolm~~  
~~X, Malcom~~  
~~X, Malcomb~~  
~~X, Malxolm~~  
~~X, Malxom~~

23

summary

\*\*\*\*\*

#### ABBREVIATIONS

Add. info.....Additional information appearing in this reference which pertains to Malcolm K. Little can be found in the main file or elsewhere in this summary. This information may have been received from a different source.

MMI.....Muslim Mosque Incorporated

NOI.....Nation of Islam

OAAU.....Organization of Afro-American Unity

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RELATIVE WHO HAS BUREAU MAIN FILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The relationship, biographical data, NOI, MMI and OAAU activity of Malcolm K. Little were set forth in the serials of the main file on his relative, as follows:

NAME	RELATIONSHIP	REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
Betty Little	Wife	105-71196-15	p.B,1,3, (13,15,59) 5-7,12, 16-18,22

\*\*\*\*\*

b1  
b2  
Add. info.

b2  
(13, 61)

The 7/31/62 issue of "Muhammad Speaks", national publication of the NOI, contained an article datelined Oakland, Calif. The article stated that in attempts to crystalize its major project, a "new underground railroad", the Afro-American Association (AAA)(62-108854) had met with the Muslims and other groups. Another meeting (date not given) was scheduled with Malcolm X, New York Muslim leader, slated as guest speaker.

(continued)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(continued)

62-108854-1 ep.4,5  
(44)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Add. info.

100-415473-46 p.D,13  
(6,47)

The May, 1963 issue of "Playboy" Magazine (94-48955) contained an interview with Malcolm X, minister of Muslim Temple No. 7 in Harlem, N.Y. (No details given.)

94-48955-8 p.2  
(45)

This reference is a Book Review (62-46855) of "The Negro Protest", published by Beacon Press, Boston. The book set out three television interviews conducted by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Negro author and psychologist at the City College of New York, in May and June, 1963. The program was produced by WCBH-TV, Boston, and the producer, Henry Morgenthau III, the son of former Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., wrote the last chapter of the book. One of the Negroes interviewed was Malcolm K. Little, aka Malcolm X, who criticized nonviolence and advocated complete separation of the races.

62-46855-250 p.1,2  
(15,44)

(continued)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(continued)

b7D [REDACTED] u  
b7C [REDACTED]  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D [REDACTED] (C)  
b1 [REDACTED] (59) c  
"The New York Herald Tribune" dated 9/23/63 indicated that Malcolm X attended a rally in NYC on 9/22/63 held to mourn the death of four Negro girls in Birmingham, Alabama. Malcolm X disapproved of the number of white people in the audience.

b7C [REDACTED] (44)  
b7D [REDACTED]  
b7C [REDACTED]  
100-434344-18 p.1; ep.1  
(48)

b1 [REDACTED] (S)  
(continued)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



(continued)

Report enclosed

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(4)

157-1525-2 p.2; ep.3,5,9

(14,86)

\*Haverford, Pa.  
\*\*Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The following references in the file captioned "Progressive Labor Movement" (PLM) pertain to Malcolm X in New York.

He spoke at rallies sponsored by the PLM on 2/15 and 18/64 at the Renaissance Ballroom, Harlem. Malcolm X criticized the US Government and called for unity of blacks throughout the world.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-437041-639 p.40

-A "Challenge" 12/22/64

-A "Challenge" 1/12/65 p.1,4,5

100-437041-6-26 p.17

New York County, NYC, advised that according to incorporation papers filed for the MMI, a meeting to decide for incorporation was held on 3/9/64 in NYC. Malcolm X Little, (not identified) attended this meeting and were elected trustees of this corporation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-441164-45-17 p.16  
(32)

100-442684-34-4 p.5  
(36)

"The New York Journal-American" dated 3/27/64 contained an article captioned "King and Malcolm X Join in Protest Vow". The article concerned the Senate's civil rights debate and the agreement of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, that there would be Negro demonstrations in WDC if the debate turned into a filibuster. The article indicated that Malcolm X and King were spectators at the Senate debate (date not given) in WDC and later met separately with reporters at which time Malcolm X made various militant remarks.

62-106800-A "New York Journal American"  
(44) 3/27/64 p.1,2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

U 3  
b7D [redacted] advised that  
Malcom X had no following in San Diego and that NOI members were becoming  
less extreme because they had obtained more capital. U

b7C [redacted] (72) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D [redacted] U

b7C [redacted] (88)

b7D [redacted] U

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

b7D [redacted]

(62)  
(62)  
(62)  
(62)

per state  
(c) 12/18/86

b1 The State Department furnished a copy of Joint Weeka [redacted]  
[redacted] at Beirut, Lebanon. This publication stated that a speech  
(date not given) by Malcolm X at the Sudanese Cultural Center in Beirut  
failed to attract attention. The speech was completely ignored by the  
press except for the English-language "Daily Star". In his speech Malcolm  
called for a violent approach to solving the Negro problem in the US.

109-12-287-124 ep.3  
(81)

(X)(u)

b1 [redacted]  
b3 [redacted] (c) per CIA  
letter staff

(continued)

(continued)

64-175-366-40 p.3  
(45)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (c)

b7c  
The following references in the file captioned "ACT" indicate that Malcolm X was a committee member or consultant to ACT during the period 4/17/64 to 6/1/64. This organization was formed at a meeting in WDC in April 1964 while Malcolm X was in Africa.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-441968-2 ep.1,2  
-10 ep.2-4  
-19 p.1,2

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799

b7c  
-9-  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C  
[REDACTED]  
b7C  
[REDACTED] (12,50) CONFIDENTIAL  
b7C  
[REDACTED] (C)  
b7C  
[REDACTED] (30)

The following references in the file captioned "National Committee for a Freedom Now Party (FNP)" pertain to Malcolm X from October 1963 to 8/2/64:

b7C  
[REDACTED] stated during a Detroit rally that Negroes wanted Malcolm X, who was in Cairo, Egypt speaking out on behalf of Negroes, as their leader.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-123706-43 ep.1  
-164 ep.3

(60)  
(60)

b7C  
The following references in the file captioned "Dissident Nation of Islam Groups" [REDACTED]

b7C  
There was no indication that Malcolm X was directly involved reported on 8/20/64 to be teaching outside the Cincinnati; he previously indicated to be followers of Malcolm X; he not believed to have followers in Cincinnati. PAGE NUMBER

REFERENCE

105-133287-8 ep.1,2

\*NOI leader.

(12,50)  
(continued)

CONFIDENTIAL

(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-133287-70 p.1

(13, 80)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following references in the file captioned "Revolutionary Action Movement" (RAM) pertain to Malcolm X in connection with the Fall 1964 edition of "Black America" published by RAM. This publication indicated that the Afro-American Student Movement, representing young nationalist groups and tendencies throughout the North and South, convened in Nashville, Tennessee on 5/1-3/64 to form a black Nationalist Youth Movement. The participants supported Malcolm X's contention that Negroes should petition in the UN for "human rights". The publication also contained excerpts from writings and speeches of Malcolm X and others.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-442684-9-9 ep.8,11,17,26 (publication enclosed)

(36)

100-442684-28-20 p.3

(28, 36)

100-442684-37-11 ep.8,48,51,57

(36)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

(36, 36, 36, 36, 36)

100-426407-53 ep.1,4

(15, 47)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The 10/3/64 issue of "Challenge" (not identified) contained an article captioned "The FBI Story". This article was extremely critical of the report of the FBI on the NYC riots during the past summer. The article accused the FBI of taking pot shots at Malcolm X and other black militants and stated the report was designed to whitewash politicians and police and to smear the black people and their allies.

b7c

[REDACTED] "Challenge" 10/3/64

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following references appear in the main files of the individuals listed below. These references pertain to the activities of [REDACTED] Malcolm X Little in connection with the NOI and organizations within the NOI [REDACTED] various cities throughout the US [REDACTED]

b7c

SUBJECT

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP  
PAGE NUMBER

[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(62)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(62)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(58)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(48)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(74)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(34)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(48)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(62)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(75)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(32)

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XXXXXX  
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2

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

100-399321-478 pages 13, 14

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 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
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SUBJECT

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PAGE NUMBER

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[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(48)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(63)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(48)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(13, 30)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(13, 30)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(7)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(48)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(38)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(18, 32)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(38)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(48)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(48)

b7c

The following references appear in the main files of the individuals listed below. These references pertain to activities of [REDACTED] Malcolm X Little in connection with the MMI and the OAAU [REDACTED]

Malcolm X was the leader of both the MMI and the OAAU. [REDACTED]

SUBJECT

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP  
PAGE NUMBER

[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(12, 38)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(14)
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	(12, 38)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Add. info.

b7c

(45)

The following references in the file captioned "Nation of Islam" (NOI) pertain to activities in the NOI and organizations within the NOI of Malcolm X Little from approximately August 1962 to December 1964 throughout the US. Malcolm X, a national representative of the NOI, fulfilled speaking engagements on behalf of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the NOI, and he was the Minister of Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 in NYC. He traveled throughout the US and attended numerous meetings and affairs, at most of which he spoke. He led demonstrations, appeared on radio and television, held press conferences and spoke at colleges, universities and public gatherings. On these occasions he called for Negro human rights and separation of the races, espoused hatred for whites, criticized the US Constitution, Bill of Rights, FBI, police, government officials including President John F. Kennedy, and he ridiculed Negro leaders who advocated non-violence. Malcolm X was the main speaker at the annual Muslim Convention in Chicago on 2/26/63.

During a portion of 1963 he was in charge of NOI Mosques in Philadelphia and WDC. Threats upon the life of Malcolm X were set out along with details regarding his break with the NOI and Elijah Muhammad. In March 1964 he formed his own organization called MMI in NYC. In approximately June 1964 Malcolm X was reportedly in Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

25-330971-6501 p.1-3  
-6513 p.2  
-6518 p.3, 10, 11, 24, 43, 48-50, 60, 62, 64,  
74, 78-80, 87, 114, 116, 117, 125, 144,  
145, 147, 152

(38)  
(38)  
(38)

(continued)

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## REFERENCE

25-330971-30-19

25-330971-31-21 p.21,23

-30 p.1

-32 ep.1

-55 p.1; ep.1

25-330971-32-22 p.1,6,7,10,11,13

25-330971-34-62 p.1; ep.1

-78 p.1; ep.1

-82 p.1; ep.1

-88 ep. 1, 2

-89 p.1

-94 ep.1

-95 p.1; ep.1

-97

-119 p.1,5,6,10,11,15,18,22-25,  
28-33,38,54,57-61,67,69-71,  
73-80,82,89,90,93,98,102

-123 ep.1,2

-127 p.1; Encl.#1 p.1; Encl.#2 p.A,  
2,3,6-10,12,16,17,24-32,36,  
38-40,42-45

-140 p.1; ep.1,2

-142 p.1-3; ep.1,2

-150 p.1; ep.1,2

-154 p. 1, 1B, 6, 10-13, 15-18, 22, 24, 25,  
27, 28, 38-45

-175 ep.1,2,4

-176 ep.1,4

-193

-196

25-330971-37-41 p.1; ep.1

-63 p.1,3

-64 ep.3

-66 ep.2

-86 p.C, 1, 1A, 9, 10, 13-15, 24

-88 ep. 1, 2, 5, 10

25-330971-38-68 p.5,10,11

-110 p.1-6

-114 p.1,2

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

25-330971-38-116 p.1-4,6-8  
-118 ep.1  
-146 ep.1,2  
-148 p.1  
-A "Arizona Republic" 5/4/63

25-330971-41-15 p.42,43,65,69,73  
-27 ep.1,5  
-29 p.1A,2A,31,32,40

25-330971-42-17 p.14-16 (critical of FBI)  
-21 p.13,14

25-330971-45-8 ep.3

25-330971-46-9 p.23

25-330971-47-23 p.A,B,1,12-22,38,39,41-43

25-330971-49-19 p.1; ep.1,2  
-21 p.1

25-330971-53-33 p.2  
-39 ep.2  
-40 p.2,6,11,14-16  
-53 p.13,15,16  
-A-"Washington Post and Times  
Herald" 5/13/63

25-330971-56-10 p.1; ep.1,5,6

25-330971-64-6 p.4-6,14  
-11 p.15

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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6246  
Following his split with the NOI, Malcolm formed the MMI and the OAAU in New York.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## REFERENCE

~~(12, 57)~~  
~~(12, 57)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## REFERENCE

157-2448-2 ep.2,4,7

(16)

## REFERENCE

~~7, 49~~

(5)

(58)

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~~(7, 50)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

(12)  
(12)  
(12)  
(12, 57)

The following references in the file captioned "CP, USA" pertain to the activities of Malcolm X Little, leader of the MMI and the OAAU in connection with the CP from approximately March 1964 to January 1965 in New York and Africa.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-3-7785 p.55,97

(45)

International Relations

100-3-81-10206 ep.6,8,10

(45)

Mass Organizations

100-3-106-835 p.3

(45)

Negro Question

100-3-116-1587 p.2-4,7-9

-1729 p.1; ep.2-4,7

-1824 ep.1,2,10

-1948 p.1; ep.1-4

-2016 ep.1,12

-2077 p.9,15,79-81,106,151,157,174,180

-2084 p.3-5

-2199 p.1,2

-A "New York Journal-American" 4/26/64 p.2-4

-A "New York Times" 8/10/64 p.4

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-441874-129 p. 1,2

(54)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following references in the file captioned "Communist Influence In Racial Matters" pertain to Malcolm X Little, leader of the MMI and the OAAU, from approximately March 1963 to 1/8/65 in Massachusetts, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Malcolm X worked with various civil rights groups and appeared on radio and television.

The SWP newspaper "The Militant" reported favorably on the activities of Malcolm X and the OAAU. Malcolm X praised "The Militant" for printing "the right things" and his supporters purchased this newspaper.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-442529-265 p. 12,29,78,186-189,198,199,  
201,203,322,328,393-395,  
419,420,493,494,692,863  
-269 p. 91,287  
-275 p. 22,26  
-286 p. 225,226,332,367  
-726 p. P,37-39,82,87,137,170  
-959 p. 9,10,56

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The 2/8/65 issue of "The Militant" contained a transcript of the radio interview by Harry Ring, "Militant" staff writer, with Malcolm X over radio station WBAI-FM in New York on 1/28/65. The interview pertained to the views of Malcolm X regarding civil rights.

See: Publications  
"The Militant" 2/8/65 p. 3

(37)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SEARCH SLIP ~~PAGE~~ NUMBER

~~(10, 54)~~  
~~(10, 54)~~  
~~(11, 80, 81, 82)~~  
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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

44-12831-303 p. 1,2  
-324 ep. 14  
-393 ep. 1,2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Add. info.

Original document pulled from  
file and sent to National Archives  
See following sheet.

100-106670-900 ep. 1-4  
(6,46)

On 2/18/65, the State Department advised that

[REDACTED] was in Djakarta, Indonesia, attending the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association Conference. [REDACTED] had indicated in a letter [REDACTED] Malcolm X [REDACTED] US Black Muslims, would also attend the Djakarta conference. (X) *W per state letter 12/18/64*

The following references in the file captioned "Muslim Mosque, Incorporated" pertain to Malcolm X Little from approximately 9/18/63 to 2/21/65 in California, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Africa, and Europe. In early 1964 Malcolm X split with the NOI and formed the MMI and the OAAU which was a front for the MMI. Details regarding dissension between Malcolm X and NOI leader Elijah Muhammad, prior to and after his split from the NOI, were set out. He spoke at numerous meetings and functions, appeared on various radio and television shows, participated in debates, and held press conferences. He urged Negroes to obtain guns for self protection and to register to vote; criticized the US Government, President Lyndon B. Johnson, and Negroes fighting in Vietnam. He also spoke at meetings sponsored by militant and subversive groups including the Socialist Workers Party, and their interest in the MMI and OAAU was set out. Malcolm X was in

(continued)

100-399321-478 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEETParagraph

1 [redacted] withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

RE:           BERNARD S. LEE V. CLARENCE M. KELLEY, ET AL.  
               (U.S.D.C., D.C.) CIVIL ACTION NUMBER 76-1185

              SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)  
               V. CLARENCE M. KELLEY, ET AL (U.S.D.C., D.C.)  
               CIVIL ACTION NUMBER 76-1186

Serial 980 pulled from 106670, [redacted] file under court order of  
 U.S. District Judge John Lewis Smith, Jr., and sent to  
 National Archives.

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

100-399321-478, page 24 paragraph 1

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 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

contact with Islamic leaders, other civil rights leaders, and leaders of African Governments. He toured Africa during 1964 and endeavored to become friendly with new African nations and to raise funds for the OAAU. He was denied admission to France as an "undesirable" in early 1965. Information regarding threats to the life of Malcolm X and the burning of his residence was set out. He was assassinated on 2/21/65. in NYC.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-441765-6 p. 1; ep. 1,2  
-7 p. 1; ep. 1-6  
-24  
-27 p. 1; ep. 1,2  
-29 p. 1; ep. 1-8  
-31  
-33  
-40 p. 1; ep. 1  
-67 p. 1; ep. 1,2  
-89 p. D-H,M,1-1B,2-9,11,14-25,  
27,29-37  
-97 p. 1-3  
-103 p. 1  
-121 p. 1,2; ep. 1-4  
-122  
-125 p. 1,2; ep. 1-4  
-134 p. 1,2; ep. 1-3  
-135 p. 1; ep. 1-3  
-143 p. 1,2  
-146 p. 1; ep. 2,3,6,11  
-156 p. 1; ep. 1,2,4  
-157 p. 1-3; ep. 1-6  
-160 p. 1,2  
-161 p. 1; ep. 1-3  
-162 p. 1,2  
-164 ep. 1-3  
-176 p. 1,2; ep. 1-3  
-186 ep. 1,2  
-197  
-221  
-238 ep. 2,3  
-241 ep. 1,2  
-254 p. 1; ep. 1-3  
-257 p. 1  
-315 p. 1,2,4  
-343 p. 2; ep. 1-4

100-441765-6  
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-343

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-441765-348 p. B, D, 1, 1A, 2-9, 11-20, 22-24,  
27-33, 35-45, 48, 49, 52, 56

(10, 31, 33)

-354

-372 p. 1; ep. 2, 3

-376 p. 1, 2; ep. 1-5

-380 p. 2

-389 p. 2; ep. 1, 3, 4

-393

-406 p. 1; ep. 1, 3

-408 p. B, 1-3, 5-14

-468 p. 1-3, 5-19, 21-23, 27-40,  
46-57, 59, 62, 63, 65-68, 70,  
73, 74, 78

-A Washington Capital News Service  
7/22/64

(10, 33)

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This reference in the file captioned "Elijah Poole" pertains to Malcolm X from 12/1/64 to 2/26/65. On 12/7/64, Captain Raymond Sharrieff of the NOI dispatched an open telegram to Malcolm X, warning him to stop scandalizing Elijah Muhammad, alias of Poole. On numerous occasions Poole criticized Malcolm X for leaving the NOI, referred to his death, or denied that the NOI had any part in his killing in New York on 2/21/65.

105-24822-169 p. 6-8, 19, 22, 23-26, 29, 31  
(12, 15, 37)

The following references pertain to Malcolm X Little in connection with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) (100-16) from March 1963 to 3/6/65 in California and New York. In an effort to obtain influence or a Negro following, the SWP became interested in the Black Muslim Movement and Malcolm X. He spoke at several SWP or SWP sponsored meetings at which he advocated violence, the ownership of arms by Negroes and predicted race wars. The SWP newspaper, "The Militant" reported favorably on the activities of Malcolm X. Memorial services for Malcolm X were scheduled by the Detroit and Seattle Branches of the SWP.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-16-2002 p. 19, 20, 28

(72)

(continued)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(continued)

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-16-2026 p. 19,30  
-2069 p. 1; ep. 1,4-6  
100-16-35-1170 p. 20-23,42,45  
100-16-51-353 p. 26  
100-182800-95 p. 7,8,17  
100-435975-15  
100-436039-13 p. 6  
100-439704-4 p. 17

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(6,46)  
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(7,50)

The following references are reports [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] furnished [REDACTED] as set out below concerning  
Malcolm X Little [REDACTED]

During this period Malcolm X was reported  
to be in Florida, New York, WDC, and Arabia.

memorial to Malcolm X was scheduled to be held on 2/26/65 in Detroit,  
Michigan by the SWP.

SEARCH SLIP  
PAGE NUMBER

(72)  
(62)  
(62)  
(68)  
(73)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

**b7D**

[REDACTED]

~~76~~ ~~77~~ ~~78~~ ~~79~~ ~~80~~ ~~81~~ ~~82~~ ~~83~~ ~~84~~ ~~85~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

the following references in the file captioned  
 certain to Malcolm X Little in New York

[REDACTED]

(48)  
(7 48)

[REDACTED]

**b7c**

(50)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

670  
[REDACTED] u  
[REDACTED] (80)  
[REDACTED] b1  
[REDACTED] c

WFO noted that "Malcolm X" was possibly identical with Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated.

Add. info.

b1 [REDACTED] c  
(44)

The following references in the file captioned "National Civil Rights Convention, Chester, Pa., 3/14/64" indicated that Malcolm X Little spoke at this convention and participated in pre-meeting planning. He announced the formation of rifle clubs where Government and law enforcement authorities did not protect the Negroes and he stated that anyone could belong to his Mosque as long as they were Negroes.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-1526-8 p. 2; ep. 1-3; Outg. p. 1  
-9 ep. 1-4  
-12 p. 1,2; ep. 1,3,5

(86)  
(86)  
(14, 86)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This reference in the file captioned "Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Los Angeles" pertains to Malcolm X Little from 7/23/66 to September 1966. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Reference was made to Malcolm X in "The Movement", SNCC publication on the west coast, and by SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael. U

100-439190-26-16 p. E,13,20,26,35  
(X,30)

On 6/19/64, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] had been in contact with Malcolm X Little for the purpose of placing him in touch with [REDACTED] (not further identified) for public relations work in connection with the new movement (not further explained). XU

"Freedomways Magazine", Volume Six, Number one, First Quarter\*, contained a review of the book "Bird at My Window", [REDACTED]. This review stated that the book was in memory of Malcolm X.

The serial indicated that "Freedomways" was self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Inc., NYC.

Add. info.

b7C

[REDACTED]  
(X,30)

\* Winter 1966

[REDACTED]

The 2/14/67 edition of the "Tech News", School of Engineering and Architecture, City College of New York, contained an article [REDACTED] In connection with Negro leaders, [REDACTED] to the fact that Malcolm X was gone.

Add. info.

b7C

[REDACTED]  
(30)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

The Department of State advised that Hubert "Rap" Brown was interviewed by Oriana Fallaci, Italian journalist, on 8/4/67 in New York. During this interview Brown stated that Malcolm X was one of his heroes. *X U per state 12/18/66*

Partial translation of interview enclosed

WFO airtel dated 8/28/67 indicated [redacted] identified as [redacted] the late Malcolm X. (Date not given.)

62-111181-912 ep. 2

The following references in the file captioned "Racial Matters" pertain to Malcolm X Little from 5/14/63 to 1/4/68 in Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania and WDC. At different times during this period Malcolm X was a leader of the NOI, the MMI, and the OAAU and he was a member of the nation-wide civil rights committee ACT. He spoke or was scheduled to speak at various affairs and he attended numerous meetings and demonstrations which were sponsored by various civil rights groups. Following his assassination many Negroes believed that Malcolm X would become a Negro martyr.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-6-81 p. 1

(63)

157-6-3-1279 ep. 2

(63)

157-6-4-954  
-955

(63)  
(63)

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CONFIDENTIAL

100-399321-478

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-6-4-983 p. 1,2  
-1002 ep. 1

157-6-10-1095 ep. 5-7,9  
-1096 ep. 5

157-6-15-423 ep. 4  
-928 p. 4-6,8-10

157-6-34-213 ep. 2  
-214 ep. 2  
-224 p. 1  
-255 ep. 1  
-287 ep. 1  
-1086 p. 4  
-1098  
-1198

157-6-37-812  
-2056 ep. 47,52,53

157-6-42-588 ep. 1

157-6-46-94 ep. 5

157-6-53-160 p. 2  
-172 ep. 11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following references pertain to activities or proposed activities to commemorate the memory of Malcolm X Little, honor his birthday or to eulogize him. These demonstrations were held or scheduled to be held from 5/27/67 to 2/21/70 throughout the US.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-153941-18 p. 5,7,8

157-6-3-3165

157-6-5-836 ep. 1,2,4-7

157-6-29-1761 p. 1; ep. 1

157-6-52-1599 p. 1; ep. 1,2

(80)

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(77, 81)

(84)

(85)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WC

~~(57)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~(1, 34, 38)~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following reference on One Malcolm maintained in Domestic Intelligence Division was not reviewed and it is not known whether it is identical with the subject of this summary.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

[REDACTED] (S) b1

(74)

The following references on Malcolm X and Malcolm Little maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division, were not reviewed, and it is not known whether they are identical with the subject of this summary.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

[REDACTED] (S) b1  
[REDACTED] S  
[REDACTED] S

(75)

(75)

(76, 77)

The following reference on Malcolm X appears in the file captioned "Supervision - Bombing Matters". This reference pertains to administrative procedures involved in furnishing information to the Department of Justice.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-00-54 p. 2

(83)

The following reference on Malcom X was not available during the time this summary was being prepared.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

Bureau Library: Author of "By Any Means Necessary"

(75)

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Although the information is the same it may have been received from different sources.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Malcolm X

Oct. 19, 1972

Dear Sirs:

I'm writing to you for information on the death of Malcolm X. I'm doing a report of him in my social studies class. I've found when and where he's died but I can't seem to locate information on who killed him. If possible please let me know. Thank you for your time & consideration.

Yours truly,

CONFIDENTIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 8569 JHE/WEB/del

EC-69

100-399321-479

23 OCT 31 1972

ack: 10/27/72

b7c

pjo

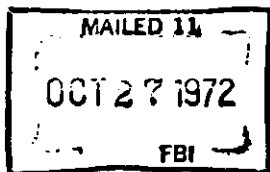
October 27, 1972

ST-111  
REC-69

100-379321-479

b7c  
Dear [REDACTED]

In reply to your letter received on October 24th, Norman Butler, Thomas Johnson and Talmage Hayer were convicted in State Court in New York County, New York, for the murder of Malcolm X and sentenced on April 14, 1966, to life imprisonment. This Bureau has no additional information which it can send to you regarding this matter.



Sincerely yours,

L. Patrick Gray III

L. Patrick Gray, III  
Acting Director

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

mhb:pjs (3)

Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Baker \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Jenkins \_\_\_\_\_  
Marshall \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
H. Kinley \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Armstrong \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Herwig \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Neenan \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 JHE/WCB/ld

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100-379321-479

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100-379321-479

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 19 1973

**TELETYPE**

NR 11 SD CODE

PM 5/18/73 NITEL SENT 3:45 AM 5-19-73 LIW

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR

ATTENTION INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAN DIEGO (157-3191)

*Malcom X Little*

Mr. Felt	
Mr. Bates	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Cleveland	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Gebhardt	
Mr. Jenkins	
Mr. Marshall	
Mr. Miller, E.S.	
Mr. Soyars	
Mr. Thompson	
Mr. Walters	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Bates	
Mr. Barnes	
Mr. Bowers	
Mr. Ewington	
Mr. Conroy	
Mr. Mintz	
Mr. Erdley	
Mrs. Hogan	

*C. J. Moore*

BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY - MALCOM X, 5/18/73. EXTREMIST MATTERS.

A RALLY TO CELEBRATE MALCOM X'S BIRTHDAY (KUZALIWA IN SWAHILI) WAS HELD AT SOUTHCREST PARK, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, ON 5/18/73 FROM 11:00 A.M. TO 6:00 P.M. PRINCIPAL ORGANIZER OF THE RALLY WAS SUKUMU (VERNON JOHN FONTENETTE, JR.) LOCAL SAN DIEGO BLACK LEADER WHO IS WESTERN REGIONAL COORDINATOR OF THE CONGRESS OF AFRICAN PEOPLE, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL INVOLVEMENT ASSOCIATION, AND ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE BLACK FEDERATION. APPROXIMATELY 350 PEOPLE ATTENDED THE CELEBRATION AND ACTIVITIES INCLUDED BAND MUSIC, RECITAL OF POEMS, MOVIES, AND SPEACHES. ALL SPEAKERS APPEARING WERE LOCAL SAN DIEGO PEOPLE. RALLY WAS PEACEABLE, NO DISTURBANCES OR VIOLENCE OCCURRED.

END PAGE ONE

**EX-117**

**REC-3**

100-399321-480  
5-11-73  
67C

2 cc ISS 5/19/73  
50 data deleted

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 8269 JHE/WEC/RL

MAY 22 1973



PAGE TWO

SD 157-3191

MALXOM X LITTLE, BETTER KNOWN AS MALCOM X, WAS A BLACK MILITANT LEADER WHO WAS ASSASSINATED IN NEW YORK CITY ON 2/21/65.

THE CONGRESS OF AFRICAN PEOPLE (CAP) IS A BLACK ORGANIZATION THE BASIC GOAL OF WHICH IS GLOBAL EXPRESSION OF BLACK NATIONALISM. THE NATIONAL INVOLVEMENT ASSOCIATION (NIA) IS A LOCAL SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA BLACK ORGANIZATION SELF DESCRIBED AS A MOVEMENT FOR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM AND DIRECTORS ARE AFFILIATED WITH CAP. THE BLACK FEDERATION (BF) IS A CURRENT ATTEMPT TO FORM A FEDERATION OF ALL BLACK ORGANIZATIONS IN SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA.

THE ABOVE INFORMATION REGARDING THE RALLY ON 5/18/73 WAS FURNISHED BY SOURCES 1, 2, AND 3 WHO HAVE FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST.

ADMINISTRATIVE: RE SAN DIEGO TELETYPE OF 5/9/73. [REDACTED]

LHM  
TO FOLLOW.

END

JPS FBIHQ CLR

cc MR. TRAINOR →

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 9/30/74

FROM : LEGAT, MANILA (157-0)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM "X" LITTLE  
EM

## ENCLOSURES

Enclosed are three copies of an article which appeared in "CANTA", a student publication at Canterbury University, Christchurch, New Zealand.

## ADMINISTRATIVE

Contained in the article are allegations the FBI was involved in the assassinations of MALCOLM X AND MARTIN LUTHER KING.

b1  
[REDACTED]  
For information.

ENCLOSURE

③ - Bureau (Enc. 3)  
(1 - Foreign Liaison Unit)

b7c  
1 - Manila  
[REDACTED] lkm (4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

12/20/83 8269 THE REC/DO  
Classified by  
Declassify on: OADR

EX-103

REC-60

100-399321-481 [REDACTED]



195  
OCT 21 1974

Classified by 4 1928  
Exempt from GDS Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

3 OCT 8 1974

b7c  
[REDACTED]

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 100-1066190-

Extract from

Canta (University Student)

Newspaper

Published at

Christchurch

on [date]

29 July 74

SUBJECT:

# MALCOLM X SPEAKS

Young Socialist Forum, 12.18 p.m., U.S.C.A. (Town), July 30th, features a taped speech on "The Black Revolution", given in New York 10 years ago.

New facts that have come out in the light of the Watergate scandal have revealed strong implications that the FBI was involved in the assassinations of two of the most prominent leaders of the Black movement in the United States, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

The new evidence consists of seven previously top secret memorandums issued by J. Edgar Hoover between 1961 and 1970. Xerox copies of these memorandums, (which outline a government plot to "expose, disrupt, misdirect or otherwise neutralise" the Black liberation movement), were released by the Government in March in response to a court order. Most references to individuals and organisations are blacked out or covered over, however by counting number of letters and spaces made by the typewriter it's not hard to figure out who is being referred to.

One of the FBI's main aims was to prevent the emergence of a cohesive and radical leadership such as that which Malcolm X may have been able to give had he not been slain so soon. The circumstances of X's death (and also King's) have never been fully or satisfactorily clarified. This fact and the publication of the FBI memos led to the allegation of Rev. Jesse Jackson (President of Operation PUSH, a leading Black organisation in Chicago, and also a former top aide of King's) that "the FBI figured prominently in the assassination of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and Fred Hampton".

Jackson himself was an eyewitness to King's murder and had described to reporters how the police, running towards him after the shooting, had asked him where the shot came from. Jackson pointed out that it came from right behind where they were running from... they were coming from where the shot had been fired!

Malcolm X was murdered at the Audubon building in Harlem, 1968. One of the three men convicted of the murder admitted in court to being part of a group of hired assassins but refused to disclose who had hired them. Nine years later the loose ends are still left dangling.

Malcolm X represented the dynamic and revolutionary wing of the Black movement. Unlike the other wing - epitomised by King - he evolved to a position where he did not think that Blacks would achieve equal rights let alone liberation by merely reforming the American system. This may be a position held fairly widely amongst radical Blacks today, but ten years ago it was a pretty daring thing for a Black to say. Malcolm X was not a Black nationalist, whose ideas were not only racist and anti-white, but also anti-socialist. He was a Black nationalist, whose ideas were not only racist and anti-white, but also anti-socialist. He was a Black nationalist, whose ideas were not only racist and anti-white, but also anti-socialist.

that he was cut down before he had time to formulate all his ideas into a cohesive whole.

Malcolm X emerged from the Black Muslims of Elijah Muhammad but developed significant differences with Muhammad and left one year before his death. That last year he expressed his own independent and evolving views rather than those of the Muslims. He set about developing them to a final outcome, drawing together the already existing ideas he had and additions and modifications from new experience and insight.

The idea of the white person as the enemy was the beginning of political wisdom for Blacks who had illusions that the white racist power structure would hand them freedom on a golden platter. The idea that Blacks had to fight for their freedom was an indispensable first step. As Malcolm X pointed out time after time Blacks needed to depend on their own organised strength, their own independent movement, aims and programme. After this stage had been reached, where they were an organised force, then they might look for other sectors of society including working class whites, to ally with, making the right kind of alliances. And by the right kind of alliance he did not mean working in the Democratic Party, as many Black liberals and radicals have been doing. He regarded the Democratic Party with all the contempt it deserves, and saw that it was a backward step for Black militants to support that party.

He began to look into the root causes of racism and to see the possibility of its elimination. He began to study the nature of capitalism as a system - always from the point of view of how the interests of Black people could be protected and promoted. From this study - especially from the thinking initiated through his discussions with African revolutionaries - he came to the conclusion that the capitalist system was, and still is, the cause of racism, and that it is impossible to have capitalism without having racism. Therefore socialism should seriously be considered as an objective by oppressed nationalities. While he was prevented from any further development due to his death, it can at the very least be said that Malcolm X was pro socialist and anti capitalist, which was quite a thing for the times. It was his utter dedication, his honesty and his commitment to relentlessly fight racism which propelled him in the direction of socialism.

Malcolm X became the Black Liberation movement what Eldridge C. Davis called "the standard" and "the model".

Because of their support of his ideas the Socialist Workers Party became the chief circulators of the Malcolm X Review, and held the rights of many of his works and speeches as well as sources mentioned in the review.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/2/85 BY 2258 THS/bmg/ld

10/12/88

Progressive Labour. The only left wing groupings to support him were the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance (the Trotskyist party and youth group). Malcolm X once drew an interesting line between the radical groups. When he said, "If you love revolution, you'll love Black nationalism". The Communist Party and the Muslims loved neither!

It is ironic that at the time of his being murdered virtually nothing of what he said was in print, (apart from some articles in the SWP paper, "The Militant", and twisted reports in the establishment media), but since then thousands of people have read and heard his views, many of whom were probably unaware of him when he was alive.

His work was the major influence on a whole wave of Black militants, including the founders of the Black Panther Party, although they later went off in a very different direction to the path which Malcolm X pointed to. Thus it was a great loss to the entire Black population

The Canterbury University Young Socialists have managed to get a tape of a speech that Malcolm X gave on April 8th, 1964 at the Militant Labour Forum organised by the SWP. The tape is called "The Black Revolution" and shows his ability as an orator, as well as Black leader, second to none. Anyone who has read any of his speeches, such as in the collection "Malcolm X Speaks", can feel the power of the man's words.

**NOW YOU TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR THIS SPEECH BY THE MOST DYNAMIC POLITICAL LEADER, ORATOR AND THINKER THAT THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT HAS YET PRODUCED.**

**THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS WILL BE PLAYING IT AT A FORUM IN THE UPSTAIRS COMMON ROOM, TOWNSITE, ON JULY 30 TH, AT 12.15.**

**DON'T MISS MALCOLM X .... DON'T MISS MALCOLM X ....**

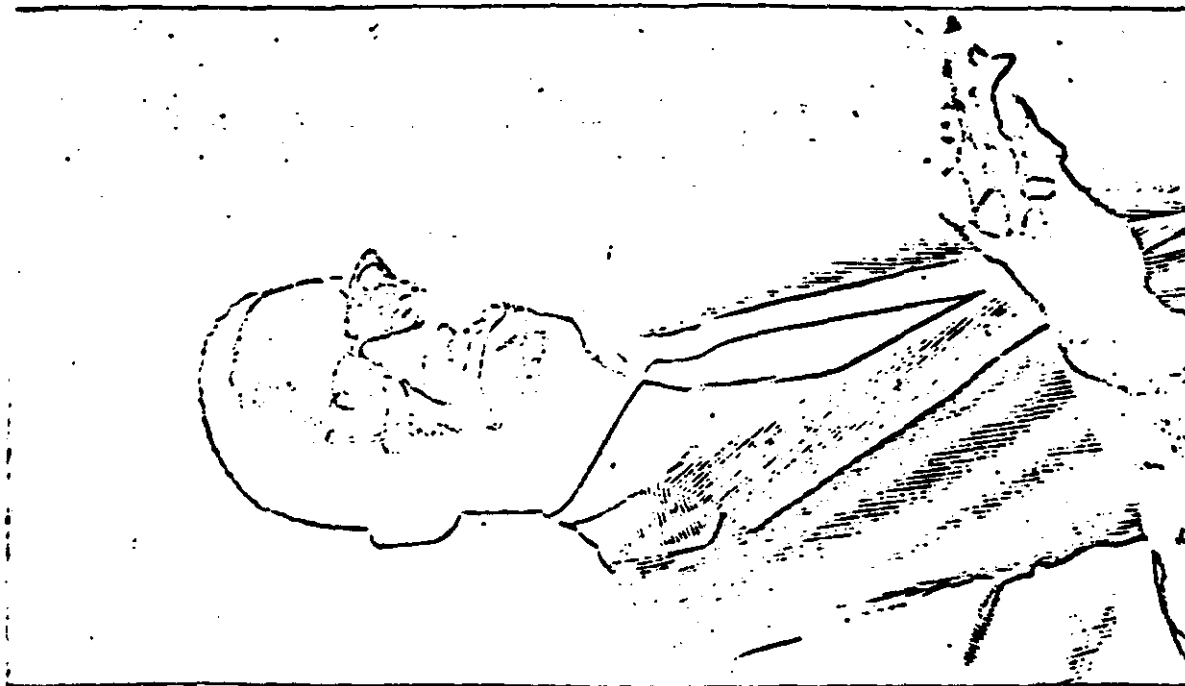


Photo by Robert Parent  
Malcolm X addressing the Militant Labor Forum, New York City, May 29, 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO :

[REDACTED] b7c

DATE: 3/21/75

FROM : Legal Counsel

*Jambert*

SUBJECT :

[REDACTED] b7c

Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Admin. \_\_\_\_\_  
Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

b7c

On 3/20/75 at 4:45 p.m. captioned individual telephonically contacted SA [REDACTED] of the FOIA Unit.

b7c

[REDACTED] indicated that he currently is preparing a television documentary concerning Malcolm X and he desired access to the FBI file concerning Malcolm X. He inquired as to the prerequisites for obtaining access thereto.

[REDACTED] was advised that in view of the privacy considerations involved and our experience in processing requests of this nature it would be necessary for him to determine the identity of any and all heirs to the estate of Malcolm X and to thereafter obtain notarized written authorization from the heirs for disclosure of information from this file to [REDACTED]. He was also advised that in the event he was able to obtain such authorization we would still be required under the provisions of the FOIA to conduct a page-by-page review of any files we may have concerning Malcolm X to determine just what information would be available to him pursuant the provisions of the Act. In addition, it was pointed out to him that we have experienced an extremely heavy backlog of requests as generated by the recent amendments to the FOIA and although we are attempting to process these requests to the best of our ability, there would necessarily be some delay in furnishing some information to him.

[REDACTED] then inquired if his press credentials would give him any priority in his request. He was advised that although we would like to be of assistance to him, we have received requests from various segments of society

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- Attention: [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. Mintz

100-399321-

NOT RECORDED

191 MAR 2 1975

CONTINUED - OVER

ms. (4)

14 MAR 23 1975

54 APR 04 1975

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/3/84 BY 8267 JH/SLD

b7c

Legal Counsel to [REDACTED]  
Re: [REDACTED]

including Congressmen, other news media representatives and private citizens of the United States and we have taken the position that in order to be fair to all requesters we handle each incoming request on a chronological bases.

b7c

b7c

It is noted that SA [REDACTED] previously had discussed this matter telephonically with a representative of the New York Office on 3/19/75 and had been advised at that time that [REDACTED] probably would call concerning his request.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7c

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 21 1976

TELETYPE

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Dep. A.D. Adm.	_____
Dep. A.D. Inv.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	_____
Admin.	_____
Crim. Syst.	_____
Ext. Affairs	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Insp.	_____
Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

NP040 NY CODE

11:39 P.M. NITEL JANUARY 21, 1976 GRM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

ATTN: INTD

MALCOLM X. LITTLE AKA; INFO CONCERNING.

REVIEW OF SUBJECT'S FILES REFLECTS HE WAS KILLED ON  
FEBRUARY 21, 1965 AT THE AUDITORIUM BALLROOM, NEW YORK CITY.  
NO INFORMATION LOCATED REFLECTING ANY NEW YORK SOURCE  
ACTING AS A BODYGUARD OF THE SUBJECT WHEN HE WAS ASSASSINATED.

END.

HOLD

REC-45

100-399321-482

21 JAN 23 1976

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 6/18-27

DECLASSIFIED BY 6855  
ON 5/10/92

37 JAN 29 1976

5-2280

JAM J. HUGHES  
SECT. NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEE  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT  
MARINE AND FISHERIES  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON ASIAN

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Exec AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Exec AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Exec AD LES \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Adm. Servs. \_\_\_\_\_  
Crim. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Insp. \_\_\_\_\_  
Rec. Mgnt. \_\_\_\_\_  
Tech. Servs. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Public Affs. Off. \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director's Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

FBI/DOJ

May 29, 1980

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. William H. Webster  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
J. Edgar Hoover Building  
10th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Mr. Webster:

I have recently received a petition signed by many of my constituents who are urging a new investigation into the assassination of Al-Hajji Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X). A copy of the petition is enclosed.

Deceased

According to the petition, new evidence has come to light which identifies all of the persons involved in the assassination and exonerates two of the three men convicted of the crime. In consequence, my constituents urge a new investigation of the assassination.

I would respectfully request that the FBI look into the statements made in the petition and inform me of its findings. I also would like to know if the FBI is currently conducting, or planning to conduct, a new investigation in the assassination of Al-Hajji Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X).

In advance, I appreciate your attention to this matter.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

William J. Hughes  
Member of Congress  
(New Jersey)

23 JUN 1980

WJH:emf  
Enclosure

59 NOV 5 1980

100-399321

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/20/83 BY 6027 JAW/EDD

ENCLOSURE

EXP. 6/1/80  
KUB



Name AND Address

b7c 1 [redacted]  
1 - Office of  
Congressional Affairs  
(Mr. Mintz)

June 20, 1980 82/1

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Honorable William J. Hughes  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Congressman Hughes:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 826 JHE/WES/28

This is to acknowledge receipt of your communication dated May 29, 1980, with its enclosure on behalf of your constituents.

For your information, the complaint regarding Al-Hajji Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X) is being furnished to the Civil Rights Division (CRD), U. S. Department of Justice (USDJ).

A review of records of the FBI and CRD, USDJ, fails to reveal any information that the FBI has investigated, or been requested to investigate, the assassination of Al-Hajji Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X).

A copy of your communication and its enclosure have been furnished to the CRD, USDJ, for its review as to whether any Federal investigation is warranted.

If you have any further questions regarding this matter, you may wish to write directly to the Assistant Attorney General, CRD, USDJ, Washington, D. C. 20530.

Sincerely yours,

JUN 27 1980

Oliver B. Revell  
Assistant Director  
Criminal Investigative Division

59 NOV 5 1980  
Assistant Attorney General (Enclosures 2 - copy of incoming Civil Rights Division [redacted] and its enclosure)

NOTE: Reference telephone call of [redacted] to [redacted] to [redacted] Office June 19, 1980 - copy of incoming and its enclosure)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO...

MAILED 13  
JUN 24 1980

Exec AD Inv  
Exec AD Adm.  
Exec AD LES  
Asst. Dir.:  
Adm. Servs.  
Crim. Inv.  
Ident.  
Intell.  
Laboratory  
Legal Coun.  
Plan. & Insp.  
Rec. Mgnt.  
Tech. Servs.  
Training  
Public Aff. Rm.  
Telephone Rm.  
Director

Honorable William J. Hughes

NOTE: Congressman Hughes writes on behalf of his constituents regarding the assassination of Al-Hajji Malik Shabazz 14 years ago. He urges a new investigation and inquires to know if the FBI is currently conducting or planning to conduct a new investigation regarding the assassination. Newark, FBIHQ and CRD, DOJ, records negative. This acknowledges his letter, with copies to AAG, CRD and SAC, Newark.

APPROVED:

Director \_\_\_\_\_  
Exec. AD-Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Exec. AD-Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Exec. AD-LES \_\_\_\_\_

Adm. Serv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Crim. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_

Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Lab. \_\_\_\_\_

Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Insp. \_\_\_\_\_  
Rec. Mgmt. \_\_\_\_\_  
Tech. Serv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Off. of Cong. & Public Affairs \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten signature]*

**MALCOLM X LITTLE**

**PART 20 OF 24**

**BUFILE: 25-367776 AND 44-21493**

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 25-367776

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **DETROIT**

REPORT MADE AT <b>DETROIT, MICHIGAN</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>3/18/53</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>2/19, 20, 23/53</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED] 57C</b> <b>AMR</b>
TITLE <b>MALCOMB LITTLE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT, 1948</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Subject did not register for Selective Service Act, 1948. Subject interviewed and advised that he was in prison for seven years in Boston, Mass., for breaking and entering. Subject advised he would register immediately with his LB. AUSA, Detroit, declined prosecution inasmuch as Subject registered with IB 102, Plymouth, Mich.

**DETAILS:**

This investigation is predicated upon the receipt of a complaint by the reporting agent, which reflected that during the course of an investigation at the Temple of Islam, it was ascertained that no registration was effected by the Subject at Local Board 102, Plymouth, which covers the Subject's home address, nor had the Subject registered with Local Board 94, which covers the address at 1474 Frederick, the Temple headquarters for the members of the Nation of Islam.

The Subject was interviewed at his place of employment by SA [REDACTED] and the reporting agent, at which time he advised that he was incarcerated at the Charleston Prison, Boston, Massachusetts, for the past seven years after being sentenced to five to ten years for breaking and entering. The Subject further advised that he had not registered for the

**COPIES DESTROYED**

**20 OCT 19 1965**

APPROVED AND  
FORWARDED:

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100 Mr. Starn (C-1)

**35-367776**

**RECORDED-14**

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

**APR - 1 1953**

**MAR 23 1953**

**SE 48**

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - USA, Detroit
- 1 - Chicago (25-20607)(Info)
- 1 - Detroit (25-21021)

PROPERTY OF FBI—THIS CONFIDENTIAL REPORT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE LOANED TO YOU BY THE FBI AND ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE AGENCY TO WHICH LOANED.

**APR 8 1953**

(DE 25-21021)

Selective Service Act, 1948 and upon further questioning was quite evasive until he was furnished with the fact that under the Selective Service Act, 1948, men who violate this law can receive a penalty of five years or \$10,000.00 fine or both. Upon being furnished with this information, Subject advised that he would immediately register with his Local Board. The Subject also advised that he was a registered member of the Nation of Islam.

Mrs. MARGARET SMITH, Clerk, Local Board 102, Plymouth, Michigan, advised that the Subject had registered at that Board, but at the present time had not been classified or furnished with a Selective Service number.

Assistant United States Attorney, KENNETH W. SMITH, Detroit, declined prosecution in this matter inasmuch as the Subject had complied with the Selective Service Act, 1948 by registering with Local Board No. 102, Plymouth, Michigan.

The following is a description of the Subject as obtained from observation and interrogation:

Name	MALCOMB LITTLE
Sex	Male
Born	5/19/25, at Omaha, Nebraska
Height	6' 3 1/2"
Weight	180 lbs.
Eyes	Brown; Hazel
Hair	Black
Complexion	Light
Build	Slender
Race	Negro (It is to be noted that the Subject advised that his race is Asiatic.)
Address	1336 Williams St., Inkster, Mich.
Scars and marks	1" scar from right eye to nose; 1/2" scar on chin 2" scar below left elbow
Employment	Grinder, Garwood Manufacturing, Wayne, Michigan
Relatives	Sister, YVONNE LITTLE, 614 Birch St., Lansing, Michigan

(DE 25-21021)

Relatives (con't)

Brothers, WILFRED LITTLE,  
PHILBERT LITTLE and WESLEY LITTLE (who  
is presently in custody of U. S.  
Attorney General for violation of  
Selective Service Act, 1948)  
4336 Williams St., Inkster, Michigan

- C -



(DE 25-21021)

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

A copy of this report has been designated for Chicago file 25-20607 for purpose of information, inasmuch as that file deals with the investigation of the Muslim Cult of Islam, of which organization the Subject is a member and in which investigation Chicago is origin.

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 44-21493

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## Memorandum

TO : Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: FEB 27 1963

BM:SHR:sab 12,634

FROM : Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General 144-53-154  
Civil Rights DivisionSUBJECT: Unknown Subjects;  
Unknown Victims;  
Muslim Minister Malcom X,  
Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 - Complainant  
Civil Rights

Attached are two copies of a telegram dated February 16, 1963, from Malcom X of 102 W. 116th Street, New York, New York.

Please conduct a preliminary investigation with respect to the two persons arrested and charged with 3rd degree assault and also the incident with respect to the arrest of the 13 Negroes.

14851  
2-27-63  
2/28/63  
JWH: JWH  
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED  
ENCLOSURE 1  
2 55 111.2

Wm. R. R. & Belton  
2/28/63  
JWH: JWH

MCT-8

EC-42

EX-115

FEB 5

FEB 27 1963

36 FEB 27 1963

2149

24/93

Mc  
SIX  
F

NEW YORK 4 B 16

THE HONORABLE ROBERT F KENNEDY, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE  
UNITED STATES, U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE, WASH DC

SIR:

A MUSLIM MINISTER AND 12 OTHER INNOCENT NEGROES WERE  
ARRESTED ON FEBRUARY 8, 1963 IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK AND  
CHARGED WITH "THIRD DEGREE ASSAULT," AND "INCITING TO RIOT."

THESE FALSE CHARGES STEM FROM A JAN 6TH INCIDENT IN WHICH  
SEVERAL WHITE COPS WITH THE USE OF A VICIOUS POLICE DOG  
FORCED THEIR WAY INTO THE ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF THE  
LOCAL MUSLIMS, AND BROKE UP THEIR PRAYERS UNDER THE PRETEXT  
THAT THEY HAD RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS PHONE CALL THAT SOMEONE  
ATTENDING THE RELIGIOUS SERVICES WAS CARRYING A GUN.

NO SEARCH WAS EVER MADE FOR ANY GUN, BUT TWO OF THE MUSLIMS  
WERE ARRESTED AT THAT TIME AND CHARGES WITH 3RD DEGREE ASSAULT  
AND RESISTING ARREST AFTER THEY THEMSELVES HAD BEEN ASSAULTED  
BY THE OFFICERS FOR EXPRESSING RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION AT THE  
GESTAPO-LIKE INVASION OF THEIR ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES.

THE MOST RECENT ARREST LAST WEEK OF THE 13 ADDITIONAL NEGROS,  
INCLUDING THE MUSLIM MINISTER, HAS FURTHER SHOCKED THE ROCHESTER  
NEGRO COMMUNITY. AN EXPLOSIVE CURRENT IS BUILDING UP IN THE  
NEGRO COMMUNITY AGAINST THESE POLICE-STATE CONDITIONS.

IT IS RUMORED STRONGLY THAT BECAUSE THE COUNTY IS CONTROLLED  
BY REPUBLICANS AND THE CITY BY THE DEMOCRATS (INCLUDING THE  
POLICE DEPT), THAT WHEN THE CITY ADMINISTRATION RECOGNIZED A  
MISTAKE HAD BEEN MADE IN THE INVASION OF OUR RELIGIOUS SERVICES  
AND WAS TAKING INTELLIGENT STEPS TO CORRECT IT, THAT A

REPUBLICAN DISTRICT ATTORNEY AND A REPUBLICAN COUNTY GRAND JURY  
MANEUVERED THE SECRET INDICTMENT OF THE 13 ADDITIONAL MUSLIMS  
ONLY TO EMBARRASS A DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CITY ADMINISTRATION.

IF THESE RUMORS ARE CORRECT, THE CHARGES ARE VERY SERIOUS.  
THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IS TIRED OF BEING USED AS A POLITICAL FOOT-  
BALL. THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IS IN AN EXPLOSIVE MOOD, TIRED OF  
LIVING UNDER THE SAME POLICE-STATE CONDITIONS THAT EXISTED IN  
NAZI-GERMANY, WHERE POLICE DOGS WERE ALSO USED FIRST TO SUPPRESS  
THE RELIGIOUS RIGHTS AND ULTIMATELY THE LIVES OF THE JEWS.

WE DEMAND AN IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL BY  
THE F.B.I. AND ALL OTHER INTERESTED AGENCIES INTO THE CRIMINAL  
USE OF POLITICAL POWER AND POLITICAL OFFICE IN ROCHESTER, N.Y.  
TO SUPPRESS THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO  
COMMUNITY IN GENERAL, AND THE RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF THE MUSLIMS IN  
PARTICULAR.

UNDER GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER AND SENATOR KEATING, THE STATE OF  
NEW YORK HAS BECOME WORSE THAN MISSISSIPPI, AND THE CITY OF  
ROCHESTER HAS BECOME WORSE THAN OXFORD AND JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI  
COMBINED.

MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X, MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO 7

102 W. 116TH STREET NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

2/28/63

EX-115

Airtel

To: SAC, Buffalo

From: Director, FBI

UNKNOWN SUBJECTS;  
UNKNOWN VICTIMS;  
MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOM X,  
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 7 - COMPLAINANT  
CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/13/86 BY SP6 bja/tc

Enclosed herewith are two copies of Departmental memorandum dated 2/27/63, requesting a preliminary investigation. Also enclosed is a copy of the enclosure, a telegram to the Attorney General from Malcom X which is self-explanatory.

Conduct the preliminary investigation requested by the Department. Advise appropriate officials at outset and persons interviewed that the investigation is being conducted at the request of Mr. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Your investigation should include interviews of victims, subjects, available witnesses and a thorough check of pertinent arrest and medical records.

It is noted that this incident has received considerable publicity in the newspapers. Any inquiries received by your office from the press concerning our investigation should be answered to the effect that our investigation is being conducted at the request of Mr. Burke Marshall, Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. No further comment should be made.

Burep within seven days of receipt of this airtel setting forth results of your inquiry and indicating in the report that it is a preliminary investigation. Include in your report the opinion of the USA as to the merits of the case.

Enclosures (3)

JWH:jhm

(4)

NOTE:

SEE MEMO ROSEN TO BELMONT, SAME DATE  
AND CAPTION JWH:jhm.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

44-21493-2 IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING  
SERIALIZATION.

thing  
B

8-21-67

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/13/86 BY SP-6 bja/Hcy

Tolson ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Casper ☐  
 Callahan ☐  
 Conrad ☒  
 DeLoach ☒  
 Evans ☐  
 Gale ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Sullivan ☒  
 Tavel ☐  
 Trotter ☐  
 Tele. Room ☐  
 Holmes ☐  
 Gandy ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 1/13/86 BY SP6 bja/ky

144-2117-1-A  
 NOT RECORDED  
 184 MAR 5 1963

UPI-230

(MUSLIMS)

ROCHESTER, N.Y.--MONROE COUNTY JUDGE JOHN P. LOMENZO TODAY ORDERED  
 A MARCH 18 TRIAL DATE FOR 15 BLACK MUSLIMS ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED IN  
 A BRAWL WITH ROCHESTER POLICE LAST MONTH.  
 2/28--IC828FES

Consensus  
 UNKN U.2 Firms  
 Muslim MINISTER  
 MAHOMED

MUHAMMAD MOSQUE NO. 7 - Complainant

5 5 MAR 11 1963

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

FBI

Date: 3/1/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

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

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
 FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (44-193)

CHANGED

UNSUBS; UNKNOWN VICTIMS  
 MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X,  
 MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #7 - COMPLAINANT  
 CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 1/13/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcy

Rebuairtel 2/28/63, captioned as above. Re also  
 Buffalo tel 2/25/63 and Buffalo airtel 2/27/63, both captioned  
 "UNSUBS; OFFICERS OF ROCHESTER, N. Y., POLICE DEPARTMENT;  
 MEMBERS OF NOI - VICTIMS, CIVIL RIGHTS."

Title "Changed" to delet that shown in Buffalo  
 communications, substituting in place thereof Bureau title.

Enclosed for the Bureau's information are two copies  
 of an article which appeared in the February 28, 1963 edition  
 of the "Times Union," a daily newspaper, Rochester, N. Y.,  
 reflecting trial of the 15 Muslims arrested by the Rochester  
 PD would begin 3/18/63 in County Court, Rochester.

Any additional pertinent information will be promptly  
 furnished.

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 2) (AM)  
 4 - Buffalo  
   (1 - 44-182)  
   (1 - 105-468)  
   (1 - 105-2767)

KLB:gpp  
 (7)

MAR 5 1963

C. C. Wick

Approved: [Signature]  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Trial Set For 15 on Riot Charge

Trial of 15 men on charges of riot and third-degree assault was set today for March 18 in County Court.

They were arrested after a clash with police at a Black Muslim meeting Jan. 6.

The trial was scheduled by Judge John P. Lomenzo after assignment of additional counsel for the defense.

While the defendants were in court for the proceedings, three men carrying signs walked up and down in front of the Court House. The signs proclaimed: "Black Man Political Tool No More," "Rochester Police State" and "We Worship Allah."

An attempt by the "pickets" to enter the courtroom before the riot case was called was blocked by court attendants. They then went to the Main Street sidewalk in front of the building.

IN COURT, the 15 defendants lined up stiffly in front of Judge Lomenzo.

"I notice you are all standing at attention," he said. "At ease. You're not in the Army. You're in a court of law."

Standing with the defendants were court-assigned attorneys Reuben K. Davis, Robert L. Brenna and Charles B. Kenning. Davis asked that additional counsel be assigned. Upon the individual request of each defendant, Judge Lomenzo assigned two more counsel—Alan J. Underberg and Merwyn M. Kroll.

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

Page 28

Times-Union  
Rochester, N.Y.

Date: 2/28/63  
Edition: Home  
Author:  
Editor: Paul Miller  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Buffalo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/13/86 BY SP8/bj/ky

44-21493-3  
ENCLOSURE

3/1/63

Airtel

To: SAC, Buffalo

From: Director, FBI

UNKNOWN SUBJECTS;  
UNKNOWN VICTIMS;  
MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOM X,  
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 7 - COMPLAINANT  
CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/13/86 BY [signature]

Re Bureau airtel 2/28/63 and your airtel captioned,  
"Unsubs; Officers of Rochester, New York, Police Department,  
Members of NOI - Victims, Civil Rights," dated 2/27/63.

By return mail furnish letterhead memorandum suitable  
for dissemination containing data made available to your office  
the separate incidents reported in this matter as well as the  
arrest and fight which took place between members of the Rochester,  
New York, Police Department and Negroes who were attending  
the NOI meeting on 1/6/63.

MAILED 27

MAR - 1 1963

COMM-FBI

EX-102

REC-57

19 MAR 4 1963

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

62 MAR

7 1963

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAR 4 1963

TELETYPE

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

URGENT

3-4-63

5-00 PM

CML

TO-DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM-SAC, BUFFALO /44-193/

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/13/86 BY SP-6 [signature]

UNSUBS, UNKNOWN VICTIM, MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X,  
MUHAMMAD-S MOSQUE NO. SEVEN - COMPLAINANT, CIVIL RIGHTS.

REBUAIRTEL FEBRUARY TWENTYEIGHT LAST.

[REDACTED] NOTIFIED TODAY THAT  
THIS OFFICE WAS INITIATING INVESTIGATION AT REQUEST OF BURKE  
MARSHALL, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL, CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION,  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE.

[REDACTED] INITIALLY STATED OFFICERS AND RECORDS WOULD BE MADE  
AVAILABLE WITHOUT CONDITION BUT THAT SINCE OFFICERS INVOLVED  
HAVE TESTIFIED BEFORE GRAND JURY AND PROSECUTION IS PENDING, HE  
DESIRED TO CONSULT DISTRICT ATTORNEY-S OFFICE. AT THIS JUNCTURE,

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR BUREAU INVESTIGATION TO PROCEED WITHOUT  
CHECKING WITH DISTRICT ATTORNEY-S OFFICE. [REDACTED] 44-71493-  
[REDACTED] EX. 107

END PAGE ONE.

3/7/63 REC'D - H  
S. KEITH, CRD

airtel to BU  
4/5/63  
FCF

6-8

BU44-193

PAGE TWO.

PRESENT DURING ALL INTERVIEWS OF POLICE OFFICERS. [REDACTED]

b7c DESIGNATED [REDACTED]

PAREN, FOR THIS PURPOSE.

IN VIEW OF [REDACTED] CONDITION, NO INTERVIEWS OF POLICE OFFICERS BEING CONDUCTED BY THIS OFFICE, UACB. ALL REMAINING INVESTIGATION INSTRUCTED IN REAIRTEL PROCEEDING INCLUDING REVIEW OF POLICE RECORDS.

END AND ACK PLS.

5-03 PM OK FBI WA MED

TU PLS CLEAR

MAY 4 2 00 PM '63

FBI  
REC.D-1E/1A6E 0011

2/4/63

Airtel

To: SAC, Buffalo (44-193)

From: Director, FBI

UNKNOWN SUBJECTS; EX- 117

UNKNOWN VICTIMS;

MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOM X,

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 7 - COMPLAINANT

CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/13/86 BY SP6 bja/bc

Reurtel 2/4/63.

For your information, this matter has been discussed with the Department who requested that no interviews of subjects be conducted in the presence of their superior.

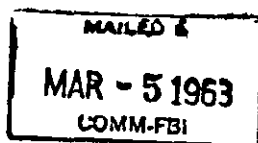
You should proceed with your preliminary investigation in accordance with previous Bureau instructions. Do not interview the subjects in presence of their superior; however, insure that your report contains data set forth in referenced teletype.

ECF:jhm

(4)

NOTE: On 2/28/63, Buffalo instructed to conduct PI in accordance with Department request which enclosed telegram to AG from Malcom X relating an incident which took place on 1/6/63, at Rochester, New York, resulting in the arrest of two Negroes by the Rochester PD and subsequent indictment of 13 Negroes on charges of assault and inciting riot. On 3-5-63 matter discussed with [REDACTED] CRD. This will be confirmed.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont *answ*

DATE: 2-28-63

FROM : A. Rosen *ARM*

SUBJECT: UNKNOWN SUBJECTS;  
UNKNOWN VICTIMS;  
MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOM X,  
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 7 - COMPLAINANT  
CIVIL RIGHTS

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*11-1*  
*B. G. [unclear]*  
*W. A. [unclear]*

The Civil Rights Division of the Department by memorandum dated 2/27/63 enclosed copies of a telegram to the Attorney General dated 2/16/63, from Malcom X, Muslim Minister, Muhammad's Mosque No. 7, New York, relating an incident which took place on 1/6/63, at Rochester, New York, which resulted in the arrest of two Negroes by the Rochester Police Department and subsequent indictment of 13 Negroes on charges of assault and inciting a riot. Malcom X alleged that the charges against the Negroes were false and resulted from efforts of the police officers to force their way into a religious meeting and to break up the service. He requested an investigation by the FBI. The Department requests that we conduct a preliminary investigation.

Information previously submitted by the Buffalo Office reflects that on January 6, 1963, two police officers of the Rochester Police Department responded to a trouble call at the Nation of Islam (NOI) Meeting Hall, Rochester, New York. A meeting was in progress and efforts were made to prevent the officers from entering the hall. Two men in attendance at the meeting were arrested at that time and charged with assaulting the two policemen. Later the Monroe County Grand Jury returned indictments charging 13 other Negroes who had attended the meeting with assault and inciting a riot. This information was disseminated to the Department.

[REDACTED]

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. DeLoach

JWH:jhm:cac

5 (3) MAR 11 1963

6 MAR 5 1963

44-21493-5

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/3/86 BY SP6 bjt/ky

67D

REC-13

*[Handwritten initials]*

By way of background, the NOI is a militant antiwhite group which advocates black supremacy and civil disobedience to the laws of the United States. It is currently the subject of active investigation by the Domestic Intelligence Division.

The Buffalo Office is being instructed to conduct the preliminary investigation requested by the Department.

THE CRIME RECORDS DIVISION

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Rosen

DATE: March 1, 1963

FROM : [REDACTED]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: UNKNOWN SUBJECTS  
 OFFICERS, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK,  
 POLICE DEPARTMENT  
 UNKNOWN VICTIMS  
 MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X  
 MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #7 - COMPLAINANT  
 CIVIL RIGHTS

ASAC Brouse of the Buffalo Office telephonically advised he had just received Buairtel of 2/28/63 requesting preliminary investigation in this matter.

Brouse desired to know if the Bureau and Department were aware of the fact that Buffalo airtel of 2/27/63 captioned "UNSUBS; Officers of Rochester, N. Y., Police Department: MEMBERS OF NOI - VICTIMS, CR," had set forth information that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that he did not deem it appropriate to make a complaint about those arrested at this time.

Brouse was advised that the Bureau was aware of that information. It is noted [REDACTED] made such a statement to the Buffalo Office on 2/19/63. He was advised that the complaint in instant case had come from Malcolm X and based on that, the Department had requested an investigation.

Brouse was instructed to proceed with the investigation. In the event the victims do not desire to furnish any information to the Bureau or on the advice of their attorney decline to furnish information to the Bureau at this time, this can be brought to the Bureau's attention by teletype and the matter will again be discussed with the Department. It was pointed out that the Department had received a complaint from a citizen and had requested an investigation be conducted and we would have to interview the victims to see if they desired to furnish any information at this time.

CLM:ers  
 (5)

55 MAR 11 1963

6 MAR 5 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 1-13-86 BY SP-6 bja/ky

REC-13  
 MCT-18

44-21493-6



FBI

Date: 3/4/63

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (44-193) (P)

UNKNOWN SUBJECTS;  
UNKNOWN VICTIMS;  
MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOM X.  
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #7 - COMPLAINANT  
CIVIL RIGHTS

ReBuairtel 3/1/63.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/13/86 BY SP4/STC

Enclosed herewith are the original and four copies  
of a Letterhead Memorandum relating to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] previously set forth in Buffalo airtel to the Director  
of 2/27/63, entitled: "UNSUBS; Officers of Rochester, N.Y.  
Police Department; MEMBERS OF NOI - VICTIMS, CR."

As the Bureau is aware, separate closing reports  
have been submitted in the eight cases [REDACTED]  
Investigation is underway in the ninth case, captioned matter,  
in accordance with Bureau instructions.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls 5) (AM)  
2 - Buffalo (44-193)  
1 - krd  
(5)

CC - WICK

1cc CRD-644-B-3-2-63  
1cc CR Unit

REC-50

44-21493-7  
6 MAR 6 1963

EX-115

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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

☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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

44-21493-7ep. 1, 2

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAR 6 1963

TELETYPE

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

URGENT 3-6-63 11-00 AM

GML

TO-DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM-SAC, BUFFALO /44-193/

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/3/86 BY SP-6 BJA/TGJ

UNSUBS, UNKNOWN VICTIMS, MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X,  
MUHAMMAD-S MOSQUE NO. SEVEN - COMPLAINANT, CIVIL RIGHTS.

REMYTEL MARCH FOUR LAST.

b7D [REDACTED] MOSQUE TWENTYTHREE, BUFFALO,  
WHICH COVERS ROCHESTER, NY, CONTACTED MARCH FOUR AND FIVE LAST.  
ON MARCH FIVE ADVISED THAT HE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS CONGREGATION  
INVOLVED IN THIS MATTER WERE INSTRUCTED BY [REDACTED] ATTORNEY,  
b7C ROCHESTER, NY, ON MARCH FIVE NOT TO PERMIT THEMSELVES TO BE  
INTERVIEWED BY THE FBI UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE. STATES [REDACTED] TO  
CONSULT OTHER FOUR ATTORNEYS INVOLVED IN DEFENSE OF ALL VICTIMS.

b7C [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] ON  
MARCH FIVE LAST STATED HE HAD NO COMPLAINT TO REGISTER AT THIS  
TIME AND DECLINED TO BE INTERVIEWED RE INCIDENT JANUARY SIX LAST.  
STATED COMPLAINT POSSIBLY WOULD FOLLOW AT LATER DATE, DATE NOT  
SPECIFIED. STATED IF COMPLAINT MADE IT WOULD COME FROM [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED] MINISTER, MOSQUE TWENTYTHREE, BUFFALO, AND THAT [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE 345  
58 MAR 12 1963

3/6/63

CR 12

BU 44-193

PAGE TWO.

WOULD RECEIVE HIS INSTRUCTIONS FROM MALCOLM X LITTLE OF NYC,  
WHO IN TURN WOULD RECEIVE HIS DIRECTIONS FROM ELIJAH MUHAMMAD  
IN CHICAGO WHO HAS LAST WORD.

ALL OTHER VICTIMS CONTACTED TO DATE REFUSED TO BE INTERVIEWED  
AND MOST REFER ANY QUESTIONS TO [REDACTED] BUFFALO  
CONTACTING ALL VICTIMS AND AVAILABLE WITNESSES INDIVIDUALLY  
AND REPORT WITH ALL DETAILS BEING SUBMITTED.

END AND ACK. PLS.

1104P OK FBI WA ELR

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE BUFFALO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUFFALO	DATE 3/7/63	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 3/1 - 7/63
TITLE OF CASE CHANGED		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY jmv
[REDACTED]		CHARACTER OF CASE CR <del>CONFIDENTIAL</del>	

## VICTIMS

The title of this report is marked "Changed" to reflect the identity of the alleged subjects and victims as developed through investigation. This matter was previously entitled "UNKNOWN SUBJECT; UNKNOWN VICTIMS; Muslim Minister MALCOLM X Muhammad's Mosque #7 - COMPLAINANT."

REFERENCE: Bureau airtels to Buffalo 2/28; 3/1 and 3/5/63.  
Buffalo airtel to Bureau 3/4/63.  
Buffalo teletypes to Bureau 3/4 and 3/6/63.

APPROVED [Signature]	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE		44-21493-9	REC-9 MCT-25
② - Bureau (Encl. 2) (RM)			EX-117
1 - USA, Buffalo			
2 - Buffalo			
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS	
1 - CRD		STAT. SECT.	
5-13-63			
6-7-63			
62 MAR 25 1963		cc Synopses CR Unit	

BU 44-193

ENCLOSURES

TO BUREAU

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Two (2) copies of newspaper articles pertaining to this matter; (one hereinafter designated for Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice.)

ADMINISTRATIVE

With regard to the alleged victims and their membership in the Nation of Islam, Fruit of Islam and Muhammad's Mosque #23, Buffalo, N. Y., a letterhead memorandum has been prepared and is being submitted separately with appropriate copies for the Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice.

The Indices of the Buffalo Office contain no references identifiable with

b7C [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED]

In each instance the person interviewed, as reflected in the body of this report, was advised this investigation

BU 44-193

is being conducted at the specific request of Mr. BURKE MARSHALL, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice.

b7c The reference in the body of this report to a contact with [REDACTED] is to the matter entitled "UNSUBS: Officers of Rochester, New York, Police Department; [REDACTED] COMPLAINANT, CR," Buffalo file 44-182.



**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

USA, Buffalo

Office: Buffalo, New York

Date: 3/7/63

Field Office File No.:

44-193

Bureau File No.:

Title:

[REDACTED]  
ROCHESTER, N.Y.  
POLICE DEPARTMENT;

OSBOK

SDOK:

VICTIMS

Character:

CIVIL RIGHTS

Synopsis:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/5/86 BY SP-6 bja/leg

[REDACTED] Rochester, N.Y., PD was informed on 3/4/63 of initiation of this investigation. Commissioner of Public Safety [REDACTED] Rochester, was also informed. [REDACTED] advised that officers would be made available for interview but that a representative of the PD must be present. [REDACTED] was designated for this purpose. PD records reflect an anonymous telephone call was received on the evening on 1/6/63 alleging a man had a gun at 304 North St. On this basis Officers [REDACTED] were dispatched. [REDACTED] Officers [REDACTED] were only persons injured in incident at 304 North St. on 1/6/62. Victim [REDACTED] Minister, Muhammad's Mosque #23, Buffalo, N.Y.; stated that on advice of counsel he and other victims in this matter would not consent to interview by the FBI. Victim [REDACTED] claimed any interview of victims would depend on permission of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, Chicago, Illinois. A witness, [REDACTED] in attendance at the NOI meeting 1/6/63 at Rochester denies seeing any violence. USA, WDNY, does not see action at this time merited.

BU 44-193

ENCLOSURE:

One (1) copy each reproduction of pertinent newspaper articles.

TO CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TO UNITED STATES ATTORNEY  
WESTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK  
BUFFALO

BU 44-193

-1-

**DETAILS:**

The following investigation is a preliminary investigation:

**PREDICATION**

This investigation is predicated on the request of Mr. BURKE MARSHALL, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice, made on February 27, 1963. Mr. MARSHALL requested a preliminary investigation with respect to the two persons arrested and charged with third degree assault, and also the incident with respect to the arrest of the 13 Negroes as described in a telegram from one MALCOLM X. Mr. MARSHALL furnished a copy of the telegram of MALCOLM X which is as follows:

"NEW YORK NY FEB 16

"THE HONORABLE ROBERT F. KENNEDY, ATTORNEY  
GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, U.S. DEPT  
OF JUSTICE, WASH DC

"SIR:

"A MUSLIM MINISTER AND 12 OTHER INNOCENT  
NEGROES WERE ARRESTED ON FEBRUARY 8, 1963  
IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK AND CHARGED WITH 'THIRD  
DEGREE ASSAULT,' AND 'INCITING TO RIOT.'

"THESE FALSE CHARGES STEM FROM A JAN 6TH  
INCIDENT IN WHICH SEVERAL WHITE COPS WITH THE  
USE OF A VICIOUS POLICE DOG FORCED THEIR WAY  
INTO THE ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF THE  
LOCAL MUSLIMS, AND BROKE UP THEIR PRAYERS UNDER  
THE PRETEXT THAT THEY HAD RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS  
PHONE CALL THAT SOMEONE ATTENDING THE RELIGIOUS  
SERVICES WAS CARRYING A GUN.

"NO SEARCH WAS EVER MADE FOR ANY GUN, BUT  
TWO OF THE MUSLIMS WERE ARRESTED AT THAT TIME  
AND CHARGES WITH 3RD DEGREE ASSAULT AND

:dbl

"RESISTING ARREST AFTER THEY THEMSELVES HAD BEEN ASSAULTED BY THE OFFICERS FOR EXPRESSING RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION AT THE GESTAPO-LIKE INVASION OF THEIR ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES.

"THE MOST RECENT ARREST LAST WEEK OF THE 13 ADDITIONAL NEGROS, INCLUDING THE MUSLIM MINISTER, HAS FURTHER SHOCKED THE ROCHESTER NEGRO COMMUNITY. AN EXPLOSIVE CURRENT IS BUILDING UP IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY AGAINST THESE POLICE-STATE CONDITIONS.

"IT IS RUMORED STRONGLY THAT BECAUSE THE COUNTY IS CONTROLLED BY REPUBLICANS AND THE CITY BY THE DEMOCRATS (INCLUDING THE POLICE DEPT), THAT WHEN THE CITY ADMINISTRATION RECOGNIZED A MISTAKE HAD BEEN MADE IN THE INVASION OF OUR RELIGIOUS SERVICES AND WAS TAKING INTELLIGENT STEPS TO CORRECT IT, THAT A REPUBLICAN DISTRICT ATTORNEY AND A REPUBLICAN COUNTY GRAND JURY MANEUVERED THE SECRET INDICTMENT OF THE 13 ADDITIONAL MUSLIMS ONLY TO EMBARRASS A DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CITY ADMINISTRATION.

"IF THESE RUMORS ARE CORRECT, THE CHARGES ARE VERY SERIOUS. THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IS TIRED OF BEING USED AS A POLITICAL FOOTBALL. THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IS IN AN EXPLOSIVE MOOD, TIRED OF LIVING UNDER THE SAME POLICE-STATE CONDITIONS THAT EXISTED IN NAZI-GERMANY, WHERE POLICE DOGS WERE ALSO USED FIRST TO SUPPRESS THE RELIGIOUS RIGHTS AND ULTIMATELY THE LIVES OF THE JEWS.

"WE DEMAND AN IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL BY THE F.B.I. AND ALL OTHER INTERESTED AGENCIES INTO THE CRIMINAL USE OF POLITICAL POWER AND POLITICAL OFFICE IN ROCHESTER, N.Y. TO SUPPRESS THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN GENERAL, AND THE RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF THE MUSLIMS IN PARTICULAR.

BU 44-193

-3-

"UNDER GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER AND SENATOR KEATING, THE STATE OF NEW YORK HAS BECOME WORSE THAN MISSISSIPPI, AND THE CITY OF ROCHESTER HAS BECOME WORSE THAN OXFORD AND JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI COMBINED.

"MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X, MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO 7

"102 W. 116TH STREET NEW YORK, NEW YORK".

POLICE RECORDS AND INTERVIEWS  
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

AT ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

On March 4, 1963,

[REDACTED] was informed by SAs [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED] (A) and [REDACTED] that an investigation was being instituted concerning an alleged violation of Civil Rights of persons involved in the incident on January 6, 1963, at a meeting at 304 North Street, Rochester, New York.

b7C [REDACTED] stated that all records desired would be made available for review, however, that no copies would be furnished, and that the officers involved would be made available for interview. He said he would insist that the interviews be conducted during the regular shifts of the officers involved. [REDACTED] designated [REDACTED] to arrange for the interviews of officers and to make the records available for review.

During the interview with [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED] He was also informed of the institution of the investigation. He concurred with the statements of [REDACTED] and added that he would insist that a representative [REDACTED] be present during all interviews of officers involved. [REDACTED] was designated for this purpose by [REDACTED]

Date 3/7/63

-1-

b7D [REDACTED]  
Rochester Police Department, made available for review the file containing police records, statements of police personnel involved and police officials who investigated the incident, January 6, 1963, at 304 North Street, Rochester, New York.

b7D [REDACTED] described the chronological order of the procedures of the Police Department in receiving complaints, dispatching police officers by radio, and booking those arrested.

b7D [REDACTED] advised that normally when a complaint is received by telephone the telephone operator connects the party on the line with the complaint officer on duty. The complaint officer then prepares a complaint form which is handed to the radio operator who takes the necessary action to dispatch patrol cars as necessary.

b7D [REDACTED] advised that in connection with the incident on January 6, 1963, the complainant was anonymous and hung up after informing the telephone operator that there was a man with a gun upstairs over Buddy's Casino. The telephone operator relayed the message to the complaint officer. The complaint officer prepared a complaint form and handed it to the radio operator who dispatched cars to the scene.

b7C [REDACTED] advised that the telephone operator was [REDACTED]. The complaint officer was [REDACTED] and the radio operator was [REDACTED] whose initials are [REDACTED].

The file contained a memorandum of [REDACTED] as follows dated January 7, 1963:

b7D [REDACTED]

On 3/4/63 at Rochester, N.Y. File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA(A) [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] ddb1 Date dictated 3/7/63

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"This call was received at about 8:30 PM, Sunday, January 6, 1963."

67D The file contained a memorandum from [REDACTED] as follows, dated January 7, 1963:

67D The file contained the original of a complaint form. The complaint form bears [REDACTED] The form shows the complaint was received January 6, 1963, at 8:30 p.m. The form is filled out in handwriting. [REDACTED]

67D [REDACTED] In pencil handwriting on this form there is the following:

67D [REDACTED] advised that the handwriting in pencil was made after the officers had called in after the incident to make a report. This handwriting was made by an unknown



b7D  
officer at the report desk. [redacted] explained that after the complaint form is initially handled it is handed to the report desk officer to receive the reports of the officers who were sent out. The penciled notes on the complaint form made by the report desk officer is the basis for the daily report of the incident which is typed.

b7D  
Included in the file were Pages [redacted] and [redacted] of the radio log. At the top of Page [redacted] the name of the operator is shown as [redacted]. At the top of Page [redacted] the name of the operator is shown as [redacted]. [redacted] advised that because the incident occurred at 8:30 p.m., [redacted] was the operator on duty at the time of the incident even though the name of [redacted] is shown at the top of Page [redacted]. At the bottom of Page [redacted] opposite the time 8:31 p.m. it is shown that the dispatcher contacted Car [redacted] and Car [redacted] to handle a call at Buddy's Casino upstairs. The notation made is "man w gun." The last entry opposite the time 8:38 p.m. shows that the dispatcher contacted Car [redacted] and Cars [redacted] and [redacted] in connection with this matter. The log shows that Car [redacted] and Car [redacted] went out of service at 8:25 p.m. The log shows that Cars [redacted] went out of service at 9:09 p.m.

b7D  
[redacted] advised that [redacted] were in Car [redacted] [redacted] was in Car [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] were in Car [redacted] [redacted] was in Car [redacted] and [redacted] was in Car [redacted]

b7D  
On Page [redacted] of the radio log opposite the time 8:45 p.m. it is shown that Car [redacted] requested by radio Car [redacted] to meet at Buddy's Tavern.

b7D  
[redacted] advised that apparently Car [redacted] did not comply with this request. The log opposite the time 9:05 p.m. shows that Car [redacted] and Car [redacted] were requested to go to University Avenue, however, [redacted] advised apparently this request was not complied with.

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b7D In Page [redacted] there are entries that show that Car [redacted] and Car [redacted] were out of service at headquarters from 9:25 to 11:55 p.m. There is an entry in the same page showing that Car [redacted] was out of service from 9:28 to 11:55 p.m. with the note [redacted]

b7D [redacted] advised that the log showed with respect to Car [redacted] and Car [redacted] that the officers were at headquarters from 9:25 p.m. to 11:55 p.m. in connection with the persons arrested at 304 North Street.

[redacted] advised that when persons arrested are brought to headquarters the booking procedure is carried out in three steps. The first step consists of making out a pedigree sheet for each prisoner. The next step is the preparation of a blotter form for each prisoner. The third step is the photographing and fingerprinting of prisoners and the preparation of identification record sheets for each prisoner brought in.

b7C The file contained documents relating to the booking procedure for [redacted] and [redacted]

RE: [redacted]

Pedigree sheet for [redacted] is dated January 6, 1963. It shows the following information:

b7DC His residence is [redacted] he was charged with Section 1851 PL assault third; arresting officers were [redacted] he had no prior arrest; he was not arrested with a warrant; the place of arrest was 304 North Street; the time was 8:40 p.m.

Descriptive information included:

b7D,C  
Age  
Date of birth  
Color  
Sex  
Place of birth  
Marital status  
Father

Mother  
 Employment  
 Occupation  
 Nearest relative  
 Address of  
 Mother  
 Amount of bail  
 Pedigree taken by

[REDACTED]

On the reverse side of the pedigree sheet there is the following in handwriting:

[REDACTED]

The file contained two blotter forms for [REDACTED]. Both blotter forms were dated January 6, 1963. They are identical with the exception of the charge shown. One blotter form contains the charge "resisting public officer in discharge of his duty. Any person who in any case or under any circumstances not otherwise specially provided for willfully resists, delays or obstructs a public officer in the discharge or attempting to discharge a duty of his office is guilty of a misdemeanor in violation of Section 1851 of the Penal Law of the State of New York at Rochester, New York, on 1/6/63." The code shown is 0802-2. The blotter showed he was held. The arresting officers were shown as [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. Descriptive information similar to that previously shown was included. In the space for the name of the complainant there was recorded [REDACTED]. Under remarks there was recorded the following:

[REDACTED]

With regard to the number in the space for the name of the complainant, [REDACTED]

The second arrest blotter form contained the same information except that the charge is shown as "assault - third degree upon the body of [REDACTED] at Rochester on January 6, 1963." The code is shown as 0801-2.

The Identification Division form for [REDACTED] contained a mugged picture and descriptive information. In addition to that previously shown the following is noted:

Height [REDACTED]  
Weight [REDACTED]  
Eyes [REDACTED]  
Fingerprint classification [REDACTED]

The accomplice shown was [REDACTED]

Page 2 of the identification record shows the following entries:

Date of Arrest	Charge	Officer	Disposition
1/6/63	Resisting public officer in discharge of his duty (1851 NYS Penal Law)	[REDACTED]	
1/6/63	Assault 3rd degree with [REDACTED] 37614 assaulted Officers [REDACTED] at 304 North St. While Officers were investigating a complaint of a man with a gun. A number of other men also prevented Officers from making investigation but fled upon arrival of other Officer.		Judge CASSETTI 1/7/63 with dism police

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Date of Arrest	Charge	Officer	Disposition
----------------	--------	---------	-------------

1/7/63	Assault 2nd degree information above; assault on Officer	[REDACTED]	
--------	--	------------	--

b7C 1/7/63 Assault 2nd degree  
information above;  
Assault on Officer

b7C The identification record showed that neither the  
files of the New York State Department of Correction or the  
FBI had a prior record on [REDACTED]

b7C RE: [REDACTED]

Files contained a pedigree sheet dated January 6,  
1963, reporting the following information regarding [REDACTED]

b7D The file reported his address to be [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] and the charge which had been  
placed against him January 6, 1963, was 1851 PL 3rd assault.  
Record indicated arrest had been made by Officers [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] that [REDACTED] reported no previous arrests and had  
been arrested January 6, 1963, without a warrant. The file  
indicated [REDACTED] had been arrested at 8:40 p.m., January 6,  
1963, at 304 North Street, Rochester, New York. Records  
reported the following identifying information regarding  
[REDACTED]

Age  
Date of birth

b7D, C Color  
Sex  
Marital status  
Occupation  
Employer

67D,C The nearest relative of [REDACTED] is recorded to be his mother. [REDACTED]

67C The pedigree sheet recorded the amount of bail in connection with the charge was placed at \$1,000, and that the pedigree sheet had been taken by Officer [REDACTED]

67D,C The file contained two arrest blotter sheets, both of which were identical with the exception of the charge recorded thereon. Both blotter sheets were dated January 6, 1963, and contained the same charges as shown by the blotter sheets for [REDACTED]. With the exception of descriptive information the blotter sheets for [REDACTED] contained the same information as those for [REDACTED]

67D,C The file contained an Identification Division sheet for [REDACTED] which showed a mugged photograph and descriptive information. In addition to the descriptive data which has already been set forth regarding [REDACTED] this identification sheet showed [REDACTED] to be a [REDACTED] and with the following scars and marks: [REDACTED]

67D,C The record showed the fingerprint classification of [REDACTED] to be: [REDACTED]

67D,C The identification sheet showed accomplice of [REDACTED]

67D,C Page 2 of the Identification Division form was identical to that shown for [REDACTED]. This page showed the same charges on January 6, 1963 and January 7, 1963.

The identification record showed that neither the New York State Department of Correction or the FBI had a prior criminal record for [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] pointed out that [REDACTED] were arrested for assault third, however, that when they were arraigned in court on January 7, 1963, they were arraigned on assault second instead of assault third.

Included in the file was a copy of the typewritten daily report of the incident bearing number [REDACTED]. This daily report was as follows:

"2 OFFICERS ASSAULTED BY ALLEGED BLACK MUSLIMS-2 ARRESTS. District 1 8.30 P.M. [REDACTED]"

[REDACTED] assigned to investigate a complaint that there was a man with a gun above BUDDY'S CASINO at 304 North St. report that when they arrived at the above address, they were met downstairs by an unidentified Negro male who was acting as a door man and who told the Officers that they were not allowed to go upstairs to the meeting hall and tried to shove the officers out. They told him of the complaint, and went past him. He yelled upstairs that the Police were coming. When they reached the top of the stairs, they were met by two more doormen later identified as [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who without warning started assaulting the officers, and kept yelling inside the hall that Police Officers were coming in and that they were not to be allowed inside. During this time [REDACTED] was punched in the mouth and left ear, and about the body, and [REDACTED] was being punched about the stomach and forehead without a chance to defend themselves. About 8 more Negro males then came from inside and started to assault and hold the Officers. During the time of the assault the Officers kept telling the men that they had received a call to investigate at the hall, but a man who identified himself as [REDACTED] address unknown, and who claimed that he is a minister, stated that the Officers had no business entering the hall under any circumstances. At this time assistance for the Officers arrived, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] were arrested for assault third and interfering with police officers. They were brought to the [REDACTED] where they were questioned by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] and admitted struggling with the officers and also admitted that they were or are members of a group, professing to be a religion called the BLACK MUSLIMS and that each member of the group uses an (X) in their name concerning their original origin according to the religion. There was no gun found although many of the men attending the meeting had fled while the Officers were being assaulted.

[REDACTED] treated by [REDACTED] received a broken blood vessel in his ear and a laceration to his mouth. [REDACTED] received a bruise and lump on his forehead and bruises to his body. Both will see the Police Physician 1/7/62. Special reports will be written regarding the above."

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] were placed under arrest by Officers [REDACTED]. Others who arrived at the scene at approximately 8:40 p.m. on January 6, 1963, included, in addition to those previously mentioned, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] were questioned at headquarters by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that at no time were any allegations made by any of the persons arrested on January 6, 1963, or later that they had been subjected to brutality or mistreatment by police officers of the Rochester Police Department. [REDACTED] advised with respect to a fire alarm turned in on January 13, 1963, described later in this report, [REDACTED]

He said he was of the [REDACTED]



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67D  
67D  
opinion that whoever made the false fire report [redacted] and was attempting to create another incident on January 13, 1963.

[redacted] advised that to his knowledge officers of the Police Department were not aware that the meeting at 304 North Street on January 16, 1963, was a Muslim meeting. He said it was known that the premises at this address was used as a meeting hall for eight Masonic lodges. He said that the landlord on or about January 7, 1963, informed the Muslims that they could no longer use the hall as a meeting place.

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b7D The files of the Rochester, New York, Police Department, made available for review by [REDACTED] included written statements of police officers involved in the incident of January 6, 1963, at 304 North Street, Rochester, and the results of investigation by police officials.

These documents were as follows:

"Date January 6, 1963

b7D [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
"Assault on 2 Police Officers

"Sir:

"At approximately 8:30 P.M. January 6, 1963, [REDACTED] recieved a call [REDACTED] apartment over Buddy's Casino 304 North St. for a complaint with a man with a gun. [REDACTED] on a gun complaint, and tried to block our way, by grabbing and pushing [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED] a group of 8 or 10 Negro men, who were saying, 'No one, not even Police were allowed up there'. [REDACTED] said that there was no one in there with a gun, 'Get out'. they then attacked [REDACTED] They then started throwing punches. [REDACTED]

; jmb

67D [REDACTED] While these men were punching [REDACTED] the remainder of the group were behind them and because of the small space they were reaching over the back of their shoulders, [REDACTED]

67D [REDACTED] This attack lasted about 2 minutes before help arrived. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] arrested a [REDACTED]

67D [REDACTED] and a [REDACTED] for third degree assault and violation of section 1851 of the Penal law. [REDACTED]

67D "Respectively Submitted [REDACTED]

67D "Date Jan 6 1963 [REDACTED]

67D "Assault on Two Officers

"Sir:

67D "At 8:30 P.M. January 6, 1963, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] investigate a complaint that there was a man above Buddy's Casino upstairs over 304 North St. with a gun, [REDACTED] there an unidentified Negro male who was acting as a door man tried to stop [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that there was a man with a gun up there, [REDACTED] that there was no Police allowed,

under any circumstances, and pushed [REDACTED]

more doormen were waiting [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] told them [REDACTED] recieved a call that there was a man with a gun at that location, and without warning they assaulted [REDACTED]

Then at least 10 more Negro males jumped on [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] they stated that no Police were allowed under any circumstances. More help then arrived, [REDACTED] arrested [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] for assault third, and interfering with a Police Officer 1851. After the men were brought to the [REDACTED]

"Respectively Submitted

"Date Jan 6th 1963

67D, C  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
"Incident 304 North Street

"Sir:

67D, C  
[REDACTED] respectfully submit  
the following report relative to the incident at  
304 North St at Rochester, New York on January 6th.  
1963\_

[REDACTED] call [REDACTED]  
"Man with a gun over Buddy's Casino located at 304  
North Street;" at approx. 8:40 pm. Upon arrival

67D, C  
[REDACTED] unable to get inside, because  
someone had a hold and was restraining [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] by his jacket. This party was standing  
in the doorway blocking it so [REDACTED] were not able  
to pass; [REDACTED] were able to push  
[REDACTED] inside and by this time more help had arrived.

[REDACTED]  
men who had assaulted them and they were arrested  
and placed [REDACTED] The men were identified as

[REDACTED] They were taken to the  
[REDACTED] for questioning and statements.

"Pedigrees were taken and they were placed in  
cellblocks [REDACTED]

"Respectfully submitted,  
[REDACTED]

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"Date Jan 7th 1963

b7D,C

"Incident at 304 North Street

"Sir:

b7D,C

[REDACTED] respectfully submit the following report relative to the incident at 304 North Street at Rochester, N.Y. on January 6th. 1963.

"At approx. 8:40 pm [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Man with a gun at 304 North Street over Buddy's Casino. [REDACTED]

Officers [REDACTED]

being held by several men. [REDACTED]

b7D,C

[REDACTED] were identified

as the men who assaulted

and they were placed under arrest. They were

b7D,C

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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] where they were questioned and later placed  
in cells.

"Respectfully Submitted,

[REDACTED]

b7D, C

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

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"Date Jan. 7 1963

"From: [REDACTED]

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Incident at 304 North St.

"Sir: At about 8:30 P.M. [REDACTED]

the trouble was upstairs. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had received a call of a man with a gun. I saw one of the men that was arrested holding [REDACTED] by his jacket and would not let him inside. When [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] order was extended. The group of men were then lined against the wall name and address were taken. They were also serched.

"Respectfully Submitted  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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"Date Jan. 7 1963

"From: [REDACTED]

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Incident at # 304 North St.

"Sir: On the night of Jan. 6 at about 8:30 P.M., [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] looked in and saw that the police were at the top of the stairs. [REDACTED] the trouble was upstairs, and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] I saw [REDACTED] at the top of the stairway being punched and pushed back against the wall. [REDACTED] were also at the top of the stairway, trying to assist. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a call, a man with a gun, and to let them in. [REDACTED] saw a negro mans hands grabing [REDACTED] by his Jacket. [REDACTED] because he was behind the door that was pushed open. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] placed them under arrest. They were then brought out to the wagon. [REDACTED] lined every one up against the wall, searched, and took their names.

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BU 44-193

"Date Jan. 7 1963

67D,C  
"From: [REDACTED]

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: 2 Arrests made at 304 North St.

"Sir:

"On Sunday January 6, 1963 at about 8:40 P.M. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] noticed a flashing red light up near Buddy's Casino. I ran up to see what the trouble was. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] I noticed that the Officers had two Negro males inside.

67D,C  
"I was told by [REDACTED] recieved a call upstairs over Buddy's Casino, 304 North St. and of the circumstances which led to the arrest, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] proceeded to take the names and addresses of the persons inside and after looking around for the alleged gun, and other arms. [REDACTED]

"Respectively submitted  
[REDACTED]

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"January 6th, 1963

"From: [REDACTED]

"To: [REDACTED]

"Subject: [REDACTED]

"Sir;

[REDACTED] 304 North  
St, above Buddy's Casino, of a report of a man with a  
gun. [REDACTED]  
that they were assaulted by the Black Muslim group, and  
they had arrested two of them. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] They didn't like the idea of the Police Officer  
going into their meeting. [REDACTED]

"Respectfully submitted,  
[REDACTED]

;dgr

"Date January 6, 1963

67D,C  
"From: [REDACTED]

"To: [REDACTED]

"Subject: Assault upon [REDACTED]  
at 304 North Street

"Dear Sir:

"The following report is respectfully submitted for your information and consideration.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] at 304 North Street, above  
Buddy's Casina. [REDACTED]

Officers were assaulted upstairs at 304 North Street and that the two assailants were arrested [REDACTED]

67D,C  
[REDACTED] The officers were taking the names and addresses of approximately twenty Negro males. This was taking place in a large room, to the right of the landing of the top of the front stairway.

[REDACTED] At approximately 8:30 P.M. they received a call to go to above Buddy's Casina, on North Street, as there was a man with a gun there. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] opened the front door to ascend the stairs to investigate the complaint. They were met, as they opened the door, by an unknown Negro male, who stated they could not enter and attempted to restrain them.

[REDACTED] caused them to believe that something more serious was taking place upstairs. They told the man of the nature of their call and when he held them back. [REDACTED]

top landing, eight to ten members appeared from the meeting room and held and assaulted the Officers, while holding their arms. The Officers repeatedly shouted to the men that they were investigating a man with a gun complaint while an unknown man from within the meeting

;dgr

"room shouted, 'don't let them in, no Police allowed. The two Officers were repeatedly assaulted for several minutes until additional help arrived, [REDACTED]

The two assailants whom the Officers recognized were immediately placed under arrest. While [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] securing names and addresses of the members present.

[REDACTED] asked the minister, [REDACTED] to step into a side room to listen to his side of the story. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a lodge called the Mitchell Lodge #11 of the Modern Masons and that it was a Muslim organization. [REDACTED] denied having witnessed the affair in the hallway, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that the three men were stationed in the hallway to keep all non-members out but they stated that they could not recall the names of any of them. They stated in substance, that the police had no right to enter their hallway or meeting room, as it was a private organization. It was an impossibility for one of their members to have had a gun, they said, because all members are searched before entering the meeting room. Emphatically, they voiced the opinion that police are disliked and not trusted by their organization, as a result of there members being shop in Los Angeles, in April of this year. When asked why guards were stationed in the hallway to prevent anyone not to enter, they did not wish to discuss this, as it was a reason in their religion. Then three other members entered and informed the two men that they had placed the long distance calls that they were instructed to make.

[REDACTED] told them of the seriousness of the call and the responsibility of the police to answer and investigate such complaints. This apparently did not impress them as they persisted [REDACTED] had no right to even be in the building. They both admitted hearing the Officers in the hall shout that they were there to investigate a man there with a gun.

[REDACTED] a nine inch bladed bread knife [REDACTED] found in the hallway landing

"where the assault took place. All denied ownership of it. One of the members accepted it for use as a kitchen knife. Needless to say, the gun was never found.

[REDACTED] the two prisoners were transported to Police Headquarters. [REDACTED] the two arrested men. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were being questioned [REDACTED]

"Both men were charged with Assault 3rd, and Resisting an Officer in the performance of his duty (Sect. 1851 P.L.). Their attorney, [REDACTED] was also there. They claimed they were assaulted by the police officers while being questioned. [REDACTED] ordered both men photographed and also the two officers. [REDACTED]

"Respectfully submitted,



BU 44-193

"January 9, 1963

67D,C  
From: [REDACTED]

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Investigation at 304 North St. Muslim meeting place.

67D,C  
[REDACTED] further investigation of the incident the previous night. [REDACTED]

67D,C  
[REDACTED] eight lodges and auxiliaries of the Masons meet at different times at the hall, each meeting twice a month. The hall is rented to the Muslim sect through the lodges. 'City Council' made up of members of the eight lodges. [REDACTED]

67D,C  
[REDACTED]

67D,C  
[REDACTED]

; dmb

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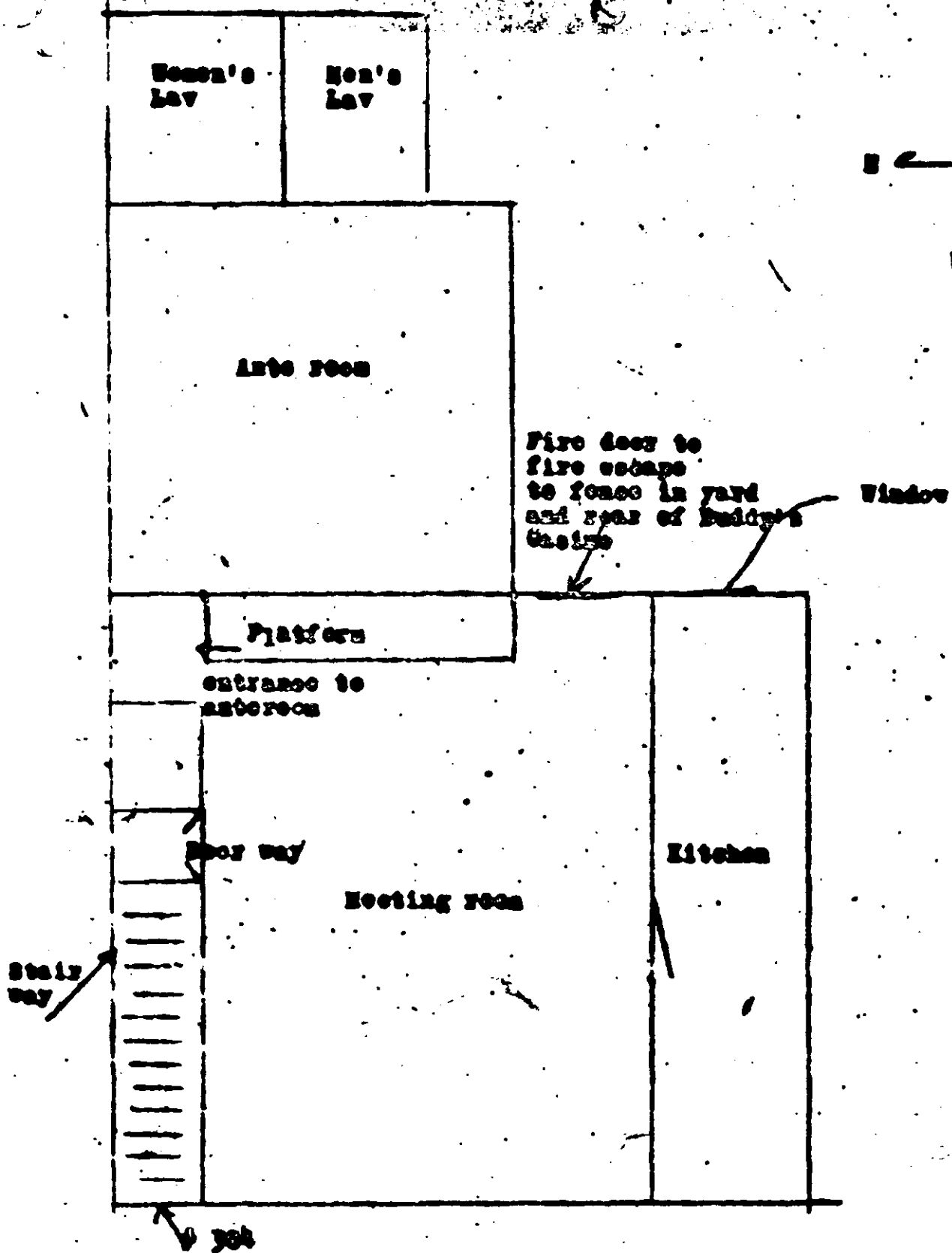
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Second floor diag. 304 North St.



"January 14

63

670, C

"At about 8:30 P.M., January 6, 1963

Patrolmen,

responded to an anonymous complaint of a man with a gun over Buddy's Casino at 304 North St. This complaint resulted in an incident involving the two officers and several male negros who were attending a Muslim meeting in rooms over Buddy's Casino. The two officers were refused admittance and subsequently over-powered when they attempted to gain entry to investigate the complaint. An additional detail of police personnel resulted in the two officers being released with no serious physical injury.

"~~The~~ members of the Muslim meeting were arrested on charges of assault 3rd degree. They were identified as [REDACTED]

and [REDACTED] Upon appearance in City Court on January 7, 1963, Judge Alphonse Cassetti ordered that the two defendants be held on charges of assault 2nd degree and their cases referred to the Grand Jury. [REDACTED]

677c

67D, E

b7D

[REDACTED]

local Muslim group.

organization in the City of Rochester.

b7AC

[REDACTED]

"On January 13, 1963.

b7D,C

Fire alarm had been given for the premises over Buddy's Casino a short time before. He reports that police personnel were directing traffic at the scene and that

b7AC

[REDACTED]

retrain from entering the location

[REDACTED] the Fire Department be removed from the scene immediately. This was done at about 10:00 P.M.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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44-21493-9 page 40

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b7c On March 5, 1963, JOHN J. CONWAY, JR., District Attorney, Monroe County, Rochester, New York, supplied to SA(A) [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] a copy from his file of the indictment of the 18 persons who were identified at the meeting on January 6, 1963. This indictment is as follows:

"SUPREME COURT                      COUNT OF MONROE

"THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

-vs-

"WAYNON W. BROWN, TYRONE DASH, HERMAN EASTON, ELMER GRANT, WADDELL JOHNSON, ALFONSO MC KINNEY, JEFF MOORE, DONNELL OLIVER, AERIEL PAGAN, HOWARD QUEEN, STANLEY ROBINSON, GEORGE SALADIN, CLARENCE SHAW, GOLDSTEIN SMALL, WILLIE WALKER, BENJAMIN WHITTAKER, HENRY P. WILLIAMS and ROBERT JAMES X WILLIAMS.

"FIRST COUNT:

"THE GRAND JURY OF THE COUNTY OF MONROE, by this indictment, accuse the defendants WAYNON W. BROWN, TYRONE DASH, HERMAN EASTON, ELMER GRANT, WADDELL JOHNSON, ALFONSO MC KINNEY, JEFF MOORE, DONNELL OLIVER, AERIEL PAGAN, HOWARD QUEEN, STANLEY ROBINSON, GEORGE SALADIN, CLARENCE SHAW, GOLDSTEIN SMALL, WILLIE WALKER, BENJAMIN WHITTAKER, HENRY P. WILLIAMS, ROBERT JAMES X WILLIAMS of the crime of Riot, in violation of Section 2090 of the Penal Law of the State of New York, committed as follows:

"The defendants, on or about January 6, 1962, at the City of Rochester, County of Monroe, State of New York, being then and there assembled, feloniously and unlawfully did threaten and attempt to do an unlawful act by the use of

:dbl

"force and violence to wit: did threaten and attempt to assault and injure certain public officers of the City of Rochester, namely, Police Officer John Hunt and Police Officer Anthony D'Angelo of the said city, by threatening and attempting to throw the said public officers down a stairway, and by seizing, striking and beating the said public officers in furtherance of said threat and attempt, the said defendants being then and there present and accompanied with the power of immediate execution of such threat and attempt."

"SECOND COUNT:

"AND THE GRAND JURY OF THE COUNTY OF MONROE, by this indictment, further accuse the defendants of the crime of Assault in the Third Degree, in violation of Section 244 of the Penal Law of the State of New York, committed as follows:

"The defendants, at the same time and place set forth in the first count of this indictment, wrongfully, unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly did assault said Police Officer John Hunt by seizing, striking and beating the said officer with their hands and fists.

"THIRD COUNT:

"AND THE GRAND JURY OF THE COUNTY OF MONROE, by this indictment, further accuse the defendants of the crime of Assault in the Third Degree, in violation of Section 244 of the Penal Law of the State of New York, committed as follows:

"The defendants, at the same time and place set forth in the first count of this indictment, wrongfully, unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly did assault said Police Officer Anthony D'Angelo by seizing, striking and beating the said officer with their hands and fists.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY OF MONROE COUNTY



BU 44-193

-3-

b7C The indictment was returned on February 1, 1963. He said that the Grand Jury was presented evidence concerning [REDACTED] for assault charges at this time. On the initiative of the Grand Jury charges were brought against the additional 16 persons. One of the grand jurors on his own initiative proposed that they be charged with the crime of riot. This charge is included in the indictment, as well as the charges of assault.

b7C On March 7, 1963, [REDACTED] advised that those indicted by the Monroe County Grand Jury as a result of the incident on January 6, 1963, have been arrested with the exceptions of [REDACTED]

XXXXXX  
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET3

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44-21493-9 pages 44-46

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EFFORTS TO LOCATE AND  
INTERVIEW WITNESSES AND VICTIMS

In connection with another investigation, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on February 19, 1963, that [REDACTED] the members of the Nation of Islam indicted by the Monroe County (Rochester), New York, Grand Jury, in January, 1963, as a result of the incident on January 6, 1963. He stated this incident involved the fight which took place between members of the Rochester, New York Police Department and Negroes who were attending a Nation of Islam meeting on the evening of January 6, 1963, at 304 North Street, Rochester, New York. [REDACTED] advised that two members of the Nation of Islam, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were arrested by the Rochester Police Department at that time. Shortly thereafter, 16 members of the Nation of Islam who had attended this meeting were indicted by the Monroe County Grand Jury at Rochester and charged with third degree assault and rioting.

[REDACTED] stated that after giving this matter due consideration [REDACTED] does not deem it appropriate to make a complaint at this time against the arresting officers for actions involving a possible violation of the civil rights of those arrested. [REDACTED] his main reason is because at this time there are too many undetermined questions of fact. He added that he may make a complaint on this matter at a later date after he becomes more familiar with the actual facts which took place.

;dbl

-1-

Date 3/8/63

b7C [redacted] was con-  
tacted telephonically on March 4, 1963, and advised that  
investigation had been initiated to determine the circum-  
stances of the incident on January 6, 1963, in which officers  
of the Rochester Police Department encountered members of  
the sect known as the Nation of Islam at 304 North Street,  
Rochester, at a place known as Buddy's Casino. [redacted]  
was advised that [redacted]  
previously informed [redacted]  
the members of the Nation of Islam who were arrested as a  
result of the incident on January 6, 1963.

b7C [redacted] advised that [redacted]  
the members of the Nation of Islam arrested as a result of  
the January 6, 1963, incident, [redacted]  
no comment until he could confer with these  
attorneys. [redacted]

On 3/4/63 at Rochester, N.Y. File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [redacted] db1 Date dictated 3/7/63

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b7C

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] was requested to ask [REDACTED]  
to contact SA [REDACTED] at his office or home as  
soon as possible.

;db1

Date 3/7/63

b7D, C

[redacted] telephonically advised that his wife had transmitted a request that he contact SA [redacted] of the FBI. He stated he is the [redacted] formerly resided at [redacted] Buffalo, New York.

b7D

[redacted] was advised that the FBI was conducting an investigation of possible violations of the Civil Rights of certain individuals, including himself, by members of the Rochester, New York Police Department, on January 6, 1963 at Rochester.

b7D

[redacted] was requested to designate a time and place convenient for him to be interviewed regarding this matter and he stated Wednesday, March 6, 1963 at the FBI Office, Buffalo, would be satisfactory for him.

b7C

On 3/4/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

by SA [redacted] :mak Date dictated 3/4/63

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Date 3/7/63

67DC At about 10:00 PM, March 5, 1963, [redacted] was contacted telephonically at [redacted] at which time he stated he would not appear at the Buffalo Office of the FBI at 9:00 AM on March 6, 1963 as he had stated he would, because he conferred with attorney [redacted] Rochester, New York, and was advised not to permit an interview by the FBI at this time. He stated [redacted] is one of five attorneys representing himself, [redacted] and the other members involved in the January 6, 1963 incident at Rochester. He stated [redacted] told him that [redacted] desired to confer with the four other attorneys involved and since one of them was sick he could not do so until March 6, 1963.

67DC [redacted] stated he anticipated hearing from [redacted] on March 6, 1963 and would immediately advise SA [redacted] if an interview would be permitted.

[redacted] stated the injunction of [redacted] not to permit an interview by the FBI applied not only to himself but to other individuals represented by [redacted] after being charged in the January 6, 1963 incident.

67DC [redacted] stated he is aware [redacted] and [redacted] did not appear at the Buffalo Office of the FBI on March 5, 1963 to keep the appointments they had made. He stated they did not keep these appointments because he instructed them not to do so on the basis of [redacted] decision. He stated he is certain none of [redacted] clients would permit interview until [redacted] through [redacted] authorizes it.

On 3/5/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

67C by SA [redacted] mak Date dictated 3/6/63

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-1-

Date 3/7/63

b7D,C [REDACTED]  
telephonically advised at 10:00 A.M. March 6, 1963 that he consulted with attorney [REDACTED] Rochester, New York, on March 6, 1963 and was advised by [REDACTED] not to permit interview of himself or other individuals involved in the incident of January 6, 1963 at Rochester. He stated [REDACTED] could be consulted to verify the above contact and decision.

On 3/6/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [REDACTED] mak Date dictated 3/7/63

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-1-

Date 3/7/63

b7D [REDACTED]  
Rochester, New York, said he had heard on the night of March 4, 1963, that certain Nation of Islam members in Rochester had been interviewed by the FBI concerning an alleged civil rights violation lodged by an unknown member of the Nation of Islam. SHAW said he therefore was reluctant to discuss the matter with the FBI at this time.

b7D [REDACTED] was advised that he had the right to consult an attorney, that he did not have to make a statement and that any statement he did make could be used in a court of law. No threats or promises were made. The interviewing Agents identified themselves as Special Agents of the FBI.

b7D [REDACTED] advised that he has been a member of the Nation of Islam for about two years, having joined the organization while living in [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED] has attended meetings of the Nation of Islam at Rochester for a period of months; and occasionally sells the Nation of Islam newspaper, "Muhammad Speaks"; the last time being during the evening of March 4, 1963 in Rochester.

b7D [REDACTED] said he was in attendance at a Nation of Islam meeting during the evening of January 6, 1963, and that that meeting had just started, with Minister [REDACTED] of Buffalo, New York leading in a prayer, when [REDACTED] heard a commotion at the entrance way of the meeting room.

b7D [REDACTED] said he was sitting toward the front of the audience and therefore could not see what was going on, but he did notice two police officers, in uniform, in the doorway. He became aware at the time, that the officers were trying to enter the hall, for reasons unknown to him, and that there was an objection from the Nation of Islam members because of the religious services then in progress.

b7D A short time later, an unknown additional number of officers arrived and those remaining, including [REDACTED] were required by the officers, to identify themselves. [REDACTED] did not

On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [REDACTED] and  
SA [REDACTED] Date dictated 3/6/63

observe any blows struck, or any physical action, in any manner, by either any of the police officers or members of the Nation of Islam present.

A small number of those who had been in attendance at the meeting left before being identified. He said he could not recall who those persons were.

67D [redacted] said he observed nothing during the time of the above described incident which he would consider a violation of civil rights, with the exception that it was a "violation of the members rights when the meeting was broken up." He continued that he did hear at any later date that either [redacted] were mistreated by the police officers during, or after, their arrest on January 6, 1963.

67D [redacted] said he was not struck or handled in any way during the incident described, that he has no complaint to register in regard to that incident, and that he has not heard of any complaint on the part of others who were in attendance.

67D [redacted] was reluctant to furnish specific details regarding the aforementioned matter. He mentioned that among the persons present at the Nation of Islam meeting mentioned, are:

67D,C [redacted]

[redacted] furnished his description as follows:

67D  
Name  
Sex  
Race  
Date of Birth  
Place of Birth  
Residence

[redacted]

BU 44-193

Height  
Weight  
Build  
Hair  
Complexion  
Occupation  
Marital Status  
Immediate Relatives

67D

Criminal Record

Social Security No.  
Employment

Education

Military Service

67D

as unwilling to furnish a signed statement.

-2-

Date 3/7/63

b7D [redacted] at the outset of this interview was advised that he did not have to make a statement, that any statement he did make could be used in a court of law, and that he had a right to the immediate assistance of an attorney. No threats or promises were made.

The interviewing Agent identified himself as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

b7D [redacted] said he is a member of the Nation of Islam and was present at a meeting of that organization January 6, 1963; and that as a result of an incident at that meeting, between officers of the Rochester, N.Y. Police Department and members of the Nation of Islam [redacted] was arrested and charged with assault on the officers.

b7D, C [redacted] said he has no complaint to register regarding a possible Civil Rights violation, but that one would possibly originate, at a later date, from [redacted] of Buffalo, N.Y. He identified [redacted] as the Minister of Nation of Islam Mosque number 23, Buffalo, N.Y.

b7D, C [redacted] said there is no Mosque, or Nation of Islam leadership in Rochester and that therefore, any directives to Rochester would come from Buffalo.

b7D, C [redacted] continued that he had heard, on the night of March 4, 1963, that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was interviewing members of the Nation of Islam, at Rochester, concerning this matter, and that he therefore, telephoned [redacted] to advise him.

b7D [redacted] indicated that instructions as to what to do would necessarily have to come through MALCOLM X LITTLE, of New York City, who would get his directive from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the Supreme Leader, located in Chicago, Illinois.

b7D [redacted] said he is still waiting for instructions from [redacted] and that no one in Rochester was authorized to speak for the group, nor would any member discuss the matter with the Federal Bureau of Investigation until such time that the instructions are received.

[redacted] would not furnish further details.

On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [redacted] jrz Date dictated 3/6/63

-2-

Date 3/7/63

67D [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] was contacted at his home and was advised by Special Agents of the FBI that they wanted to talk to him concerning what he saw and heard at the meeting at 302 North Street, Rochester, New York, during the evening of January 6, 1963.

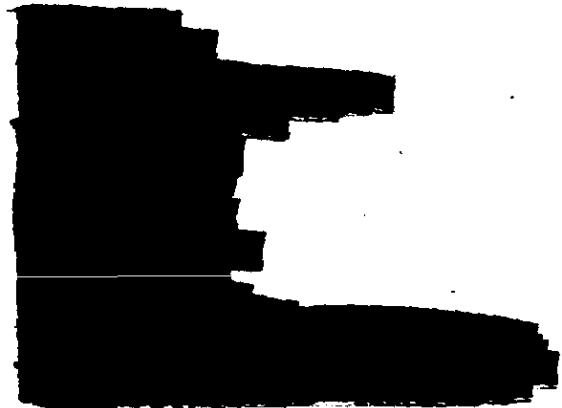
67D [REDACTED] stated that he was present at instant meeting [REDACTED] when uniformed policemen entered the room. [REDACTED] added that one of the policemen pushed him aside when entering the room.

[REDACTED] declined to answer any other questions and advised that he did not wish to give any detailed statement at the present time. [REDACTED] said that he would telephonically contact the Rochester, New York Office of the FBI at approximately 8:30 AM on Tuesday, March 5, 1963, and at that time he would know whether he would be willing to give any other statement concerning the events at the instant meeting and would so advise the FBI of his intention.

67D [REDACTED] At approximately 8:30 AM on Tuesday, March 5, 1963, [REDACTED] telephonically advised SA [REDACTED] that he did not wish to make any other statement to the FBI. He stated he believes the statement he gave to the FBI on March 4, 1963 was sufficient and that he did not wish to elaborate on it.

The following description of [REDACTED] was obtained through observation and interview:

67D  
Sex  
Race  
Date of Birth  
Place of Birth  
Height  
Weight  
Eyes  
Hair  
Build  
Characteristic  
Parents



67C On 3/4/63 at Rochester, New York File # Buffalo 44-193  
by SA [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Date dictated 3/5/63

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Date 3/7/63

67D [redacted] was contacted March 4, 1963 at his home, advised of the identity and affiliation of the Agents, that he did not have to make any statement, and that the statement, if made, might be used in a court of law.

67D [redacted] was requested to furnish any information he may possess concerning his observation of, or participation in, an incident which occurred at about 8:30 PM, January 6, 1963, between members of the Police Bureau, Rochester, New York, and individuals who were in an upstairs room over Buddy's Casino on North Street, Rochester, New York.

He advised he and several others were praying in this room when he heard some loud voices and some commotion in the hallway near the door to the room. Whatever happened took place so fast that he did not see anything that took place and that it was all over very fast.

67D At this point he stated he did not desire to make any further statement concerning this matter without first consulting with some person whom he refused to identify. At the request of the interviewing Agents, [redacted] agreed to telephonically contact the Rochester Resident Agency at about 8:30 AM, March 5, 1963, and advise the Agents whether or not he would furnish any further statement.

67D At 10:55 AM, March 5, 1963, [redacted] was contacted at his home in view of the fact he had not communicated with the Agents as agreed to above. [redacted] stated he had been sleeping and did not think it necessary to contact the Agents because he had decided not to make any further statement. At that time, [redacted] stated he did not desire to discuss the incident further, refused to make any statement, or to answer any questions.

67D The following description was obtained from interview and files of [redacted]

67D Name  
Address  
Race

On 3/4-5/63 at Rochester, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

67C by SA [redacted] and  
SA [redacted]

Date dictated 3/5/63

BU 44-193

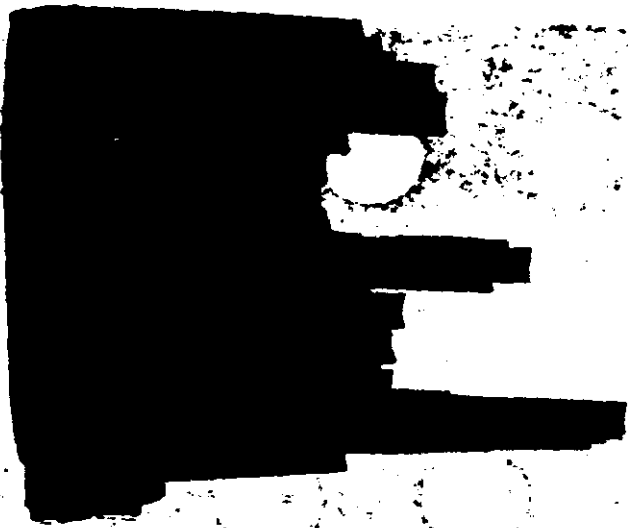
~~2~~

b7D, C

Sex  
Date of Birth  
Place of Birth  
Height  
Weight  
Build  
Marital Status  
Education  
Relatives

Occupation  
Employment  
Criminal Record

Monroe County SO No.



Date 3/7/63

-2-

b7D [redacted] contacted March 4, 1963, at his home, was advised of the identity of the Agents, was told that he did not have to make any statement, and that any statement, if made, could be used in a court of law.

b7D [redacted] was requested to furnish any information he may possess concerning an incident that occurred between members of the Rochester, New York Police Department and individuals who were upstairs over Buddy's Casino on North Street, Rochester, New York, at about 8:30 p.m., January 6, 1963. [redacted] stated he was present, but added he did not desire to make any statement until after he had discussed this with an individual whom he refused to identify. He added he would contact that person and advise telephonically at about 8:30 a.m. the following morning whether he would make any statement or discuss any details of what he observed.

b7D At 11:35 a.m., March 5, 1963 [redacted] was recontacted at his home in view of his failure to contact the Agents at about 8:30 a.m. that morning as agreed upon. Upon recontact, [redacted] stated he did not desire to make any statement nor discuss the incident.

On 3/4, 5/63 at Rochester, N.Y. File # Buffalo 44-193

b7D by SAs [redacted] and [redacted] Date dictated 3/6/63

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Date 3/7/63

b2D  
[REDACTED]  
Rochester, New York, was advised he did not have to make a statement, any statement he did make could be used in a court of law and of his right to consult an attorney.

b7D  
[REDACTED] declined to furnish any information until consulting his attorney and the local leader for an organization of which he is a member. [REDACTED] stated he has been in contact with [REDACTED] who had advised him, before he furnished any information, he wanted to consult with the local leader for an organization of which he is a member also.

[REDACTED] declined to identify the organization or the identity of the leader.

On 3/4/63 at Rochester, New York File # BU 44-193

b7C  
by SA [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] /rmm Date dictated 3/5/63

-1-

Date 3/7/63

b7D  
[REDACTED]  
Rochester, New York, telephonically advised that on the  
advice of his leader he did not wish to discuss the matter  
further and declined to furnish any further information.  
[REDACTED] advised that others have also been advised by their  
leader not to furnish any information.

On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # BU 44-193

b7C  
by SA [REDACTED] rmm Date dictated 3/5/63

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Date 3/7/63

67D  
[REDACTED]  
Rochester, New York, employed [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] was advised he did not have to make a  
statement, any statement he did make could be used in a  
court of law and of his right to consult an attorney.

[REDACTED] stated that upon the advice of their  
leader, [REDACTED] he would decline to furnish any  
information or make any statements, in connection with any  
matters at this time.

On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # BU 44-193

67C  
by SA [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Date dictated 3/5/63  
SA [REDACTED] /PMM

Date 3/6/63

-1-

b7D [redacted] was located at his residence [redacted] at that time, SAs [redacted] and [redacted] identified themselves with their credentials as Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

b7D [redacted] was advised that the FBI had been requested to interview persons who attended a meeting at Rochester, N.Y. on January 6, 1963 at which Rochester police officers appeared. He was advised that the FBI was not making inquiry with regard to any local criminal violations but to determine whether [redacted] had any statement to make as to whether he felt any of his rights as an American citizen had been violated. MOORE said that he had no statement to make and that he was going to court on the matter.

b7D [redacted] was again advised that the FBI was not interested in questioning him concerning the local charges [redacted] but solely interested in determining whether he had any statement to make as to what had occurred on January 6, 1963, particularly anything which might indicate that his rights as an American citizen had been violated. [redacted] said he had no statement to make of any kind. He was asked if he had any reason for refusing to make a statement and he replied that he did not and that he did not want to make a statement.

The interview was terminated at this point.

b7C On 3/6/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193  
by SAs [redacted] and [redacted]:dgr Date dictated 3/6/63

Date 3/7/63

b7D [redacted] at the outset of this interview, was advised that he did not have to make a statement; that any statement he did make could be used in a court of law; and that he had the right to the immediate assistance of an attorney. No threats or promises were made. The interviewing agents identified themselves as Special Agents of the FBI.

b7D [redacted] acknowledged that he is a member of the Nation of Islam; and was present at a meeting of that organization held January 6, 1963 on North Street in Rochester, at which two police officers were involved in an incident with Nation of Islam members, and for which [redacted] was later indicted by a Monroe County Grand Jury on a charge of inciting a riot.

b7D [redacted] said he has no complaint to register concerning a possible violation of his civil rights in connection with the matter set forth above.

He suggested that the interviewing agents may wish to contact his superior in the Nation of Islam, [redacted] of Buffalo, New York, for any further information in this regard.

b7C On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # Buffalo 44-193  
by SA [redacted] and  
SA [redacted] Date dictated 3/6/63

-1-

Date 3/7/63

b7D  
[REDACTED]  
New York, employed [REDACTED]  
Rochester, was advised he did not have to make a statement,  
any statement he did make would be used in a court of law  
and of his right to consult an attorney.

b7D  
[REDACTED] declined to make any statement or furnish  
any information until consulting with his attorney and the  
leader for a local organization of which he is a member.

[REDACTED] declined to identify the organization or  
the identity of the leader.

b7C  
On 3/4/63 at Rochester, New York File # BU 44-193

by SA [REDACTED] and  
SA [REDACTED] /rmm Date dictated 3/5/63

-1-

Date 3/7/63

b7D [REDACTED] stated that upon the advice of [REDACTED] he would decline to furnish any information or make any statements.

b7D.C [REDACTED] did state the incident took place on January 6, 1963, at 302 North Street, Rochester, and Mr. [REDACTED] of Buffalo, New York, area Minister of the Nation of Islam, was in charge. He declined to further describe the incident.

On 3/5/63 at Rochester, New York File # BU 44-193

b7C by SA [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] /mm Date dictated 3/5/63

Date 3/6/63

-1-

67DC [redacted] contacted SA [redacted] at the Buffalo Office. He was advised that SA [redacted] desired to interview him concerning an incident at Rochester, N.Y. on January 6, 1963. He was informed that the purpose of the interview was not to investigate his activities at Rochester on that date but to determine whether he had any statements to make concerning the incident. He was asked specifically whether he wished to make any comment as to whether he believed any of his civil rights had been violated.

67DC [redacted] replied that any such inquiries would have to be discussed with his Minister, [redacted]. It was pointed out that the Agent desired comments as to what took place and [redacted] said that he did not desire to make any comments and that he had nothing further to say. He did not want to be interviewed.

On 3/6/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193  
by SA [redacted] dgr Date dictated 3/6/63

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



-1-

Date 3/7/63

b7D [REDACTED]  
was contacted telephonically on March 4, 1963, and advised that an investigation was being conducted into possible violations of the Civil Rights of himself and other individuals involved in an incident with the Rochester, New York Police Department on January 6, 1963.

b7D, C [REDACTED] stated that he is one of those indicted by the Monroe County Grand Jury and then arrested as a result of the incident on January 6, 1963. He stated he would be available for interview on March 5, 1963 at 2:00 PM, but would not be available before that time.

[REDACTED] stated [REDACTED] is the one individual who would know the whereabouts of all or most of the persons involved in the January 6, 1963 incident.

On 3/4/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

b7C by SA [REDACTED] mak Date dictated 3/5/63

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

-1-

Date 3/7/63

**b7DC** [REDACTED] advised that he has been instructed by his attorney, [REDACTED] of Rochester, New York, not to consent to an interview by the FBI. He stated he will, therefore, not consent to an interview at this time.

On 3/6/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193

**b7C** by SA [REDACTED] mak Date dictated 3/6/63

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

-1-

Date 3/7/63

b7D, C [redacted] telephonically contacted SA [redacted] in response to a message left at his place of employment. the [redacted]

[redacted] on March 4, 1963.

[redacted] was advised that an investigation was being conducted of the possible violation of the Civil Rights of himself and other individuals involved with the Rochester, New York Police Department on January 6, 1963.

b7D [redacted] stated he was one of those indicted by the Monroe County Grand Jury as a result of an incident at Rochester on January 6, 1963. He stated he is willing to be interviewed regarding this matter and would appear at the Buffalo Office of the FBI at 4:30 PM on March 5, 1963. He stated he would not be available for interview prior to that time.

b7D When asked about the whereabouts of other individuals involved in the incident of January 6, 1963, [redacted] stated such inquiries should be made of [redacted] the minister of the group.

b7C On 3/4/63 at Buffalo, New York File # Buffalo 44-193  
by SA [redacted] mak Date dictated 3/5/63

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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

☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C), (D) with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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\_\_\_\_\_

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

44-21493-9 pages 72-77

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
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b7D In connection with another matter on February 18, 1963, at Rochester, New York, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] an officer of the Rochester, New York Police Department, may have violated the civil rights of [REDACTED] and an unknown third individual when he arrested them on an occasion within the last year.

b7D,C On February 15, 1963, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] an officer of the Rochester, New York Police Department, may have violated the civil rights of one [REDACTED] when he arrested [REDACTED] at Rochester, New York.

[REDACTED]

b7D,C [REDACTED]

b7D,C [REDACTED]

b7D,C [REDACTED]

b7D,C [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED]

BU 44-193

-1-

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7D,C

[REDACTED] revealed to SA [REDACTED] on March 6, 1963 that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] as of this date and was the Minister of Muhammad's Mosque #23 in Buffalo, New York.

b7D,C

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was regarded as a neat, quiet, and cooperative employee.

b7C

[REDACTED]

b7C,D

[REDACTED]

b7C,D

[REDACTED]

: jmo

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET4

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



Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C), (b) with no segregable material available for release to you.



Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.



Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.



Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

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For your information: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



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

44-21493-9 pages 80-83

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The full text of items of pertinence which have appeared in the Democrat and Chronicle, a daily newspaper published at Rochester, New York; the Rochester Times-Union, a daily newspaper published at Rochester, New York; the Buffalo Evening News, a daily newspaper published at Buffalo, New York; the Courier Express, a daily newspaper published at Buffalo, New York; and "Muhammad Speaks," a periodical published at Chicago, Illinois, are forwarded herewith as an enclosure.

In summary these articles reflect as follows:

In the Democrat and Chronicle of January 13, 1963, an article entitled "Muslims Clash with Police; Pair Arrested" reflects Patrolmen ANTHONY D'ANGELO and JOHN HUNT were taken to Genesee Hospital for treatment after they were slugged. D'ANGELO and HUNT responded to a call at 304 North Street based on an anonymous telephone complaint of "a man with a gun." GOLDSTEIN SMALL, 34, of 80 Atlantic Avenue and DONNELL OLIVER, 23, of 81 Portland Avenue were each charged with two counts of third degree assault and one count of interfering with the duties of a police officer. The article indicated that last night's (January 6, 1963) fight was the first open violence involving police and Black Muslims in Rochester, New York.

In a Buffalo Courier Express article of January 8, 1963, captioned "Cop Involved in Muslim Brawl Gets Threat Call," it is reflected that Patrolman JOHN HUNT of the Rochester, New York, Police Department had received a call stating "Watch your family and watch the house." The article reflected that MALCOLM X of New York City, New York, had filed a complaint with the Rochester Office of the State Human Rights Commission based on the alleged intrusion into a religious meeting on January 6, 1963.

In an article of the Times-Union of January 8, 1963, entitled "Leader of Muslims Defines their Creed" it is reported that MALCOLM X, chief lieutenant for ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, spiritual head of the Black Muslims, defined their creed as

: jmb



BU 44-193

- 2 -

belief in the one god, Allah. The article reports he further defined their creed as being that the white man's day as ruler of the world is passing, that they do not believe in integration, and that they believe the United States Government should set aside a separate territory in not one state but several for twenty million Negroes.

In an article in the Buffalo Evening News of January 9, 1963, entitled "Muslim Rights Charge Rejected," it is reported the State Commission on Human Rights refused Tuesday to consider a complaint by Black Muslim leader MALCOLM X that the group's rights were violated by the police at their meeting Sunday night (January 6, 1963).

In an article in the Democrat and Chronicle of January 12, 1963, entitled "City Target of Black Muslim Drive," there is the report that according to State officials who declined to be identified, ex-convicts are being sent to Rochester for a high priority organizing drive by the Black Muslim sect. The article reflects that police officers are concerned over what they say is the apparent aim of the Black Muslims to provoke an incident that would result in one of their members obtaining martyrdom. The article describes the national leader of this "so-called Islamic faith," ELIJAH POOLE MUHAMMAD, as an ex-convict first arrested in 1934 for contributing to the delinquency of a minor and who was later in Federal prisons for failure to register for military service. The article describes MALCOLM X LITTLE as an ex-felon who served two terms in two prisons for larceny.

In an article in the Times-Union January 14, 1963, entitled "Muslims Visited by Firemen," it is reported that for the second successive Sunday authorities were called to the headquarters of the Black Muslim sect at 304 North Street. The article reflects that the Rochester Fire Department responded to a telephone alarm of fire and were blocked by Black Muslims from attending the meeting. The article further reflects the fire alarm was false.

The Democrat and Chronicle of January 17, 1963, in an article entitled "Policemen Testify in Muslim Case," reports that policemen testified before the Monroe County Grand Jury to the events which led to the arrest of two Rochester members of the Black Muslim sect last week on charges of assaulting two patrolmen.

The Democrat and Chronicle of January 17, 1963, in an article entitled "Officials Plan Meeting to Discuss Black Muslim Significance," reports the Monroe County Human Relations Committee planned a meeting to discuss the significance of the Rochester branch of the Black Muslim sect.

The Times-Union in an article on January 17, 1963, entitled "NAACP Hits Separatists," reports the Rochester Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) records its "unalterable opposition" to all separatist philosophy, whether espoused by the whites or blacks. The article stated the NAACP made its statement to clarify its attitudes for the Black Muslims and other organizations.

The Democrat and Chronicle of January 18, 1963, in an article entitled "Muslim Leader, Police Confer," reports that MALCOLM X, New York City representative of the Black Muslims, returned to Rochester yesterday for a one and one-half hour meeting with city law enforcement officials. He said it produced a good area of understanding.

The Times-Union of January 28, 1963, in an editorial entitled "Civil Rights Advances Will Counter Extremists' Hate," expressed the opinion that extremist groups, right and left, white and colored, always lurk on the fringes of American democracy and characterized the Black Muslims as a pseudo-religious organization which preaches hatred for whites and even Negro civil rights leaders and desires a separate Negro country within the United States.

In an article in the Times-Union of January 29, 1963, captioned "Muslim Tells of All Negro Nation Goal," it is reflected that MALCOLM X spoke to an overflow crowd at the University of Rochester's Lower Strong Auditorium and urged Black Muslims to speak and think not as Americans but as Negroes.

The article reflected that MALCOLM X was sponsored by the College Cabinet Sub-Committee on Civil Rights, University of Rochester, and was introduced by history instructor CHRISTOPHER LINDLEY.

The Democrat and Chronicle of January 29, 1963, article entitled "Brotherhood Meeting Told of 'New' Threat," reports the caution by Dr. JAMES H. ROBINSON, D.D., that the Black Muslims are a small but dangerous group which is likely to continue for some time. The article reflects Dr. ROBINSON is the Executive Director of Crossroads Africa, Inc., and pastor emeritus of the Church of the Master in Harlem.

In an article in "Muhammad Speaks" on February 4, 1963, entitled "Rochester: Cops' Newest Target in Harassment Plot," it is reported that a snarling canine police dog helped cops break up a religious service and arrest two Muslims in Rochester, New York, and on another day the same Mosque was invaded by firemen who turned their high-powered hoses on Muslims gathered there. The article stated observers at the brutal canine episode and the fire department invasion feel it is a stepped up program of Muslim harassment. The article reflects that MALCOLM X, national representative of the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, thoroughly investigated the situation and found the police were actually guilty of invading premises where religious services were being held.

The Times-Union on February 8, 1963, in an article entitled "Negroes 'Unrealized Hope'" reports in a letter to EUGENE N. NEWPORT, President, Monroe County Non-Partisan League, 9 Waverly Place, that the emergence of the Black Muslims in our community is related to the entrenched proponents of this segregated community.

The Times-Union of February 9, 1963, in an article entitled "10 Black Muslims Arrested on Riot-Assault Charges," reflects that 11 men who were at a Black Muslim meeting when two policemen were assaulted were arrested last night on charges of riot and third degree assault. The six men picked up in Rochester are listed as follows:

ALFONSO MC KINLEY, age 25  
65 Hanover Street

HERMAN EASTON, age 24  
16 Gordon Park

WADELL JOHNSON, age 29  
39 Vienna

HOWARD QUEEN, age 25  
5 Schlitzer Alley

WAYMON BROWN, age 24  
182 Throupe Street

ARIEL PAGAN, age 26  
679 Lake Avenue

The article reports these men and five others at Buffalo, New York, were indicted by the Monroe County Grand Jury on charges of third degree assault and riot.

The Courier Express of February 9, 1963, in an article entitled "5 Charged in Assault of 2 Rochester Cops," reports the following men were arrested at Buffalo, New York, on February 8, 1963, as a result of indictment by the Monroe County Grand Jury for riot and third degree assault:

ROBERT JAMES WILLIAMS, age 26  
493 East Utica  
identified as a minister

WILLIE WALKER, age 40  
18 Demond Place

BENJAMIN WHITTAKER, age 37  
19 Congressional Walk

STANLEY ROBINSON, age 23  
119 Bennett

JEFF MOORE, age 40  
277 Court Street

In the article, Lieutenant WINTHROP H. PHELPS, Buffalo, New York, Police Department, describes WILLIAMS as a Minister of Mosque 23, Buffalo.

The Times-Union of February 15, 1963, in an article entitled "Jailed Muslims, Fasting or Dieting?", reports 13 Black Muslims held in the Monroe County Jail since last Friday "won't die the way they're eating now." The article reports the Muslims claim to be fasting while in jail.

The Democrat and Chronicle of February 15, 1963, reports in an article entitled "Muslim Assails Police Hostility" that MALCOLM X, heir apparent of leadership of the nationwide Muslim movement returned to Rochester yesterday and declared that before long that Rochester will be better known internationally than Oxford, Mississippi, and may be setting a precedent for police hostility towards Muslims.

The Buffalo Evening News of February 16, 1963, in an article entitled "6 From Buffalo Freed on Bond," reports that Buffalo men WILLIAMS, WALKER, WHITTAKER, ROBINSON, MOORE, and one ELMER L. GRANT, age 33, 61 Donaldson Road, were released on Friday on \$500 bond each, which money was allegedly posted by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, national leader of the Black Muslims.

The Times-Union of February 16, 1963, reflects the following men were released on bond: BROWN, EASTON, JOHNSON, MC KINLEY, PAGAN, and QUEEN, as well as those from Buffalo. The article reflects that DONNEL OLIVER and GOLDSTEIN SMALL had been previously released on bond.

The Democrat and Chronicle of February 18, 1963, in an article entitled "Negroes Call for Unity to Protest Abuses," reflected that a session of the local NAACP, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Monroe County Non-Partisan League, the Committee for Rufus Fairwell, and the Rochester Civil Rights Committee discussed Negro rights and was addressed by MALCOLM X.

The Democrat and Chronicle of February 22, 1963, in an article entitled "NAACP Gives Stand on Muslim Sect," reports the Rochester branch of the NAACP last night decided to restate its position because of the presence of Muslim speakers at a meeting last Sunday which the NAACP helped sponsor. The article reflects that the NAACP is in total disagreement with any separatist group.

The Democrat and Chronicle of March 1, 1963, in an item entitled "Muslim Meeting Riot Trial Set for March 18," reports that March 18, 1963, is set as the trial date for 15 men charged with riot and third degree assault as a result of a scuffle with police at a Black Muslim meeting on January 6, 1963. The article reflects attorneys as REUBEN K. DAVIS, ROBERT L. BRENNAN, CHARLES B. KENNING, ALAN J. UNDERBERG, and MERWYN M. KROLL for the defense.

The article in the Democrat and Chronicle of March 2, 1963, reflects that the NAACP and CORE turned down an offer of cooperation made by the national head of the Muslim sect. NAACP and CORE made it clear that their objectives differ from the Muslim aim to segregate the races. The article pointed out, however, that NAACP and CORE may cooperate with the Muslims in specific cases such as the complaints involving Rochester police action against the sect.

BU 44-193

b7c On March 7, 1963, this matter was discussed by SA [REDACTED] with the Honorable JOHN T. CURTIN, United States Attorney, Western District of New York, Buffalo, who stated since neither the alleged subjects nor the alleged victims could be interviewed and since the alleged victims are under indictment by the Monroe County Grand Jury with trial on the charges imminent, it does not appear that any action is merited at this time.

1db1

91\*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/7/63

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (44-193) (C)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]  
ET AL, Rochester, New  
York, Police Department;  
[REDACTED] ET AL, -  
VICTIMS  
CR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/15/86 BY [REDACTED]

Re Bureau airtel to Buffalo dated 2/28/63.

Enclosed are two copies of the report of SA [REDACTED]  
dated 3/7/63 at Buffalo, and the original and  
one (1) copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information  
obtained [REDACTED] and two exhibits which  
are enclosures to the above report.

The letterhead memorandum is classified "Confidential"  
since information [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (Enc. 6) (RM)  
1 - Buffalo  
Jmb

6 MAR 22 1963

ENCLOSURE

EX-117 REC-91  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
F.B.I.

MAR 11 11 23 AM '63

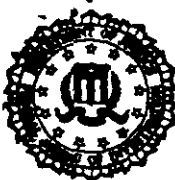
44-21493-10

MAR 11 15 12 PM '63

STAT. SEC. [REDACTED]  
FBI

cc LHM  
C.R.D.  
44-193-13/63  
[REDACTED]  
b7C





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

400 U. S. Court House  
Buffalo 2, New York  
March 9, 1963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

ROCHESTER, N.Y.,

POLICE DEPARTMENT:

VICTIMS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/15/86 BY *Subject*

*67D*  
*67C*  
[redacted] stated that all of the  
below listed individuals are, as of this time, members of  
Muhammad's Mosque #23, with the exceptions of [redacted]  
[redacted] which individuals were described by  
[redacted] as being individuals who are in the process of  
becoming members of Muhammad's Mosque #23.

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/1/86 BY *DL*

DECLASSIFIED BY *6055*

b7c

b7c

57

**67D**

570

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7c [REDACTED]  
ET AL, ROCHESTER, NEW  
YORK. POLICE DEPARTMENT;  
[REDACTED] ET AL -  
VICTIMS

b7D [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] the violation of Civil Rights at Rochester, New York,  
was being investigated by the Attorney General at Buffalo.

b7D [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] January 8, 1963, that a meeting  
of the Fruit of Islam of Muhammad's Mosque No. 23, Nation  
of Islam, held Monday night, January 7, 1963, at the Buffalo  
Headquarters of this Mosque, 292 Glenwood Avenue, Buffalo,

b7D, C [REDACTED] that at a meeting of a group of followers of ELIJAH  
MUHAMMAD, National U. S. leader of the Nation of Islam,  
held at Buddy's Casino, North Street, Rochester, New York,  
January 6, 1963, police officers of the Rochester Police  
Department attempted to enter this "religious" meeting.

b7D, C [REDACTED] identified  
[REDACTED] as being Captain of  
Muhammad's Mosque No. 23, formerly known  
as Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 23.

A characterization of Muhammad's Mosque  
No. 23, formerly known as Muhammad's  
Temple of Islam No. 23, is attached.

In addition, characterizations of Nation of  
Islam and Fruit of Islam are attached  
hereto.

b7D, C [REDACTED] these officers claimed they  
were attempting to investigate an anonymous telephone call to  
the effect that some unknown individual was present at Buddy's

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ET AL, ROCHESTER, NEW  
YORK, POLICE DEPARTMENT;  
[REDACTED] ET AL -  
VICTIMS

Casino displaying some type of firearm. [REDACTED]  
the police gained entrance to the Rochester meeting place

[REDACTED] that at a meeting of followers of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD held at Buddy's Casino, North Street, Rochester, New York, the evening of January 13, 1963, this meeting was interrupted by representatives of the Rochester, New York, Fire Department.

Fire Department representatives stated that they were answering an alarm which reported a fire in the building in which Buddy's Casino is located. At this time [REDACTED] denied access to the building by members of the Rochester Fire Department. Efforts on the part of the Rochester Fire Department to enter the Muslim meeting were denied, and following a tour of Buddy's Casino by [REDACTED] and the owner of the property of Buddy's Casino, the Rochester Fire Department departed.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 2, 1962, a second source advised: ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI). Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI. In mid 1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by ALLAH, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teaching and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATION OF ISLAM, cont'd.

On May 2, 1962, a third source advised: MUHAMMAD had, early in July 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

FRUIT OF ISLAM (FOI)

On May 2, 1962, a source advised that Fruit of Islam (FOI) is a group within the Nation of Islam (NOI) composed of male members of the NOI. The purpose of the FOI is to protect officials and property of the NOI, assure compliance of members with NOI teachings and to prepare for the "War of Armageddon." Members of the FOI are required to participate in military drill and are afforded the opportunity to engage in judo training. The FOI is governed by a military system wherein the members are controlled by general orders similar to those issued by regular military organizations.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 23, Also  
known as Muhammad's Temple of  
Islam No. 23

Sources advised in early July 1958, that as of that time Muhammad's Temple of Islam in Buffalo, New York, was assigned Number 23, and was affiliated with the Nation of Islam under the leadership of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

On June 15, 1960, a source advised that the aims and purposes of Muhammad's Temple of Islam #23 was the unification of the black race through the establishment of an independent black nation economically independent of the white race.

Sources advised in May 1961, that the aims and purposes of Muhammad's Temple of Islam #23 remained the same as of that time.

In May 1961, the sources advised that Muhammad's Temple of Islam #23 continued to be an affiliate of the Nation of Islam led by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

The same source advised in March 1962, that the official name Muhammad's Temple of Islam #23 was changed in February 1962 to Muhammad's Mosque No. 23.

**CONFIDENTIAL**



FBI

Date: 3/12/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (44-193)[REDACTED] Etal  
CIVIL RIGHTS

Remyairtel 3/11/63.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/15/86 BY SP-6 bja/ky

Enclosed are two copies of an article which appeared in the 3/9/63 edition of the "Democrat and Chronicle," Rochester, N. Y.

Any additional pertinent information will be promptly furnished.

ENCLOSURE

③ - Bureau (Encl. 2) (AM)  
1 - Buffalo  
[REDACTED] GPP  
(4)

C. C. WILSON

1 cc of news article to ERD  
6-95-A-3114/63  
1 copy

1 cc CR Unit

44-21493-11  
10 MAR 15 1963

EX-114

MAR 14 5 50 PM '63

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

62 MAR 20 1963

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

## Meet in Memorial Groups Urge Council

Civil Rights groups agreed last night to call on City Council to move its meeting Tuesday night to the War Memorial to accommodate a mass turnout in support of a law that would establish a Citizens' Review Board.

More than 100 persons at M. Olivet Baptist Church heard plans for the turnout outlined and passed a resolution supporting a review board.

The resolution commended the Democratic city administration, but recommended some changes in the ordinance proposed by City Manager Porter W. Homer. The most significant changes would permit the board to probe past allegations of police brutality or any other civil rights violation, and bar city or county officeholders from serving on the board.

### Lone Dissenter

The resolution passed with only one dissenting vote, which came from a member of the audience who said the resolution wasn't strong enough.

The meeting was sponsored by the Integrated Non-Violence Committee which conducted negotiations with Homer leading to the review board proposal. Representatives of several Civil Rights groups and churches attended.

Hannah Stores, president of the Congress of Racial Equality, said other organizations would be asked to sign the resolution. She added that a house-to-house drive is being conducted to collect signatures on petitions on behalf of the review board proposal.

Miss Storrs rapped opposition of policemen to the board, commenting, "If you have nothing to hide, you have nothing to fear."

Rev. G. Kenneth Tuttle,

representing the Rochester Area Council of Churches, said clergymen have been asked by the Council to appear Tuesday in support of a board.

Some speakers warned against Negroes isolating themselves from the community as a whole or falling prey to irresponsible leadership, an apparent reference to the Black Muslim movement.

Apparently, no Black Muslims attended the meeting, but four well-dressed young men hawked copies of the newspaper published by the separatist sect in front of the church after the meeting.

### Opponents Answered

The resolution, although commending the city administration generally, criticized it for failing to stress the "positive aspects" of the board through news media.

Opponents of a board were asked to consider:

"The creation of this board will give immediate relief from the current tensions in the community."

"This board will not be a court of law and will have no disciplinary power over any policeman. It will be empowered only to make recommendations."

"Police men acting within accepted police practices have nothing to fear from the review board. The review board will, in effect, reaffirm any policeman unjustly charged."

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

Page 17

Democrat & Chronicle  
Rochester, N.Y.

Date: 3/9/63  
Edition: Metropolitan  
Author:  
Editor: C.E. Carpenter  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Buffalo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/15/86 BY [signature]

ENCLOSURE

44-21473-11

FBI

Date: 3/11/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
 FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (44-193)

**[REDACTED]** Etal  
 CIVIL RIGHTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 1/15/86 BY *[Signature]*

Remyairtel 3/1/63, captioned "UNSUBS; UNKNOWN  
 VICTIMS; MUSLIM MINISTER MALCOLM X, MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #7 -  
 COMPLAINANT, CIVIL RIGHTS."

Enclosed are two copies of an article which appeared  
 in the 3/7/63 edition of the "Democrat and Chronicle," Rochester,  
 N. Y.

Any additional pertinent information will be  
 promptly furnished.

3 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (AM)  
 1 - Buffalo  
 GPP  
 (4)

ENCLOSURE

1cc of news article to CRD  
 6-95-A-3/14/63

REC-53

44-21493-12

MAR 15 1963

G.C. Wick

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

62 MAR 20 1963

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Racial Tension Causes Aired By 3 Panelists

Rochester, an unlikely city to have racial disturbances, has reached its recent crisis primarily because of a "lack of alert, aroused understanding of the deepening crisis facing all Northern cities," according to a Colgate Rochester Divinity School professor.

Dr. Prentiss L. Pemberton, professor of Christian social ethics and sociology of religion, said, "My thesis is that we face an increasing breakdown of communication between the white and non-white in Northern cities. This leads to a deepening mood of suspicion which is shattering our traditional Northern ways of handling racial problems, through patient negotiation..."

Dr. Pemberton and two others discussed basic forces underlying recent racial tensions here at a public meeting in the divinity school. About 75 persons attended. The other speakers were Sidney J. Lindenberg, executive director of the Baden Street Settlement, and Dr. Walter Cooper, research chemist at Eastman Kodak Co. and chairman of the community affairs committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

### Board Said "Concrete Step"

In answer to a question, Pemberton termed the proposed Advisory Citizen's Review Board "the most concrete step we can take" to create new channels of communication.

Lindenberg called the proposed board "water to put out the fire," but called for long-term, creative attention to community tensions, "not just police tensions."

In his talk Lindenberg described evidences of tensions that settlement house workers have observed, and criticized "an awful lot of people (who) talk about an area (such as Baden-Ormond) without much knowledge of it."

The Negro community is being motivated to draw together by "the same things that drew the Jewish group together at the time of Hitler—fear, and hopelessness," Lindenberg said.

### Brutality 'Symptom'

He praised city officials for trying to correct the situation, but called for a wider understanding among the average citizens of the community. He called police brutality a symptom rather than a basic cause of racial unrest and urged attention to housing, jobs, education and relationships of minority groups.

"If we don't do something, groups like the Black Muslims are going to slide in and take control," he added.

Dr. Cooper said criticism of liberal groups by so-called "freedom now" Negro leaders has arisen because "liberals see the Negro as a symbol but not as a man."

"The black American cannot be assimilated until the majority group is willing to accept the humanity of the black man."

He said there is more segregation in Northern cities now than there was 20 years ago and that "the plight of the Negro in urban Northern communities is like backward countries."

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

Page 18

Democrat & Chronicle  
Rochester, N.Y.

Date: 3/7/63  
Edition: Metropolitan  
Author:  
Editor: C.E. Carpenter  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Buffalo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/15/86 BY SP6/bak/ky

41-21493-12  
ENCLOSURE

FBI

Date: 3/14/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via **AIRTEL**

**AIR MAIL**

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (44-193)

**[REDACTED] Etal**  
**CIVIL RIGHTS**

Remyairtel 3/11/63.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/15/86 BY *Subj: [REDACTED]*

Enclosed are two copies of an article appearing  
in the 3/13/63 edition of the "Democrat and Chronicle,"  
Rochester, N. Y.

Any additional pertinent information will be  
promptly furnished.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (AM)  
1 - Buffalo  
gpp  
(4)

**ENCLOSURE**  
C.C. Wick

REC- 57

EX-118

44-21493-13  
6 MAR 15 1963

*1cc CRD news article*  
*6-95-A, 3-18-63*

*100-10-2-53-11, 12*

REC'D - [REDACTED]

54 MAR 22 1963

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

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Per \_\_\_\_\_

# The Rochester Image

## Two-Faced?

### Angry Voices Raised By Opposing Groups

By WILLIAM VOGLER

Rochester, like the mythological Narcissus, looked at its reflected image and generally liked what it saw.

Rochester, said the Rochesterian, was a nice community to raise children in. It had a high-employment, skilled-worker economy. Generally speaking, its politics were clean—certainly there was no local equivalent of Frank Hague or James Curley. And it was "culture" conscious—witness the Eastman School of Music, the Civic Music Association, the Memorial Art Gallery.

But Narcissus, trapped by his own vanity and tricked by pagan gods, had been fascinated by an illusion. So, in a sense, had Rochester's "image" been illusory. And, as illusions will, Rochester's broke down recently.

The Flower City, never shy about setting up a committee for holding a meeting, suddenly found itself caught in an angry swirl of meetings, sit-ins and debates that produced a blizzard of statements on "current racial tensions."

#### Babble of Voices

A babble of voices rose in an uneven chorus: "Police brutality," some said; "Force necessary to affect arrest," others replied. "Discrimination," some said. "Irresponsible minorities," came the reply.

One thing was certain. The Rochester image wasn't what it used to be. But then the image of the body politic as a unified entity is at best a convenient fiction. People have a tendency now and then to break ranks.

If it's a healthy body politic, the ranks will re-form after a while and march, though not everyone will be in step, in a different direction. Rochester is now searching itself to determine what that direction will be.

Well, what about it? Is there a crisis, or is it just another ripple in the pond?

#### Attempt to Answer

What follows is an attempt to answer that question in terms of the feelings in the non-white community, as indicated in meetings, through statements and through conversations with some of those directly involved in recent events.

While the sentiments of both the white and non-white communities are germane to the present situation, more emphasis has been focused here on feelings in the city's two predominantly non-white areas, probable locale of any explosion that may occur.

Is the potential for a blow up exaggerated? Not according to Mrs. Constance Mitchell, Third Ward Democratic supervisor, who said recently: "It would take only a minor incident to start a race riot. . . . This is not something that started with A.C. White."

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

Page 6

Democrat & Chronicle  
Rochester, N.Y.

Date: 3/13/63  
Edition: Sun Rise  
Author: William Vogler  
Editor: C.E. Carpentier  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Buffalo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS

DATE 1/15/86 BY SP6/bja

ENCLOSURE

44-21493-13

#### Indications Cited

These were some of the indications, cited by Mrs. Mitchell and others, that the present mood of friction and unrest had been building for some time.

A 204 per cent increase in this city's Negro population between 1950 and 1960, that saw the Negro community in the city increase from 7,845 in 1950 to 24,228 in 1960.

The Baden-Ormond urban renewal project that led to the relocation of many people into already crowded areas on the fringe of Baden-Ormond and in the 3rd Ward.

A meeting between city officials and representatives of the Negro community in August 1961. One of the top points on the agenda was the use of police dogs in minority group areas.

A man living in the 3rd Ward, speaking of everyday frustrations, commented over a cup of coffee:

"We can't make a living. We can't go to certain places unless we want to risk direct or implied discourtesies. And we can't even break the law and get the same treatment that other people do."

Rabbi Allan Levine of Temple Emanu-El, and one of several key figures in the current swirl of events, had this to say about people's awareness of their community:

"Many people in Rochester live utterly isolated from the problems of the central city. Therefore, when complaints of injustice arise, they dismiss them as utterly baseless."

That the blinders have been discarded by at least

part of the community is evidenced by recent events.

For one thing, a group of more than 100 clergymen—inter-racial and interfaith—from many Monroe County communities, believe the current situation is a crisis involving the total community and they have demonstrated a high degree of unanimity in suggesting possible solutions, immediate and long-range, to the present condition.

#### High-Level Meetings

Some of the clergymen also participated in high-level meetings with city officials dealing with allegations of police abuse of authority. Out of those meetings emerged the promise by the city to consider proposals for an independent agency to review complaints of alleged unnecessary and excessive use of force by police. The city administration has drawn up an ordinance for City Council consideration to accomplish this purpose.

The clergy group can be

William Vogler, the author of this analysis of Rochester's racial relations, has covered this area of news for the D&C for three years. A veteran newsman, Vogler came to Rochester in 1960 from Trenton, N.J., where he was a reporter for United Press International.

more than matched in size by laymen, acting through organizations or as individuals, who have a similar concern with the current situation.

But back to the crisis, that mishmash of fact, rumor and, above all else, feelings.

The expression gained from attending scores of meetings, and from discussions with dozens of people familiar with the situation is that the feeling exists that unequal law enforcement is meted out to non-whites and that this could be the spark that could touch off an explosion.

That feelings concerning alleged unequal law enforcement are not isolated from other problems such as housing and employment will become evident later.

#### Stress Point

One thing cannot be stressed too strongly, even though it has been said again and again: The Police Bureau as a whole is not being indicted. Those pointing the finger, point it at a few policemen, whose names, according to the accusers, crop up repeatedly in incidents of alleged harassment or unjustified use of force.

People from the Third and Seventh Wards, refuting the promise that "a cop is a cop," cited policemen who have won the confidence of people in those areas.

These policemen, according to the Third and Seventh Warders, have been able to walk into the midst of an excited crowd in Joseph Avenue, ask "what's it all about" and with a few words and/or actions take the heat out of the situation.

For the moment, that is. Memories of A. C. White, Rufus Fairwell and the arrest of 15 men following a clash with Rufus Fairwell and the arrest of 15 men following a clash with police at a meeting of the Black Muslims could provide the potential for the possible riot envisioned by Mrs. Mitchell and other observers.

**Outstanding Issues**  
Two things stand out in discussions of these cases. One is a strong feeling of identification among Negroes with White, Fairwell and the 13 men. The other, especially strong in the Fairwell case, is a sense of bewilderment and sometimes anger over the explanations of the three cases which have been made public.

Fairwell, a 23-year-old service station attendant, was arrested last August on charges of assaulting two policemen who, Fairwell charged, assaulted him. A grand jury subsequently cleared Fairwell and the two officers.

Fairwell has filed a \$125,000 suit against the city for "damages for personal injuries and indignities" suffered because of what he described as the negligence and

willful misconduct of the city and its employees.

White, 48, of 383 Joseph Ave., is facing County and City Court trials on charges of driving while intoxicated, resisting arrest, third degree assault, driving without an operator's license and without proper registration in connection with his arrest Jan. 26.

Four patrolmen involved in his arrest were suspended pending the outcome of a Police Bureau investigation of the White arrest, in which White suffered injuries that required hospitalization. The policemen were later reinstated with reprimands.

White later filed and then withdrew charges against three of the four policemen involved in his arrest. According to his attorney, White withdrew the charges to concentrate on his upcoming trials.

**Muslim Meeting**  
Those arrested in connection with the Jan. 6 scuffle with the police at the Black Muslim meeting on Jan. 6 face trial on charges of riot and third degree assault. Police said they went to the meeting to investigate an anonymous report that a man with a gun was at the meeting place.

Malcolm X, a national leader of the Muslims, later protested that police had tried to force their way into a religious meeting.

These matters have previously been reported, but since all three cases are now before the courts this is not the place to argue the merits of the cases. However, one can select a few from many available illustrations to indicate the feelings of the Negro community about the cases.

The weekend that began with the evening of Feb. 8 saw the suspension of the four officers in the White case and the arrest of 13 men on charges stemming from the Jan. 6 clash with police at the site of the Muslim meeting. Two other defendants involved in that incident were arrested earlier, and all 15 are free in bail.

Dr. Walter Cooper, chairman of the community affairs committee of the Rochester Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, recalled that he was one of several people who circulated in the city's two predominantly Negro areas that weekend.

"What we tried to do that weekend was to visit bars and barbershops and try to bring some sanity to people who had become more than emotionally involved," Dr. Cooper said.

**Taking to Fight Back**  
Typical of the comments heard were: "I've had enough. If I get hit, I'm going to fight back."  
The tour left the impression, according to Dr. Cooper, that "this was not just idle talk."

At a Feb. 18 meeting called by integration groups to protest alleged police abuses of Negroes, several things significant to the entire community emerged.

The meeting, which was called on very short notice,

drew an audience of about 600, all Negro except for a sprinkling of whites. The issue that attracted them was alleged misuse of authority by police. Most were people who almost never attend regular meetings held by additional protest groups.

Malcom X, although not a scheduled speaker, talked during the question period and was received enthusiastically.

Furthermore, integration groups, while rejecting the separatism of the Muslims, indicated at the meeting and since then that they would stand by the Muslims to help defend the civil rights of Rochester Negroes.

**Feeling Persists**  
While many of the actions of the integration groups in the current situation can be interpreted as moves to counter the local impact of the Muslims, on the issue of alleged abuse of authority by police the feeling persists that, as a speaker at the Feb. 18 meeting said: "We are black folks first."



In discussion, he agreed with those close to the situation, two different assessments were heard. According to one, any leader of national stature with a reputation for plain talk would have received a favorable response.

Challenging this, others said Malcolm X has a stronger appeal to the Negro masses than some other Negro leaders. Malcolm X, these people asserted, can get people to identify more easily with him because "he says what the masses of Negroes want to hear."

The strength of the Muslim movement is not something other Muslim leaders care to discuss. Locally, estimates range from about 25 to about 200. Nationally, C. Eric Lincoln, author of "The Black Muslims in America," wrote "in recent years their membership has spiraled to at least 100,000—some estimates would triple that figure—with more than 50 temples in major cities from Boston and Miami to San Diego."

#### Less Significant

However, those conversant with the movement state that numerical strength is less significant than the number of people who, while declining to join the Muslims, nevertheless, share many of the criticisms of the American scene made by the Muslims.

This poses a challenge for believers in integration and a paradox for the Muslims. The recent coalescing of integration forces demonstrates that these groups have accepted the challenge.

In addition to a closer degree of cooperation recently evidenced between traditional protest groups such as the NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality, the recent past has seen the organization of new groups such as the United Action Committee for Rufus Fairwell, the Integrated Non-Violent Committee (the group that negotiated with city officials on cases of alleged police brutality) a group

which staged sit-ins at police headquarters, known simply as the supporters of the non-violent committee and the organization of more than 100 clergymen of all major faiths.

Two things should be noted about the new groups, according to those close to them. For one thing there is the aspect of interlocking membership; members of the NAACP and/or CORE and other established groups also belonged to the Fairwell Committee and the non-violent group.

A distinction also is made between NAACP, for example, which is termed a permanent group with the broad goal of equal justice, and the Fairwell group, which is seen as a committee set up for a specific limited purpose.

#### Newer Groups

Secondly, the newer groups are causing people, who though previously intellectually committed, to speak out and take an active part in the struggle.

Discussing the future of the Muslim movement, Lincoln saw the Muslims caught in a dilemma: whether to retain their present militant, anti-white, anti-Christian pose or modify it to win followers now repulsed by these Muslim themes.

At their Feb. 26 Chicago national convention, the Muslims made a bid for cooperation with traditional protest groups. National leaders of the NAACP and CORE reiterated their distaste for Muslim separatism, but indicated the possibility a limited degree of cooperation on such issues as police brutality.

#### Not Alone

However, the police issue does not stand alone. Those with an intimate knowledge of the Negro community assess the issue as a "symbolic" one. It is related, they reason, in a symbolic way to deep feelings of frustration about

discrimination in housing, employment and other areas. Further, these people assert, it is tied to the "much larger question of whether justice is possible in Rochester or whether the promises to integrate are really no more than token concessions to appease the Negro without satisfying basic and legitimate grievances."

The hope that the achievement of justice, in the larger sense, is still possible is testified to by the many groups and individuals now seeking to steer Rochester on a different course.

DIRECTOR, FBI (25-33971)

6/7/63

SAS, BUFFALO (105-2767)(P)

NATION OF ISLAM  
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK  
IS - NOI  
(OO - Buffalo)

Re Buffalo airtel to Bureau, 2/25/63, with  
letterhead memorandum (LHM); and Buffalo letter (with LHM)  
to Bureau, 2/20/63.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of  
self-explanatory LHM. An informational copy was furnished  
Chicago and New York in view of previous correspondence  
to those offices regarding this matter.

Buffalo will follow the local trial in Rochester,  
New York; and furnish pertinent facts developed to the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/15/86 BY *Plabjaffey*

- 5- Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)  
    (1 - RACIAL MATTERS)  
    (1 - CIVIL RIGHTS)  
1 - Chicago (100-35635) (Info) (Enc. 2) (RM)  
1 - New York (Info) (Enc. 2) (RM)  
2 - Buffalo  
    (1 - 105-468)  
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ENCLOSURE

JUN 20 1963

44-21493  
NOT RECORDED  
145 JUN 17 1963



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Buffalo, New York  
June 7, 1963

NATION OF ISLAM  
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

67D [REDACTED]  
Rochester, New York, on June 5, 1963, advised that the assault trial regarding the fifteen Nation of Islam members had been tried in Monroe County Court in Rochester, before acting Monroe County Judge GERALD S. HEWITT, beginning May 14, 1963, and ending May 21, 1963, with a deadlocked jury. Retrial was tentatively set for late in June, 1963; and the defendants were continued on bail.

Those being tried had previously been indicted by a Monroe County Grand Jury for assaulting two Rochester Police Officers, who on January 6, 1963, had answered a "trouble call" at 302 North Street, while a Nation of Islam meeting was in progress.

A characterization of the Nation of Islam is included in the appendix hereto.

67K  
According to [REDACTED] Monroe County Judge HARRY L. ROSENTHAL initially assigned [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] as defense counsel for all defendants. Other lawyers assigned later by the court were:

67D [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] said that all but one of the Nation of Islam members arrested February 8, 1963, had been released February 15, 1963 on \$500.00 bail each, which money was provided by the National Leader, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, of Chicago, Illinois.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/15/86 BY SP6 bja/ky

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

NATION OF ISLAM  
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

b7c The remaining defendant, [REDACTED] of Buffalo, New York, was turned over to the Buffalo, New York, Police Department, by the Monroe County Court on an outstanding warrant held by the Buffalo Police Department.

The February 15, 1963 Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, citywide daily newspaper, carried an article captioned "One Hundred March in Muslim Protest," which revealed that "more than one hundred" Muslims led by MALCOLM X, a national leader of the Nation of Islam, on February 14, 1963, marched around Time Square in New York in silent orderly protest against the Rochester, New York, arrests of the fifteen Nation of Islam members.

93

## APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 2, 1962, a second source advised: ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI). Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI. In mid 1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by ALLAH, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teaching and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

NATION OF ISLAM, cont'd.

On May 2, 1962, a third source advised: MUHAMMAD had, early in July 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**MALCOLM X LITTLE**

**PART 21 OF 24**

**BUFILE:100-399321 SUB A  
SECTIONS 1 AND 2**

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. HQ 100-399321-A

Section 1

December 15, 1956 - March 21, 1964

146 Pages



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

GIP

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

b7C

6-1  
11-2

b7C

Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 PRESS  
 SUN-TELEGRAPH  
 POST-GAZETTE  
 COURIER ☒  
 Date 12-15-56  
 Edition New York  
 Page 6  
 Column 1-5  
 Author of Article \_\_\_\_\_

Editor (on editorials)

Title of Case \_\_\_\_\_

Character  
 New Case \_\_\_\_\_

100-399321-A  
 NOT RECORDED  
 138 JAN 10 1957

1 photo to [redacted]  
 by [redacted] 1-8-57  
 [redacted] b7C

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26  
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 100-399321

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## Moslem Minister Explains Philosophy of Islam and Its Impact on America

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

By **MALCOLM X,**

Minister Temple No. 7, New York City

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

—Revelation 1:18.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD has given us many scriptures to prove that his teachings to us are true and in accord with the prophecies of the Bible. He says it is we so-called Negroes in America who were robbed deaf, dumb and blind to the knowledge of OUR OWN God and OUR OWN SELVES, so that today we are like DRY BONES IN THE VALLEY

(spiritually dead, in the GRAVE OF IGNORANCE). We are now only able to speak the Slavemaster's language, and we are even yet called the same slaves names given us by the Slavemaster to our fathers during slaverytime; names such as Jones, Smith, Bunche, Powell, Dawson, Diggs, etc.

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

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

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

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD says that the teachers and religious leaders of our own kind here in America were as blind

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Conclusion-Next Week)



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



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

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

# 'We Have Risen

# From the Dead

*Malcolm Little*

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

By MALCOLM X

Minister Temple 7, New York City

Pittsburgh, Pa.

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Editor (on editorials) \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

All praise is due to Allah. Think of this. This man, born in Georgia, mentally blind, deaf and dumb, and as ignorant as all the rest of us. But we see him today upsetting the Slavemaster's health just as Moses did in his day to the Slavemaster of that day, (Exodus 5:2) simply by stating God's plan to give to poor slaves (so-called Negroes) a land of our own wherein we won't have to beg

any Slavemaster any more for civil rights, for we shall then have in our own land a righteous government wherein freedom, justice, equality and all the other essentials of life will be natural products flowing to us and for us . . . like milk and honey.

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

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

Also:

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

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

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

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

As-Salaam-Alaikum:

(Peace be unto you).



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

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## Malcolm X Married!

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



**MALCOLM X**

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

Attending Malcolm X were his two brothers, Philbert X, mini-

ter of Temple 16 here in Lansing, and Wilfred X, minister of Temple 1 in Detroit, Mich. The wedding was attended by a few close friends and relatives of the couple.

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# God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

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



MR. MALCOLM X

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

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

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

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

Tribute is still being paid to

a DEAD Moses. Worship is being wasted on a DEAD Jesus. Millions honor a DEAD Muhammad. And, many respect and reverse a DEAD Mr. Garvey.

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued Next Week)

*Malcolm X*

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
Feb. 13, 1958

Mr. Malcolm X

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# God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

(ED. NOTE—A number of readers have written and telephoned the HERALD DISPATCH requesting information concerning the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.



MR. MALCOLM X

hammad. Mr. Malcolm X had this to say in answer to the many inquiries.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued Next Week)

Malcolm Little

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
Feb. 20, 1958

Mr. Malcolm X

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# BUILD HEAVEN ON EARTH, MALCOLM X TELLS NEGRO

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
March 27, 1958

Malcolm X

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## — Out Spoken Moslem Leader —



# Moslem Leader Scores Preachers As Misleaders

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

Declaring that a wise man can wisely imitate a fool, but a fool under no circumstances, can imitate a wise man, the spiritual young follower of Elijah Muhammad launched into a bitter denunciation of misleading Negro preachers, crooked politicians, and bankrupted Negro leadership. Warning to his subject, he said the seventeen million Negroes in America are a pitiful sight in their effort to imitate the white man

by pretending to be free; pretending to be educated; pretending to be united; pretending to be rich; pretending to be Christians, and above all, desiring to be white. They are under the leadership of a group of white people who use the Negro to fight their own battle. Which is the wise man—which is the fool?"

The Negro preachers are pre-  
(Continued on Page 3)

## "Build Heaven on Earth"

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

Minister X said, "We do not condemn the Preachers as an individual, but we condemn what they teach." We urge that the Preachers

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

### Islam Unites Us

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

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

Mr. X maintains offices at 1431 West Jefferson Blvd. He invites Moslems and Non-Moslems to confer with him on Islam, which, as taught by the

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

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





MALCOLM X (center), surrounded by a throng of admirers, Muslims and non-Muslims, including local Muslim Minister Henry X, Taft Harris and Mr. Thomas, after meeting at Normandie Hall last Sunday, at which a large crowd turned out to hear the dynamic Muslim leader discuss the pressing problems of the Negro people in jim-crow America. At that

meeting Malcolm X denounced the venality and servility of Negro preachers. Malcolm X, one of the outstanding disciples of Messenger Elijah Muhamed, is doing an excellent job organizing the Muslim movement on the Pacific Coast. He speaks again at Normandie Hall this Sunday, March 30.

b7C

# MALCOLM X, REV. DAVIS CLASH ON NEGRO MUHAMMAD

*Dr. B. Little*  
b7C  
*Malcolm Little*

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
April 3, 1958

Malcolm X calls Elijah  
Muhammad modern Moses of  
Negro people

Nation of Islam  
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# Moslem Leader Lashes Out At Venal Preachers

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

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



MALCOLM X

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

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 3)

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

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the audience were several Negro Christian Ministers, angered by Mr. X's attack last week. However, Rev. Morris Davis, Pastor of a Baptist Church in the 7800 block of South Central, was the only one who attempted to refute his charges. Rev. Davis said in answer to Minister X's labeling Negro Preachers as Pharaoh's Magicians, "There is a difference between a minister and he who professes to be one and a difference between a prophet and those that profess to be prophets."

"We find," he said, "in Kings 18-18-26, where the true definition of a prophet is given. Not by word alone but by evidence of action combines. Which Jesus says, 'you shall know the

truth by the fruit it bears.' Matthew 7-16-20."

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

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

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

Mr. X allowed Rev. Davis to speak despite some protest (Continued on Page 4)

## Malcolm X

(Continued from Page 3)

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

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

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

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

b7C

# God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

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

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

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

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

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



MR. MALCOLM X

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

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

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

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

Mr. X is in LA—lectures at 1490 W. Jefferson every Friday evening and Sunday afternoon.

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
April 3, 1958

Malcolm X

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MALCOLM LITTLE

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MALCOLM LITTLE

## 'Negro An African' Malcolm X Says

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

In outlining the Blueprint for the Black Man's future, which was created by Mr. Muhammad.  
(Continued on Page 9)

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
April 10, 1958

Malcolm X

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## 'Negro An African' Says Malcolm X

(Continued from Page 1)

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

### Secret Origin of White Race

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

### Kidnaped and Robbed by White Man

You are dead, he said, politically, economically, mentally and businesswise, because you were taken forcefully from your native land more than 400 years ago. At that time you were stripped of everything you possessed, all knowledge of yourself, your cultural background, history and taught to be ashamed of your native land. You were taught that your people were cannibals, savages, you were given a Hollywood conception of our

people, and unfortunately most of you believe it. First, you were stripped of your tongue, your native language; second, you were denied knowledge of the oldest culture man knows; third, you were re-named 'NEGRO'. You were re-named Negro by the same man, the white man, who had kidnapped and robbed you of your own culture.

### Why Negro?

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

### Negro Not A Nationality

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

### Negro Language?

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

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

### Denied Citizenship

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

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

### Muhammad's Solution

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

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

b7c  
Says Many Misleading Followers

Malcolm X Hurls

Challenge at

Negro Preachers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



MALCOLM X

b7c

# Negro Preachers Walk Out on Malcolm X

## Men of Cloth Retreat Under Deadly Fire of Malcolm X

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

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

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

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

52 MAY 15 1958

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MALCOLM LITTLE

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
April 17, 1958

Negro preachers walk out on  
Malcolm X

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

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

"This same money," stated

(Continued on Page 3)

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

Malcolm X concluded his lecture by saying:

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

# God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

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

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

The Moslems are so well dis-



MR. MALCOLM X

ciplined and controlled by "The Messenger" that many Chicagoans consider them equivalent to a "city within a city."

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued Next Week)

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April 24, 1958

Malcolm X

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Guest



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

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
April 24, 1958

Malcolm X

Nation of Islam  
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# God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

(Continued from Last Week)

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

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

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



MR. MALCOLM X

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

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

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

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

MALCOLM LITTLE

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
May 1, 1958

Malcolm X

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# God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

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

(Continued from Last Week)

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

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

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



MR. MALCOLM X

decension, division and dis-unity.

## Whites Outnumbered

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

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

malcolm Little

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
May 15, 1958

Malcolm X

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file 100-399321

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199 JUN 4 1958

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52 JUN 5 1958

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Claim Police Fired Into Church Property

# Moslems Charge False

## Arrests in N. Y.

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44 JUN 23 1958  
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100-399321

59 JUN 24 1958

b7C

Malcolm Little

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

Date 5-24-58  
Edition New York  
Page 7  
Column 1 thru 6  
Author of Article \_\_\_\_\_

Editor (on editorials \_\_\_\_\_)

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

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

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

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

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

It seems as though a postal inspector and a pair of white detectives had come to the downstairs apartment looking for a "Mrs. Margaret Dorsey," who,

according to the residents, was unknown at that address.

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

Miss Mollett was then joined at the door by her sister, Audrey X Rice, 13, and a younger sister, and this trio kept the men

from entering. They left with threats that they would return with help. However, by the time the sleuths put in their reappearance, John X Mollett, 28, the owner, had returned. The officers came to the back door, and Mr. Mollett stepped outside to ask them whether they had a search warrant and to identify themselves.

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

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

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

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

Malcolm X, who had flown in from Boston after the disturbance, ripped the "gestapo tactics of white police who patrol the

black belts" and compared police in ghettos to "occupation forces in occupied territory."

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

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

He said the shots were fired through a door.

**NEW YORK  
MOSLEMS  
REPULSE  
FASCISTS  
ATTACK**

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*Malcolm Little*

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
May 29, 1958

"We Moslems Protect our Women"  
says Malcolm X

Nation of Islam  
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*file 100-399321*

AGENCY *RAB (6-6), G-2, ONI, OSI, SS*  
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DATE FORW. *6-19-58*  
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BY *[redacted]* b7C

59 JUN 24 1958

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44 JUN 23 1958

# 'We Moslems Protect Our Women', Says Malcolm X

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

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

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

The Moslem trio were being charged by police with felonious assault against two white detectives whom the Moslems claim "invaded" their East

Elmhurst home "unlawfully," and in the ensuing melee the two white detectives ended up in the hospital nursing injuries inflicted by the Moslems. The Moslems claimed the white officers had no legal right to enter their home without a search warrant.

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

(Continued on Page 3)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Later the same day, in a surprise "maneuver" by the police, it was announced that the Moslems' case would be put before the Grand Jury at once, May 27th, without any preliminary "public" hearing. Also,

in another surprise "maneuver" the police moved to re-arrest the wives of Malcolm X and John IIX, whose release the Moslems had secured the night of the incident with menacing picket lines around the 114th Astoria Precinct. Assistant District Attorney, Bernard Patten refused to grant the police request for the arrest of the two Moslem women, but did permit the police to name both of the women as defendants. In the case, and to be summoned before the Grand Jury Tuesday, too.

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

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

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

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

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

The outraged Moslems of the African-Asian World join us in calling for an immediate investigation by your office into the insane conduct of irresponsible white police officers who seem to have thought their white faces were sufficient

"badge" to force their way into the private homes of innocent, law-abiding, darker citizens, under the false pretense that they were looking for an (unknown, unidentified) party called "Margaret Dorsey."

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 6)

(Continued from Page 3)

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

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

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

The actions of the New York

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

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

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

Sincerely,  
MALCOLM X  
Muhammad's Temple  
of Islam

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MALCOLM LITTLE

# God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

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



MR. MALCOLM X

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

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
May 29, 1958

Malcolm X

Nation of Islam  
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DATE FORW. 6-19-58  
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NOT RECORDED  
167 JUN 26 1958

66 JUN 24 1958

# Malcolm X Protests to N. Y. Mayor

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MALCOLM

LITTLE

b7C

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

Date 6-14-58  
Edition New York  
Page Sec 2 1  
Column 1 2 3  
Author of Article  
Editor (on editorials)

Title of Case  
Motion of Islam  
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100-399321-A  
170 JUL 3 1958

File 5  
100-399321  
(title)

77 JUL 7 1958



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

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

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

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

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

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

The Black Belt in Greater New York has become like "occupied territory," a conquered community. The brutal, inhuman, savage

soldiers that comprise this "occupying army" are disguised as white police officers.

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

Sincerely,  
MALCOLM X,  
Muhammad's Temple  
of Islam

b7C

# Moslem Case Postponed

Until June 18 After Five

## Indictments

MALCOLM LITTLE

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59 JUL 15 1958

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Pittsburgh, Pa.

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Date 6-14-58

Edition New York

Page Sec 2

Column 3

Author of Article

Editor (on editorials)

Title of Case

Motion of Islam

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The episode began when the detectives sought to enter a Mos-

lem home without a warrant. In the melee that followed, several shots were fired by the police into the midst of the Moslem women, children and babies.

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

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

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

7/3/58  
LOS Angeles  
MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

Herald-Dispatch

100-399321-A

101 JUL 24 1958

50 JUL 25 1958

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# God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X

## THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD

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

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

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

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



MR. MALCOLM X

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
July 3, 1958

Malcolm X

Nation of Islam  
IS - NOI

Bufile 25-330971

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

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

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

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

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25-330971-

27 1958

# God's Angry Men

By MR. MALCOLM X



MR. MALCOLM X

## "The Resurrection of the Dead"

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

MESSENGER MUHAMMAD has taught us how we (so-called Negroes) were KIDNAPPED from the East by the white Christian Slavemaster, brought to America in chains and robbed! Robbed of our own God, and His Teachings—our language

— culture — flag — Holy names — and nationality. After robbing us of all these we could originally call our own, then the Slavemaster taught us to call ourselves "Negroes." Telling us that this was so because he had brought us from along the banks of the Niger River. MESSENGER MUHAMMAD asks us today: "Since when does one's nationality originate from a river?" This same wicked Slavemaster taught us that "Negro" means "black" in Spanish. MESSENGER MUHAMMAD again asks us, "Why is it that all of the dark, Spanish speaking people in Spain, South and Central America do not accept it (Negro) as their nationality, too?" MESSENGER MUHAMMAD says that we, too, should get our NATIONALITY from the NATION of which our foreparents originated—as do all other recognized peoples. MESSENGER MUHAMMAD teaches us how the Bible says we were purposely cut off from our own kind after being robbed of our identity by the cruel Christian Slavemaster (Ezek. 37:11; Psalms 83:4; Psalms 137:1-9). MESSENGER MUHAMMAD says the Slavemaster took our own names, language and religion from us, so that we would then have to accept his, obey him, and worship him. (Daniel 1:6-7).

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

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
July 10, 1958

Malcolm X

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Best Copy Available



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

These are SLAVE NAMES. — names of the very same Slavemaster who has shown characteristics of his devilish nature in his treatment of us (Rev. 13:2). The original names of our forefathers were put off from them, kept secret from us by the devil, and therefore today we do not know what our real names should be. We have really been Robbed!

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

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

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

malcolm little

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53 AUG 7 1958

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

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

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

The outspoken young Moslem leader told his radio audience

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

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



MR. MALCOLM X

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

Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch  
July 17, 1958

Malcolm X

Nation of Islam  
IS - NOI

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# MALCOLM X HITS NEGRO PREACHERS IN RADIO TALK

## Malcolm X on Harlem Radio Blasts Corrupt Negro Preachers

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

Lies

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

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

### Others Have Failed

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

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

### Ignorant, Greedy Preachers

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

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

"NATION OF ISLAM,  
IS - NOI"

BUFILE 25-330971  
CHICAGO: 25-20607

N.Y. File on  
MALCOLM X (100-8999)

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167 SEP 2 1958

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

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

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

#### Yardstick

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

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

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

#### Naked Truth

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

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

Defends Muhammad's Teachings

MALCOLM <sup>O</sup>LITTLE

# Malcolm X Blasts

# Negro Ministers!

Pittsburgh, Pa.

PRESS

SUN-TELEGRAPH

POST-GAZETTE

COURIER

Date 8-2-58

Edition Pittsburgh

Page 14

Column 1, 2 & 3

Author of Article

Editor (on editorials)

Title of Case

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167 AUG 21 1958

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

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

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

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



Malcolm

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

— Join the NAACP NOW! —



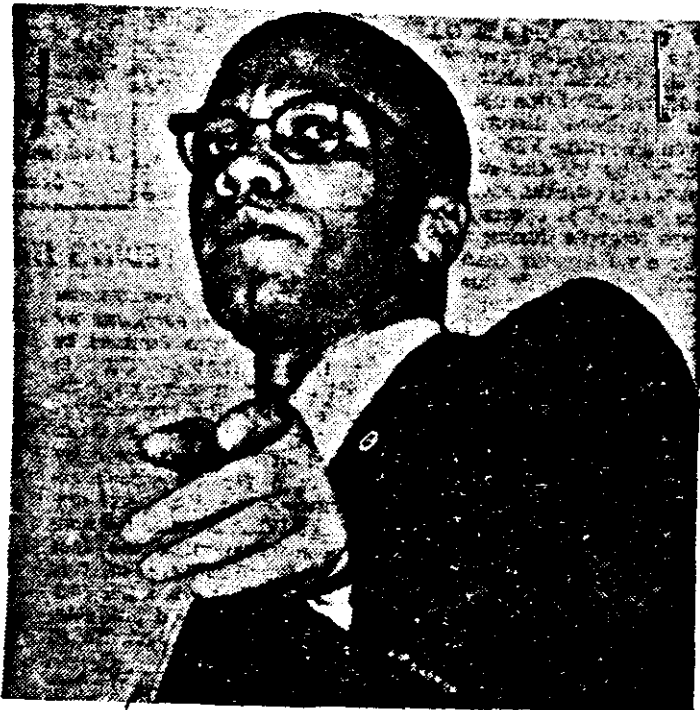
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# Arabs Send Warm Greetings to 'Our Brothers' of Color in U. S. A.



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

57 SEP 24 1959

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Edition New York  
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Editor P.L. Prattis

Title of Case and  
Character

Nation of Islam

IS-NOI

Pittsburgh Division

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149 SEP 23 1959

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

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

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

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

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

The majority of this Arabian population cannot be distinguished from the people of Af-

rica. In fact, the darkest Arabs I have yet seen are right here on the Arabian peninsula. Most of these people would be right at home in Harlem. And all of them refer warmly to our people in America as their "brothers of color."

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

Even the white Christians are forced to admit, in this area, that Moslems have the truest (and most intelligently conceived) form of devotion to the One True God—the Su-

preme Being, whose proper name is Allah.

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

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

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

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

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

**AFRICA IS THE LAND** of Sudan and other parts of Africa the future . . . definitely America yesterday. land of tomorrow, and the Africa of tomorrow. As I discovered among the Arabs, the Africans are also more concerned about the condition of our U.S. people of pigmentation than with their own status right here in Africa. Many are aware that for the industrial development of future Africa, foreign and economic and technical assistance will be necessary. Yet, having long suffered European exploitation at the hands of whites, all Africans are suspicious of the white man's motives when he extends the "helping hand."

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

Sincerely,

MALCOLM X

### Message From Khartoum

**GRAND HOTEL, KHARTOUM, Sudan**—Racial disturbances in faraway New York City, U.S.A., occupied prominent space on the front pages of the newspapers here in the

Many of them note that what America practices at home does not coincide with what she practices in North America.

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

The veil of global diplomatic art does not obscure the vision of African thinkers when abuse of black Americans still obtains. The chief instrument by which East and West are being divided, day by day, is resentment in Africa and Asia for administrative Jim-crow in the United States. It seems as if Uncle Sam is letting the haters of pigmented peoples thus

tighten a self-erected Bantustan's rope around his own neck.

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

MALCOLM X



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

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# Negroes Near Boiling Point— In Harlem, Stooges Worried

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



MIN. MALCOLM X

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

(Continued on Page 3)

## Race Tension—

(Continued from Page 1)

Harlem to self-styled white leadership.

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

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

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

Los Angeles  
"Herald - Dispatch"  
January 28, 1960

MALCOLM X (LITTLE)-NY

Nation of Islam  
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Submitted by LA

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# Malcolm X and Barry Gray Tangle On WMCA

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 3)

(Continued from Page 1)  
Mr. Muhammad with inaccuracy, if not disloyalty, because Mr. Muhammad has asserted that Negroes are not considered American citizens.

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

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

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

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

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Edition

Date MAR 17 1960

Chicago, Illinois

Page 1 of 5

Part

Editor R. P. ALEXANDER

CHICAGO OFFICE

64 MAY 25 1960

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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



NEW YORK MOSLEM  
 MINISTER MALCOLM X in  
 a 3-hour radio debate on  
 Boston's popular Jerry Wil-  
 liams Show defied critics of  
 Mr. ENJOH Muhammad to

prove Negroes in America are  
 "citizens." He charged that  
 the "entire 28 million Neg-  
 roes" do not enjoy complete  
 rights which the constitution  
 allegedly guarantees "all citi-

zens." Tremendous comment  
 and controversy has been  
 raging in Boston over Mal-  
 colm X's outspoken declara-  
 tions on Station WMEX.

(Taylor Photo)

LD NEWS

DATE: WEEK ENDING 4/16/60

EDITION: ONLY

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EDITOR ON EDITORIALS:

OLIVER W. BROWN

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SUBMITTING OFFICE: NEWARK, N.J.

*Malcolm K. Little*

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 46 APR 22 1960

New Jersey Herald News

Central ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ Search Section

**NAACP Chapter  
Fails to Get Hall  
For Black Muslim**

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

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

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

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

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

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# EDUCATION

## Muslim Malcolm X Out as Howard U. History Speaker

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

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

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

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

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

Minister Malcolm X, New York representative of Muslim spiritual leader Elijah Muhammad, has lectured and debated at some of the nation's leading educational institutions, including Yale and Boston Universities, and Hunter, Queens, Clark and Morehouse Colleges. He also has an invitation to address the Harvard Law School Forum this spring. Mr. Jones said the NAACP student chapter still hopes to

bring Malcolm X to the Howard campus, and Carl Anderson, director of student activities, said his office and the committee would consider the proposal when it is properly presented.

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

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

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

—How for Your Money in the Quarter—

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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*Malcolm K. Little*

### In City College Debate

## Muslims' Malcolm X and NAACP's Wright Clash

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

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

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

"All over the world, dark people are rejecting integration with their former oppressors,"

said the man whose unusual surname ("X") results from his refusal to accept the one given him by slavemasters.

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

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

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

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

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
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Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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Pittsburgh, Pa.

Date 3-11-61

Edition New York

Author of Article

Editor P.L. Prattis

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# Muslim Movement: Prayers of Hate

**CAPITAL REPORT: BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.**

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

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

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

"And I got a wire from God today."

At this point Malcolm X was interrupted by wild laughter.

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

Frenzied cheering then broke out.

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

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

Place in  
 100-399321 (Little)

50 JUN 20 1962

100-399321  
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 129 JUL 5 1962

JUN 20 1962

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(© 1962, by King Features Syndicate)



ELIJAH MUHAMMAD

*'An eye for an eye'*

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# 'We're Not Subversive' -Malcolm X

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

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

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

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

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

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

"If the Muslims are subversive," Minister Malcolm

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

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

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

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

23 The Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

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

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Pittsburgh

Malcolm K. Little

53 SEP 26 1962

100-399321-A  
NOT RECORDED  
176 SEP 25 1962

ORIGINAL FILED IN 25-22-0000

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 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Muslim Minister Rips 'Token Integration'

## Cites Difference Between Segregation, Sepgration

By MINISTER MALCOLM X

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

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

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

### Complete Separation

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

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

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

### Authority To Segregate

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

MINISTER MALCOLM X

NOT RECORDED  
 17 SEP 14 1962

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date Sept. 15, 1962  
 Muhammad Speaks  
 Page 14

301  
 88 SEP 17 1962

SEP 14 1962

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

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

#### Become Independent

But as soon as my son grows up and begins to think he has become a man, HE SEPARATES FROM ME! This doesn't mean he is anti-father (or anti-me) . . . but his mental maturity makes him realize he can't stay in my house DEPENDANT UPON ME, and expect me to accept him as my equal. He

leaves my house and sets up a SEPARATE house for himself. He starts a family for himself, and by being able to provide the necessities of life for himself and his family, he proves that he is independent of me. His ability to make himself independent of me proves that he is a man.

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

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

#### Lived Like Children

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

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

#### Economic Future

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

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

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

Why then are the masses of our people still jobless and

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

#### Leaders Failed

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

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

#### Separate Territory

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

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

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



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# What Courier Readers Think

## Muslim vs. Moslem!

To the Editor:

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

This man can't be a real Muslim. He probably is an American Negro who is Christian, but is posing as a Muslim just to lend "an-

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

and writes just like the white man, and will always waste much time an energy attacking the Hon. Elijah Muhammad because Mr. Muhammad is the only Black Man in America with sufficient nerve, wisdom and "following" to be independent of the white man and hit him where it really hurts in the struggle for the freedom of the people.

MALCOLM X  
New York City, N. Y.

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

11 The Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Date: 10-6-62  
Edition: New York  
Author:  
Editor: William G. Nunn  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Pittsburgh

100-399321  
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149 OCT 23 1962

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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## SO THEY SAY

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

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

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

2 CHICAGO SUN-TIMES  
 Chicago, Illinois

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

Character:

or

Classification: 100-33593  
 Submitting Office: Chicago

100-399321-A

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184 FEB 6 1963

62 FEB 7 1963

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 Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Justice Mocked At Muslim Trial In New York City

Thousands Stage Mass  
 Protest, Hit Upsurge  
 Of Police Brutality

By JOSEPH WALKER  
 (MUHAMMAD SPEAKS CORRESPONDENT)

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

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

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

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

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

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Malcolm K. Little

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

In view of the protest registered by Malcolm X over the decision — which shocked the entire courtroom — arrange-

ments will be made for a discussion with Mayor Robert Wagner concerning police brutality and harassment of Muslims, asserted Leslie Sloats assistant to Mayor Wagner.

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

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

PATROLMAN RAYMOND Sullivan charged in his court testimony that Morton was blocking subway entrance,

bumped into a woman, and refused to move when he was requested to do so.

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

Cross examining Patrolman Sullivan, Defense Attorney Edward Jacko brought out that no one had complained to police about the defendants

blocking the subway entrance, that the officer had observed the Muslims making numerous sales; that when he took Morton into custody he did not tell him he was under arrest, and that there was a significant difference between what Patrolman Sullivan recorded after the affair in his official memo book and what he later charged in his court complaint.

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

## In Times Square

### 2 'Guilty' Of Selling Newspaper

(Continued from Page 4)

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

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

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

Defense Counsel Jacko in his



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

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

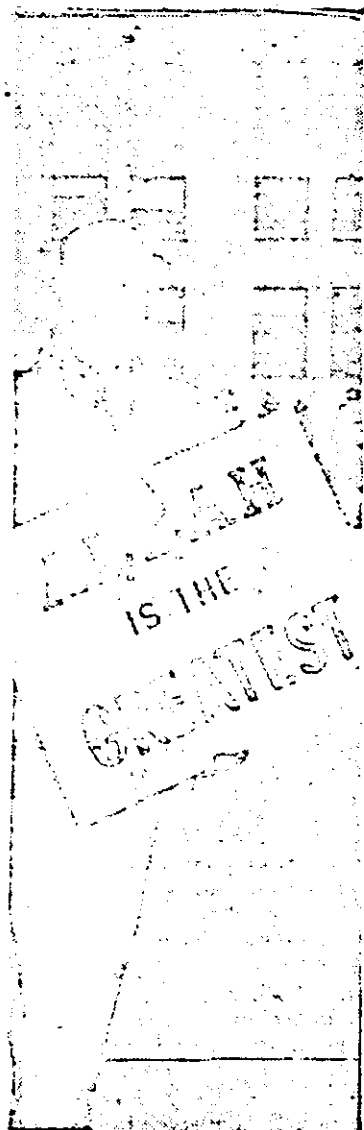
Jacko observed that the profane language allegedly used by the defendants was not recorded in Patrolman Sullivan's

memo book and charged that it was "solely an afterthought when other minds came into play."

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

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

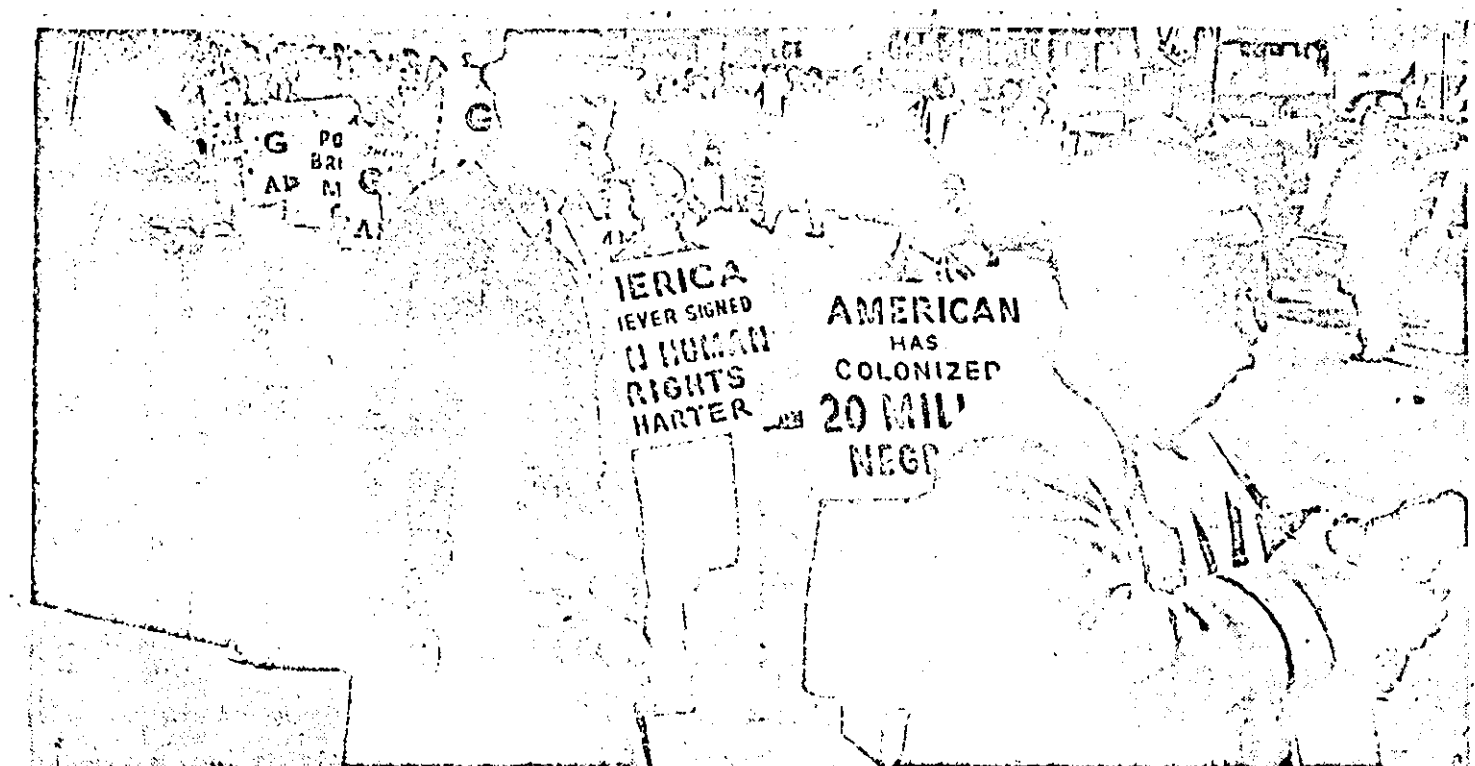
MANY OF THOSE in and outside the courtroom then moved on to City Hall where they were joined by others in a solemn march. They later carried their dignified protest to Times Square.



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



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



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



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Mr. Tolson	_____
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Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

# Black Muslim Aide Berates Whites

*Annual Convention Cheers  
Harangue by Malcolm X*

(Other Pictures on Back Page)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Earlier speakers had praised Muhammad in terms varying from "lord of the world" to "a



**MALCOLM X**

"Give us some states,  
white man."

little black man who really  
knocks you out."

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

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

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

43 CHICAGO DAILY NEWS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: February 27, 1963

Edition: Red Dart

Author:

Editor: JOHN STANTON

Title: NATION OF ISLAM;

Character:

or

Classification: 100-35635

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

100-399321-A  
NOT RECORDED  
184 MAR 6 1963

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Mr. Tolson	_____
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Mr. Evans	_____
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Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

# TOWER TICKER

By Herb Lyon

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

*Malcolm Little*

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

CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: FEBRUARY 28, 196  
Edition: 3 SEAR REPORTS  
Author: HERB LYON  
Editor: W. D. MAXWELL  
Title: NATION OF ISLAM;

Character:

or

Classification: 100-35635  
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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NOT RECORDED  
184 MAR 6 1963

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Associated Press

### Muslim Message

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

54 MAR 10 1963

100-399321-A  
 NOT RECORDED  
 184 MAR 14 1963

The Washington Post and Times Herald 77  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
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# Malcolm Asks For Plague On Whites

By BILL DOWELL

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

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

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

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

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

ed.

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

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

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

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

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

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The Daily Tar Heel  
 Page 1  
 (University of  
 North Carolina,  
 Chapel Hill, N. C.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

## — Malcolm X —

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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## Muslim Leader Says His Group Not Anti-Anybody

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

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

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

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

### Says Integration Won't Work

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

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

Integration won't work, Little said, "because no white people are going to allow us to live with them on an equal basis." "You have already withdrawn yourselves from us," he said.

### Attacks Southern Whites

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

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

Among his assertions were: The southern white is more afraid of separation than integration.

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

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

### Says Leaders Want Power

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

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

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

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

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

### "In Throes of Growing Pains"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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BUFFALO EVENING NEWS,  
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

BUFFALO FILE:

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Date: 4/25/63

Edition: COMPLETE

Author: FINANCIAL

Editor:

Title: MALCOLM LITTLE,  
aka, MALCOLM X

Character: IS-NOI

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Is Negro Ticket in Offing?

# Muslim Leader Poses Political Action Issue

By George Breitman

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

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

The only direct quotations attributed to Muhammad were these:

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

"Black people in America must elect their own candidates instead



Malcolm X

of merely existing under those chosen by the descendants of the slaveholders who are primarily interested in keeping the slave-master's children in a servent status.

"Our future lies in electing our own."

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

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

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

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

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

1) It would strengthen movements to elect Negro representatives to public office. More Negro

candidates would run, . . . would be elected. We might see the appearance of local Negro parties, even a national one.

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

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

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

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

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

#### Hitting Pipe?

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

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



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

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

The withdrawal of Negroes into a party of their own would signal the doom of the Democratic Party as a major national party. Deprived of the Negro vote (it now gets around three-quarters of that), the Democrats would be unable to win elections in the key

Northern states, and the reactionary Southern Democrats would quickly take over undisputed control of what would be left of the party.

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

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

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

began as the independent action of a minority could end as the reconstruction of society by a majority.

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



Powell

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## An Anti-Crime Rally

Malcolm X  
On a Mission16 By Sue Solet  
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Herald Tribune photo by NAT YEN  
Malcolm X Little

Prepared For  
Campaign

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

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

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

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

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

Leader Ordered  
Him to Capital

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

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

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

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

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**Muslim to Speak**

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

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UPI-36

(BLACK MUSLIMS)

WASHINGTON--"MALCOLM X" ARRIVED YESTERDAY TO TAKE CHARGE OF A CAMPAIGN TO EXPAND THE BLACK MUSLIM MOVEMENT IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL. AT AN AIRPORT NEWS CONFERENCE, WHICH BEGAN CALMLY BUT ENDED RATHER STORMILY MALCOLM X ASSERTED THAT:

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

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

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

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

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

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## 20 Million Muslims By '70, Leader Predicts

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

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

The Sunday meeting will be

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

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

"We will discuss problems faced by the Negroes among ourselves . . . excluding out-

siders to save anybody any embarrassment when they want to get up and say what they think," he explained.

### Committed Crimes

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

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

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

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

### Predicts Action

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

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

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

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

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

If the Muslims were at the leadership level in Birmingham there would be no disorder, Malcolm X explained, because they would teach the Negroes "to stand on our own feet and

bring our own community up to par rather than forcing ourselves on the white man."

#### Would Separate Races

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

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

Birmingham Negroes, he said, should kill "the two or four legged dogs which attack them." If Muslims were involved in the Birmingham protests, he said, they would defend themselves against the police dogs

and policemen who attack them with nightsticks and fire hoses.

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

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# Minister Blasts Mayor

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

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

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

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

The text of his message follows.

DEAR MR. MAYOR:

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

YOUR OWN open contempt for

(Continued on page 3)

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date 6-7-63  
 Muhammad Speaks  
 Page 1

NOT RECORDED  
 149 JUN 26 1963

# Blasts L.A. Cops As Kluxers!

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

These two vicious looking white men had followed us from the airport in a green 59 Chevrolet, license No. KGL966. And when we reached a poorly lighted section of the city, they forced us to the curb at gun-point. One of the

two white men thrust a police 38. pistol through the window into our faces and ordered us from the car while the other covered us with a sawed-off shotgun.

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

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

THEY BECAME shaky after we had clearly identified ourselves and their search revealed there was nothing they could charge us with. Mr. Sherrill recognized one of them from the

current trial, and both of them admitted that they knew me as the Muslim minister from New York.

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

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

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





**Minister Malcolm X**

district attorney's office.

**EVER SINCE** this trial started 7 weeks ago the Los Angeles Police Department has stepped up its harassment of the Muslims throughout the Negro community trying to provoke another inci-

dent of violence that can again be blown up by the press and then used to influence the all-white jury's decision against us.

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

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

The seriousness of the incident demands an immediate investigation.

Very sincerely,

Minister Malcolm X  
National Representative  
of the Honorable Elijah  
Muhammad

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 Rosen ☒  
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 Tavel ☐  
 Trotter ☐  
 Tele Room ☐  
 Holmes ☐  
 Gandy ☐

## Liberties Union Backs Services By Muslim Leader

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

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

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

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

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 NOT RECORDED  
 191 JUL 5 1963

JUN 28 1963

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 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holmes ☒  
 Gandy ☒

UPI-133

ADD RACIAL, NEW YORK (UPI-138)  
 BLACK MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X TOLD AN ESTIMATED 2,000 NEGROES AT A HARLEM RALLY TODAY THAT AMERICAN NEGROES "ARE AS MUCH SLAVES IN 1963 AS 1863."

AT ANOTHER RALLY NEARBY, A NEGRO INTEGRATION LEADER FROM MISSISSIPPI DECLARED THAT "TENSION IN MISSISSIPPI IS AT ITS HEIGHT." MALCOLM X TOLD A CHEERING CROWD THAT THE UNITED STATES IS MORE CONCERNED WITH "NAZI GERMANY THAN U.S. NEGROES."

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

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

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

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

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

6/29--W01019PED

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Black Muslim Speaks to 1,000 At Camden

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

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

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

## Mosques in 80 Cities

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

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

"The power of America is coming to an end.

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

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

## Wants to Emigrate

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

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

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

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

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

About 25 white persons attended the meeting.

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

3 The Evening Bulletin  
Phila., Pa.

Date: 7/1/63

Edition: Night Extra

Author:

Editor: WILLIAM B. DICKINSON

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: PHILA.

100-399321-A

NOT RECORDED

191 JUL 16 1963

60 JUL 16 1963

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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

UPI-84

(NEGRO MARCH)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8/13--GE137P

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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 191 AUG 30 1963

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

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mal-  
colm X, heir designate to ailing Elijah Poole's Black Muslim  
 cult, is readying his tell-all autobiography for Doubleday.

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

14 CHICAGO SUNDAY  
 TRIBUNE  
 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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

Character:  
 or

Classification: 100-33593  
 Submitting Office: CHICAGO

Under Investigation

100-399321-A

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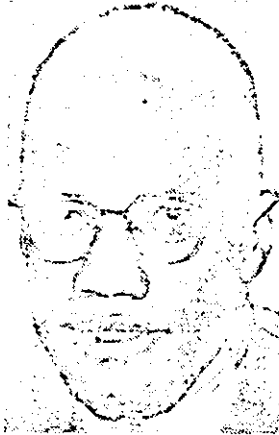
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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Negro Exodus to Africa Urged by Muslim Leader

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

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



MALCOLM X

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

## 400 ATTEND

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

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

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

"Our people remained slaves after the Declaration of Independence, which followed a war

fought to free white Americans from white Englishmen. They remained slaves after the Civil War, which was fought to preserve the Union for the benefit of white Americans.

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

## FORECASTS VIOLENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

64 Detroit News  
Detroit, Mich.

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

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Detroit

100-399321-11  
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in 100-399321  
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## Minister Malcolm Exposes 'Farce' of D.C. 'March'

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

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

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

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

people have the right to defend themselves."

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

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

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

Mrs. Jeanne Sherrell served as moderator.

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

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 141 NOV 14 1963

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

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MALCOLM LITTLE

b7C

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

33 CHICAGO DAILY NEWS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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

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

68 NOV 20 1963

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malcolm Little

100-39932-A  
NOT RECORDED  
126 NOV 18 1963

# MALCOLM X GETS A MUSLIM REBUKE

Leader Is Silenced After  
Slurs on Kennedy

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



The New York Times

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Date 12-5-63

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**MUSLIM LEADER IS SUSPENDED**

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

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

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

make me sad; they've always made me glad."

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

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

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22

CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 12-5-63  
Edition: 3 STAR FINAL  
Author:  
Editor: W. D. MAXWELL  
Title:

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

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58 DEC 18 1963

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NOT RECORDED  
141 DEC 18 1963

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Muslim Aide Suspended For JFK Comment

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



MALCOLM X

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

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

### Rally Addressed

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

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

### What It Means

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

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

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

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

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

26

CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 12-5-63

Edition:

Author: 5 STAR FINAL TUR

Editor:

JOHN G. TREZEVANT

Title:

NOI

Character:

or

100-35635

Classification:

CHICAGO

Submitting Office:

NOT RECORDED

141 DEC 18 1963

Investigation

100-399321-A

NOT RECORDED

141 DEC 18 1963

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100-399321

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# Malcolm X Suspended for JFK Death Remark

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



Malcolm X

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

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

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

Malcolm X—who dropped his surname of Little because "My

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 CHICAGO AMERICAN  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 12-5-63  
Edition: GREEN STREAK  
Author:  
Editor: LUKE CARROLL  
Title:

NOI

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

Under Investigation

100-399321-4  
NOT RECORDED  
141 DEC 18 1963

file 100-399321

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# Malcolm X Suspended As Head Of New York Muslims

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

"Malcolm Shabazz, as of December 1, 1963, in speaking at the Manhattan Center, spoke for himself and not

for the Muslim movement. As of then and as of now he has been suspended, at least for the time being," Samuel Hamit, editor of Muhammad Speaks, said in a prepared statement, read from Chicago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 NEW YORK COURIER

12/7/63

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor: W. Beverly Carter

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-399321-A  
NOT RECORDED  
141 DEC 20 1963

74 DEC 20 1963

file 100-399321

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

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

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

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

b7C

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

***The Suspension of Malcom X***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

34 THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES  
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

Date: 12/8/63  
Edition:  
Author: MARTIN S. OCHS  
Editor: MARTIN S. OCHS  
Title:

Character:  
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Classification:  
Submitting Office: KNOXVILLE

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46 DEC 24 1963

74 DEC 24 1963  
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file 100-399321



# Muslim Explains Program to CCNY Students

By Karen Stone

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

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

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

"The Negro in this country is dead. He has been killed by the greatest brainwashing device ever

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

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

## What Happened

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

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

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

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

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Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b7C

*Malcolm X Little*

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

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266  
100-399221-4  
NOT RECORDED  
67 DEC 30 1963

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

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

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

## Charge Persecution

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

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

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

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

U.S. Court of Appeals Judge F. Ryan Duffy in Chicago, however, took a ~~warmer~~ approach when Thomas Cooper, a prisoner in

Statesville, Ill., serving a 200-year term, appealed a lower court decision and charged that prison officials were violating his civil rights and depriving him of the right to worship.

In his decision Judge Duffy took notice of the State Attorney General's request to take "judicial notice of certain social studies which showed that the Black Muslims movement despite its pretext of a religious facade, is an organization that outside of prison walls has for its objective the overthrow of the white race." The Attorney General went on to point out that inside prison walls the group has an impressive history of inciting riots and violence. Judge Duffy finally ruled that "it seems clear that Illinois may suppress movements that otherwise would be constitutionally protected when they have violence as their objective."

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

Little

F-225

61 JAN 7 1964

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

2 NEW YORK COURIER

Date: 12/14/63  
Edition:  
Author: W. Beverly  
Editor: Carter  
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☐ Being Investigated

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NOT RECORDED  
JAN 14 1964

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# Muzzling of Malcolm X For Indefinite Period

By MAJOR ROBINSON  
(Of The New York Courier)

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

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

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

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

and interviews in top publications.

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

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

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

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

Committed to the philosophy of a separate Negro state, either in this country or somewhere abroad, the Muslims have

typed a "hate" organization. In numerous speeches Malcolm and other top officials of the sect frowned on any attempts at integration and lambasted the NAACP, CORE, Urban League and other interracial groups striving for full and integrated equality in America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 NEW YORK  
COURIER

Little

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Author: Beverly Carter  
Editor:  
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128 JAN 6 1964

61 JAN 7 1964

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## Muzzling Malcolm X

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

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

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

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

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

8 NEW YORK COURIER

New York

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Author:

Editor: W. Beverly Carter

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128 JAN 12 1964

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## This, Too, Is Bigotry

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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

PAGE 6

ARIZONA REPUBLIC

PHOENIX, ARIZONA

Date: 12/26/63  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor: J. EDWARD MURRAY  
Title: NATION OF ISLAM  
IS - NOI  
Character:  
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Classification: 105-93  
Submitting Office: PHOENIX  
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.../ Insiders are predicting a split in the Black Muslims. Malcolm X, ousted as No. 2 man in the organization, may form a splinter group to oppose Elijah Muhammed.

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

36 CHICAGO SUN TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 1-3-64  
Edition: 5 STAR FINAL TUR  
Author: JIM GUINN  
Editor: JOHN G. TREZEVAN  
Title:

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Classification: CHICAGO  
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Submitting Office:

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128 JAN 15 1964

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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



**THE CHALLENGER AND FRIENDS —** Malcolm  
 X leader of the Black Muslim movement  
 in New York City is shown with his family  
 and Cassius Clay, at Clay's training camp  
 in Miami, Fla. Minister Malcolm and his  
 family were guests of the challenger for  
 the heavyweight boxing title — the world

and were celebrating their wedding anni-  
 versary. From left in the photo are Minister  
 Malcolm's wife, Betty, daughter Attilah,  
 Minister Malcolm, daughter Qubilah, Clay  
 and baby daughter Ilyasah. (Photo by  
 Robert Hoggins)

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

1 New York  
 Courier

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2/1/64

Date:

Edition:

Author: Beverly Carter

Editor:

Title:

Character:

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Submitting Office:

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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Say Malcolm X Barred From Chicago Meeting

NEW YORK—Malcolm X, militant and outspoken stalwart of the Black Muslims, will not attend the Chicago convention of the group, according to a story in the New York Amsterdam News.

The story followed a series of rumors, denied by Muslims in Chicago, that Malcolm is locked in a "power struggle" with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the sect. The Chicago convention is set for Feb. 26.

Malcolm was suspended by the Muslim leader in early December during the period of national mourning for President Kennedy when Malcolm was said to have made remarks critical of the late President.

"We expect some 2,000 delegates and all Muslims who are in good standing can attend. Since Malcolm is still under suspension, he is not in good standing," John Ali, national secretary of Muhammad's Mosque, reportedly told a correspondent of the Amsterdam News.

Because Malcolm's suspension from normal activities is "indefinite," Ali said, "it would be unlikely to assume that it

would be lifted before the convention." The sole decision, according to Ali, is up to Muhammad, who is now in Phoenix, Arizona.

It seems that the suspension is not something that would be determined by other ministers and officials who attend the convention.

Following his suspension, Malcolm remains silent in his New York residence, and has not made any public or religious appearances at Mosque No. 7, of which he was the former minister. Visiting Muslim leaders from around the country have appeared to take over Malcolm's duties at the Mosque. A large delegation of New Yorkers have chartered planes to fly to the one-day convention.

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

4 CHICAGO DEFENDER  
CHICAGO, ILLINOI

Date: 2-17-64  
 Edition: WEEKLY  
 Author:  
 Editor: JOHN SENGSTACKE  
 Title:

NOI  
 Character:  
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 Classification: CHIC/BO  
 Submitting Office: 100-3563

100-399321-A Under Investigation  
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 128 MAR 4 1964

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(ONLY FOR PAPERS PURCHASING LEWIS COLUMN. OTHERS MUST NOT USE.)  
(CAUTION: ADVANCE 1 IS COLUMN FOR RELEASE MON. 7, FEBRUARY 24,  
A.M. AND P.M. PAPERS. MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THAT DATE.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

COPYRIGHT, 1964, KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, INC.

WASHINGTON, FEB. 23 -- A bitter struggle for control of the  
fanatic Black Muslim movement has broken out.

The protagonists: Malcolm X, a fiery, self-admitted recovered  
narcotics addict who has been the Muslims' leading spokesman in recent  
years; and Elijah Muhammad, a self-styled Messenger of Allah who has  
been the country's Muslim-in-Chief for three decades.

Malcolm was suspended by Muhammad for an indefinite period three  
months ago "for making wisecracks about the assassination of President  
Kennedy."

The remarks were but an excuse to muzzle Malcolm, Muhammad's only  
rival. A confidential government report reveals that Malcolm "has not  
taken this disciplinary action gracefully and he has attempted to  
develop support among other leaders of the Black Muslims in other  
sections of the country."

Malcolm has reportedly won to his side the influential New York  
faction. Chicago leaders -- many of whom are sons and daughters of  
Muhammad -- have stuck by their leader.

There have been efforts to characterize the Muslim rift as a  
contest between moderates and extremists with Malcolm leading the  
radical contingent. Such an observation is folly.

In June, 1962, a plane carrying 130 Americans crashed in Paris,  
killing all aboard. Malcolm then laid down Muhammad's line in a Los  
Angeles speech:

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

"And I got a wire from God today."

At this point Malcolm was interrupted by wild laughter.

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

Frenzied cheering then broke out.

"He gets rid of them in one whoop...But thanks to God, or  
Jehovah, or Allah, we will continue to pray and we hope that every day  
a white man will fall out of the sky."

Muhammad, the alleged moderate, proclaims "the devil is the  
white man -- the white man is a doomed race." Muhammad's teaching holds  
that white men were "by nature created as liars and murderers; they are  
the enemies of truth and righteousness, and the enemies of those who  
seek the truth...the human beast -- the serpent, the dragon, the devil,  
and Satan -- all mean one and the same: the people or race known as  
the white or Caucasian race."

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Muhammad comes close to preaching outright sedition. His followers dodge the draft. He speaks knowingly of the "Battle of Armageddon" and has promised that "white rule in the United States will be overthrown by 1970."

Muslims are forbidden to eat pork. A Muslim minister explained why: "The hog is dirty, quarrelsome, greedy, ugly, foul, a scavenger which thrives on filth. It is a parasite to all other animals. It will even kill and eat its own. Do you agree? In short the hog has all the characteristics of a white man."

The dispute between Malcolm and Muhammad may come out into the open at the Muslims' upcoming convention. More than 2,000 delegates are expected to attend and it is not known if Malcolm will be seated.

"All Muslims who are in good standing can attend," a Muslim spokesman said the other day. Whether that includes Malcolm is not known.

Minister Lonnie 3X, a Muslim leader in the District of Columbia, refused comment when asked about the Malcolm-Muhammad feud.

###

(REO)

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# Cassius Clay May Back Malcolm If Black Muslim Group Divides

By MAJOR ROBINSON  
 Of The New York Courier

The absence of Malcolm X, controversial and fiery leader of the Muslims local Mosque, from the convention of the black sect in Chicago Wednesday, has spurred rumors that he has ended his association with Elijah Muhammad and would soon announce the formation of a new group.

The guest of heavyweight champ Cassius Clay for the past month in Miami, Malcolm X has been unusually quiet since his suspension as New York spokesman for the Muslims last November when he made alleged derogatory remarks concerning the death of the late President, John F. Kennedy.

Attempts to learn whether his suspension is a temporary or a permanent one met with stony silence at the Muslims' headquarters in Chicago. Many insist that Muhammad's immediate family resented the status of Malcolm as the most quoted in the newspapers and on TV of the Muslims.

## Denies Membership

Though he has denied his affiliation with the Muslims, the Courier learned that the newly-crowned heavyweight champ, Cassius Clay, is solidly in Malcolm's corner and would lend the influence of his nation-wide standing to any efforts of his friend to establish a cult of his own.

For the past few years Clay has flirted with the idea of becoming a "silent worshipping" of the Muslims. In Miami, a few weeks ago his father admitted

that his son was a member. Clay did attend a Muslim meeting in Philadelphia in the fall last year.

Considered the strongest and most powerful of the Muslim leaders, Malcolm's New York followers are more militant than

their Chicago brothers, whom they consider as being conservative.

An insider told the Courier that Malcolm wants to participate more actively with other Negro groups in every phase of the cur-

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

1 NEW YORK COURIER

Date: 2/29/64  
 Edition:  
 Author:  
 Editor: W. Beverly Cart  
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Character:  
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 Submitting Office: Pgh.  
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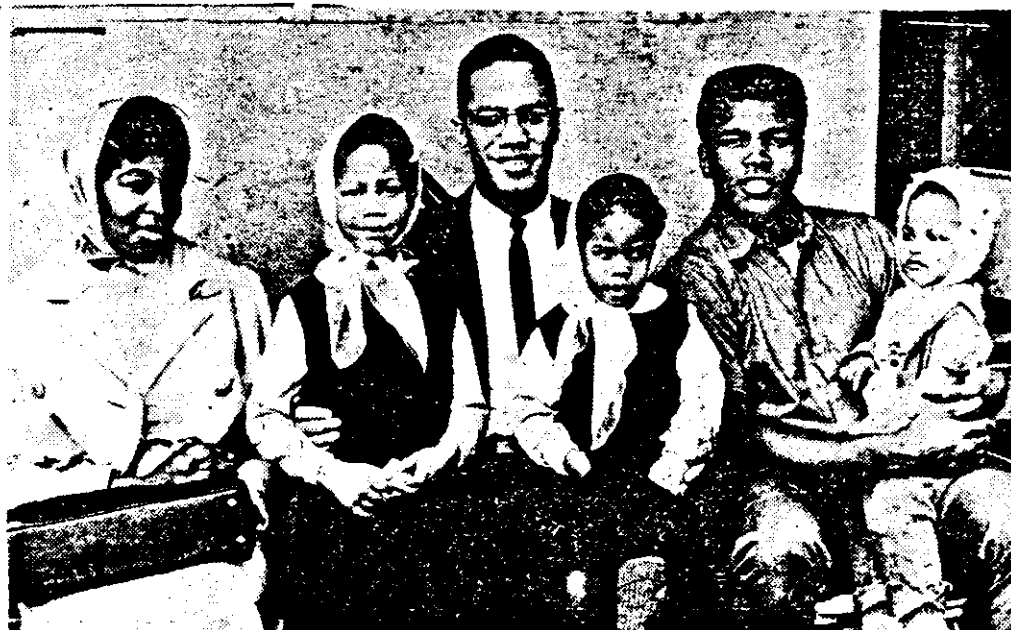
rent Negro revolution, while Muhammad's inner circle is satisfied with their present image.

Another factor in Malcolm's favor is that the business interests of the New York Mosque have multiplied and prospered, creating employment for many Negroes. They point out that the Windy City faction hasn't fared this well and jealousies have developed as a result.

In any attempt to go out on his own Malcolm would need money to start from scratch. With the backing of Clay he could find support from as many as 75 per cent of those who belong to the New York temple.

At the one-day Chicago convention, the 5,000 members expected to be in attendance were to be addressed by Elijah Muhammad, who flew in from Phoenix where he stays most of the time due to failing health. The words he uttered there could be the tip-off to whether Malcolm stayed or quit as a member of the sect.

Lewis Michaux, president of the African Nationalist Council in America, wired Muhammad to give careful judgment before he condemned Malcolm X. He is regarded as being sympathetic to the latter and has supported him in the past.



**HE'S THE GREATEST** — Champ Cassius Clay is shown above with his friend Malcolm X, Muslim minister of New York and Malcolm's family. This photograph was taken several weeks ago while Clay was training for the world's heavyweight champion-

ship which he won Tuesday night in Miami. Malcolm was Clay's guest for a month in Florida. Speculation continues that Clay may support the fiery Malcolm if the Muslim movement splits.

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# Report Clay, Malcolm X Plan New Organization

NEW YORK — Malcolm X, suspended New York leader of the Black Muslims, may soon break his ties with the group and form a new organization with the backing of new heavyweight champion Cassius Clay, according to Major Robinson, writer for the New York Courier.

Malcolm was recently suspended from all of his former official duties as minister of Mosque No. 7, in New York's Harlem area, when he made some allegedly derogatory remarks concerning the death of late President John F. Kennedy.

He was suspended by Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Muslims.

Robinson states he learned that "the newly-crowned heavyweight champ, Cassius Clay, is solidly in Malcolm's corner and would lend the influence of his nation-wide standing to any efforts of his friend to establish a cult of his own."

In Miami, several weeks ago, Clay's father told the press that his son was a member and, in fact, did attend a Muslim confab last fall in Philadelphia, Pa.

Robinson's article points out that the Muslims in New York are much more direct and militant.

"An insider said," Robinson wrote, "that Malcolm wants to participate more actively with other Negro groups in every phase of the current Negro revolution while Muhammad's inner circle, is satisfied with their present image."

Several "omens" are in Malcolm's possession, Robinson says, should the Muslim leader decide upon forming a splinter group.

Robinson also points out the fact that "business interests of the New York mosque have multiplied and prospered, creating employment for many Negroes."

Lewis Michaux, president of the African Nationalist Council in America, Robinson said, "wished Muhammad to give

careful judgement before he condemned Malcolm. He is regarded as being sympathetic to the latter and has supported him in the past."

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*Benjamin*

10 CHICAGO DEFENDER  
 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 3-2-64  
 Edition: WEEKLY  
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 Editor: JOHN SENGSTACKE  
 Title:  
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UPI-203

(MALCOLM X)

OPPRESSED

NEW YORK--FORMER BLACK MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X SUGGESTED TONIGHT THAT NEGROES WHO ARE ~~OPPOSED~~ BY SEGREGATIONISTS "SHOULD HAVE A SHOT GUN OR RIFLE" WITH WHICH TO RETALIATE.

MALCOLM, WHO SPLIT WITH THE MUSLIMS DURING THE WEEKEND TO ORGANIZE HIS OWN BLACK NATIONALIST PARTY, SAID IN A TELEVISION INTERVIEW ("WALTER CRONKITE WITH THE CBS EVENING NEWS") THAT IN SOME PARTS OF THE COUNTRY NEGROES ARE BEING "BRUTALIZED" BY SEGREGATIONISTS.

"I THINK THAT EVERYONE OF THOSE NEGROES SHOULD HAVE A SHOT GUN OR A RIFLE WITH WHICH HE SHOULD ALWAYS OBEY THE LAW," MALCOLM SAID, "BUT ANYTIME ANY SEGREGATIONIST OR WHITE SUPREMIST BIGOT MAKES ANY EFFORT WHATSOEVER TO BRUTALIZE THE NEGRO, THAT NEGRO SHOULD HAVE A SHOT GUN OR A RIFLE AND HE SHOULD USE IT TO DEFEND HIMSELF."

MALCOLM WAS NOT INVITED TO THE FEB. 26 BLACK MUSLIM CONVENTION IN CHICAGO, THE REASON SOURCES HAVE GIVEN FOR HIS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE CULT.

HE SAID BLACK NATIONALISM "IS THE POLITICAL CONCEPT IN WHICH THE BLACK PEOPLE ARE STRIVING FOR A NATION OF THEIR OWN. THEY ARE EXPRESSING A DESIRE TO CONTROL THEIR OWN POLITICAL DESTINY, BEING IN COMPLETE CONTROL OF THEIR OWN POLITICS."

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UPI-204

CORRECTION:

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE



# MALCOLM X SPLITS WITH MUHAMMAD

## Suspended Muslim Leader Plans Black Nationalist Political Movement

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X broke last night with Elijah Muhammad's Chicago-based Black Muslim movement and announced that he was organizing a politically oriented "black nationalist party."

He said the party would seek to convert the Negro population from nonviolence to active self-defense against white supremacists in all parts of the country.

"I remain a Muslim," Malcolm said, "but the main emphasis of the new movement will be black nationalism as a political concept and form of social action against the oppressors."

"I have reached the conclusion," he said, "that I can best spread Mr. Muhammad's message by staying out of the Nation of Islam and continuing to work on my own among America's 22 million non-Muslim Negroes."

### Had Been Suspended

Malcolm has been under suspension by Mr. Muhammad as the New York leader of the separatist Black Muslim movement.

He asserted last night that the movement had "gone as far as it can" because it was too narrowly sectarian and too inhibited.

"I am prepared," Malcolm said, "to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere and shall do so because every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society."

Malcolm said he had accepted

Continued On Page 42, Column 1

# MALCOLM X SPLITS WITH MUHAMMAD

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

an invitation to help a civil rights committee in Plaquemines Parish (County), La.

"There is no use deceiving ourselves," Malcolm said. "Good education, housing and jobs are imperatives for the Negroes, and I shall support them in their fight to win these objectives, but I shall tell the Negroes that while these are necessary, they cannot solve the main Negro problem."

### Deception Charged

Malcolm continued:

"I shall also tell them that what has been called the 'Negro revolution' in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year."

"I shall tell them what a real revolution means—the French Revolution, the American Revolution, Algeria, to name a few. There can be no revolution without bloodshed, and it is nonsense to describe the civil rights movement in America as a revolution."

Malcolm said Elijah Muhammad had prevented him from participating in civil rights struggles in the South although he had had many opportunities to do so.

"It is going to be different now," Malcolm said. "I'm going to join in the fight wherever Negroes ask for my help, and I suspect my activities will be on a greater and more intensive scale than in the past."

### Would Speak at College

"I shall also accept all important speaking engagements at colleges and universities," Malcolm said, "because I find that most white students are more attuned to the times than their parents and realize that something is fundamentally wrong in this country."

Malcolm has spoken at more than 20 colleges and universities, including Harvard and Yale. He said his popularity as a university speaker had aroused the animus and jealousy of Elijah Muhammad's family.

Malcolm said his chief opponents in the Chicago headquarters were Elijah Muhammad's son-in-law, Raymond Sharrief, head of the Fruit of Islam (security guard) and Akbar Muhammad, Elijah's son.

They feared, according to Malcolm, that Malcolm's national reputation as a Black Muslim leader would make him the natural heir to leadership of the movement.

Malcolm said that jealousy and personal rivalry were responsible for his suspension last December.

"Envy," Malcolm said, "blinds men and makes it impossible for them to think clearly. This is what happened."

Malcolm's speech at Manhattan Center after President Kennedy's death was only the excuse for his suspension, Malcolm said. In that speech Malcolm declared that Mr. Kennedy's assassination was a case of the "chickens coming home to roost."

Malcolm contended that his phrase had been misinterpreted. He said he had meant that a spread of social hatred had created an atmosphere that made assassination possible.

Malcolm said he had not been invited to the annual Black Muslim convention in Chicago on Feb. 26. Later, he said, he telephoned Elijah Muhammad and requested clarification of his status.

He received a letter from Mr. Muhammad that left the question unanswered, he said.

Malcolm said he decided then that the time had come for him to act, but that he would not set himself up as a rival to Mr. Muhammad or provoke him.

### Plans New York Base

Malcolm declared that his first task would be to construct an organization based in New York. He said that he was supported by many Negro intellectuals and professionals who could not accept Islam but accepted the Black Muslim view of race relations in the United States.

Malcolm contended that Negroes were dissatisfied with the progress of the civil rights movement and that this had created the basis for a successful black nationalist political movement. He declared:

"The white power structure is hopeful that the civil rights leaders will channel the demands and the bitterness of the Negroes into a token painless compromise. They are mistaken. The white leaders don't realize the extent to which the civil rights leaders have deceived them about the true feelings of the Negroes."

"Another thing. The Negroes still don't understand the power of the ballot in the North. We must make them understand that the Negro voters have it in their power to decide next November whether Johnson stays in the White House or goes back to his Texas cotton patch."

Malcolm said he was not trying to split the Muslims.

"I want it clearly understood that my advice to all Muslims is that they stay in the Nation of Islam under the spiritual guidance of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. It is not my desire to encourage any of them to follow me," he said.

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## Malcolm X to Start Own Muslim Group

NEW YORK, March 8 (AP) — The New York Times said tonight that Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, once chief spokesman for the antiwhite organization, has left the movement and formed his own group.

Malcolm said the Black Muslims were "too narrow and too inhibited to participate in the national struggle," The Times said, explaining he was forming a broad-based, politically oriented party.

Malcolm once was considered heir apparent to Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, whose headquarters are in Chicago.

"I remain a Muslim," Malcolm said, "but the main emphasis of the new movement will be black nationalism as

a political concept and form of social action against the oppressors."

Malcolm declared that the present Black Muslim movement has "gone as far as it can" because it is "too narrowly sectarian and too inhibited."

"I am prepared," he said, "to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere and shall do so because every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society."

Malcolm has taken credit for the conversion of heavy-weight champion Cassius Clay to the Black Muslims.

*Washington Post*

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# Muslim Leader Rules Out Violence in Aide Split

By DON CARSON  
 Associated Press Staff Writer

The leader of the Black Muslims declared last night that a reported split with his top aide would not lead to Negro violence.

"My people are more adapted to peace," Elijah Muhammad said. "They believe in peaceful solutions."

Muhammad, the 65-year-old leader of an estimated 275,000 Negroes, spoke during an interview in his southeast Phoenix home.

His eyes watered occasionally as he spoke about the defection of Malcolm X, considered the No. 2 man in the movement.

Malcolm X bolted the parent group Sunday to promote "active self defense against white supremacists." He declared that he was still a Muslim, but intended to work on his own.

"We are surprised," Muhammad said. "I never dreamed this man would deviate from the Nation of Islam. Every one of the Muslims admired him. But what he has said makes it definite. He has deviated."



MALCOLM X  
 'Sun-A Muslim'

"Maybe I'm a little too slow for him," Muhammad said. "He's energetic. But he has more brains than to start any violence. He doesn't have any guns, any ammunition."

Muhammad said his organization would continue to pursue the peaceful approach in his attempt "to follow the revelations which came to me from Allah."

Muhammad said the Muslims believe in separation of race only "if America will not give us equal justice."

Then he added: "I see no signs of equal justice."

If this is not attained, he said the Muslims ask that the "slave master and his slave be separated. Let us return where they brought us from, and if not that, then give us some territory and give a little start and let us live by ourselves."

"Instead of trying to tolerate dissatisfaction between white and black and mongrelize the nation, let us separate."

Predicting failure for any attempt at Negro violence, Muhammad said he felt Malcolm X's action would have no effect on the outcome of the Civil Rights bill pending in Congress or on the attitudes of the nation's 22 million non-Muslim Negroes.

He also revealed that he had contacted leaders in such Negro organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, but had received no answers yet.

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PAGE 39

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# Fiery Malcolm X plans own outfit

By RALPH MATTHEWS JR.

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Malcolm X has left the Black Muslim religious organization and will form his own revolutionary party.

"There can be no revolution without bloodshed," the fiery suspended official of the semi-secret sect headed by Elijah Muhammad said Sunday in announcing his break. "It is nonsense to describe the civil rights movement in America as a revolution."

The new organization Malcolm is establishing will have as a key goal teaching colored Americans "self-defense" against white racists.

IN SERVING notice that he was going it alone, Malcolm X said he felt the philosophy on non-violence stressed by civil rights organizations was a deception and that colored people would see they had been tricked "because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year."

He said he will make a formal statement Thursday in

Harlem outlining future plans and his official reasons for stepping aside as the number two spokesman for the militant movement headed by Elijah Muhammad.

In withdrawing from leadership of the Muslims, the fiery Malcolm, former name Malcolm Little, Muslim name Malcolm Shabazz, gives up his powerful post as spiritual leader of the thousands of Black Muslims based in the greater New York area.

Reports had been circulating for several weeks that Malcolm was splitting with Mr. Muhammad. The leader of the Muslims suspended his New York chieftain in December following Malcolm's comments on the assassination of President Kennedy.

Malcolm had stated publicly that the President's slaying

was "chickens coming home to roost."

Mr. Muhammad had suspended him from public speaking for an undetermined time after that.

MALCOLM BROKE his silence this weekend.

He told this reporter: "I don't intend to remain in the organization and I don't intend to make a public statement until Thursday."

"I can tell you that I am still a Muslim, I believe in Allah, I still believe in Mr. Muhammad."

But the tall bespectacled Malcolm added: "During this 90 days of silence," which referred to his suspension by the Muslim leader, "I decided I can do better work toward awakening and uniting colored people with Mr. Muhammad's message but on my own."

WHERE DOES Malcolm's decision to quit the Black Muslims leave Cassius Clay, new heavyweight boxing champion, who revealed after his Liston triumph that he was a follower of Islam?

Informed observers in Harlem say that Cassius will remain within the Black Muslim official family as a follower of Mr. Muhammad.

Asked about the reported plan for him to accompany Cassius on a tour of the Middle East Islamic countries, Malcolm disclaimed knowledge of such a trip. "I know nothing about any tour."

With Malcolm's defection, people close to the militant religious sect which takes Islam as its faith and combines love of Allah with the program to separate colored Americans from white America, are speculating on the New York leader's plans.

Some feel he would join forces with one or another of the Black Nationalist groups based in Harlem. Many think Malcolm will form a link with Lewis Michaux, a fervent black nationalist who advocates colored Americans returning to Africa for re-colonization.

IT IS ALSO reported that Malcolm's lieutenant

has decided to remain within the Black Muslims. Henry X and other ranking Muslims here have stated their intent to stay with Mr. Muhammad.

In leaving an organization whose membership estimates vary from 100,000 to half-a-million, the guessing game in Harlem now is how many of the Fruit of Islam will cast their lot with the stormy Malcolm, a man who renounced his past as a criminal and become one of the intellectual leaders of the colored Americans' current revolution.

MALCOLM also revealed this weekend that Elijah Muhammad had ordered him to not join the civil rights struggle in the South.

"It's going to be different now," he commented, adding that he would now be able to go anywhere colored people

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THE AMERICAN

BALTIMORE, MD.

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Edition: 5 Star

Author: RALPH MATTHEWS JR.

Editor:

Title: MALCOLM X

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Classification:

Submitting Office: Baltimore

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AFTER THE BREAK WITH HAMMAD

# Malcolm X says group will stress politics

By William Worthly

**B**ROTHER MALCOLM X—as he now designates himself as leader of the new Muslim Mosque, Inc.—hinted strongly March 12 that he will soon plunge into all-out political activity. The Negro leader, who recently broke with the Nation of Islam (Black Muslim) movement headed by Elijah Muhammad, told a crowded press conference at the Park Sheraton in New York: "We will keep our 1964 election plans a secret until a later date, but we don't intend for our people to be the victims of a political sellout again."

The Negro, Malcolm added, "will never be considered politically mature as long as he calls himself a Democrat or a Republican."

In answer to a question by Daniel Watts, editor of Liberator magazine, Malcolm said he didn't know at this point if he and his followers would co-operate with the recently organized all-Negro Freedom Now Party.

The site of the newly incorporated mosque has not been determined, but Malcolm is setting up personal headquarters at Harlem's Hotel Theresa.

**ABOUT COMMUNISTS:** In an exchange with a British reporter, Malcolm declined to rule out acceptance of possible Communist support. He resorted to one of his familiar parable-type responses to avoid a direct yes-or-no answer.

"Let me tell you a little story. It's like me being in a wolf's den. The wolf sees someone on the outside who is interested in freeing me from the den. The wolf doesn't like that person on the outside. But I don't care who opens that door and lets me out."

"Then your answer is yes?"

"No," replied Malcolm, grinning. "I'm talking about a wolf."

Malcolm's response to questions about his personal political plans struck a vein reminiscent of statements by active "non-candidates" early in a campaign.

"I've no plans to run for office, but I think Negroes who can't be bought out should be the type of person to run for office."

**MESSAGE TO MUHAMMAD:** Aides of the Muslim leader whom this reporter has previously seen around the Harlem mosque distributed copies of a telegram sent by Malcolm to Muhammad:

"I never left the Nation of Islam of my own free will. It was national officials in Chicago headquarters who conspired with the FBI to pressure me in New York to pressure me out of the Nation."

I have never spoken one word of criticism to the press about your family. You are still my leader and teacher, even though those around you won't let me be one of your active followers or helpers."

"Our political philosophy," Malcolm said in reference to his new movement, "will be black nationalism. Our economic and social philosophy will be black nationalism. Our cultural emphasis will be black nationalism."

**RIFLE CLUBS:** Malcolm called for the formation of rifle clubs "in areas where the government seems unable or unwilling to protect our people." In reply to a question about the danger that this might create of civil war, he declared: "What would you prefer? Civil war, or that Negroes should continue to have Birmingham?"

Malcolm compared the present civil rights bill in Congress to a handout of counterfeit money given hypocritically to a starving, desperate man. "If the civil rights bill passes," he said, "there will be trouble. If it doesn't pass, there will be trouble."

He challenged the government to prosecute him for advocating "active self-defense." "If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job [of protecting Negroes]," he said.

Malcolm indicated he expects to garner widespread popular support. "I'm intelligent enough," he said, "not to take what you call an extreme position if I didn't know that Negroes were behind me. You would not get me to stick my neck out alone."

He said the accent would be on youth. "We will call upon young students of political science throughout the nation to help us."

Malcolm said Cassius Clay, as heavyweight champion, could do more than anyone else to lift the morale of Negroes. He denied that the boxer is financing the new movement and said he had no plans to accompany Clay abroad. Malcolm indicated that whites can contribute financially, but cannot join his group.

"Whites always out-join blacks," he declared.

**EARLIER INTERVIEW:** In an interview with this reporter March 8, Malcolm was cautious in discussing strategy and plans. Asked what he meant by "active self-defense," he gave an indirect reply: "Any time colored people get tired of being victims, there will be bloodshed. Any time they bleed, that's not called bloodshed. Only when they retaliate and draw

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#### MALCOLM X ADDRESSING A RALLY IN HARLEM

*He says Negroes should defend themselves, unless government does*

blood from the other side does the daily press call it bloodshed." He added that anyone who turns the other cheek is a coward.

Malcolm indicated that his new mosque would be freer and more flexible than the Nation of Islam mosque: "It will have a religious base broad enough to allow for whatever action is necessary to solve the problems of our people, mentally, economically, politically, etc."

He called for all Negro organizations, including civil rights groups, to band together to fight police brutality and such measures as New York's newly enacted "stop-and-frisk" law which permits the police to stop and search people on the basis of suspicion alone.

**TALK WITH MUHAMMAD:** In a long-distance telephone conversation an hour earlier with Muhammad at his Phoenix home, I asked the Black Muslim leader: "Will Malcolm's announced withdrawal from the Nation of Islam change your orientation and program?"

Muhammad replied: "His departure will have no effect on us . . . I don't see how he could take such a contrary and,

ignorant way."

"Will you cooperate with civil rights groups, as Malcolm now says he will?"

"No, no, no. We have our own program. The only way we would cooperate is for them to accept Islam. My mission is divine. I'm under orders of Allah. God will take care of this race problem. There is no political solution."

Malcolm's return will not be solicited, Muhammad said. "When someone leaves us, we don't go after him," he declared.

Muhammad, a long time asthma sufferer, laughed when queried about a possible successor to him. "I don't have the tiniest thought who Allah would put in my place if I died," he said.

# MALCOLM X SEES RISE IN VIOLENCE

Says Negroes Are Ready to  
Act in Self-Defense

By M. J. HANDLER

Malcolm X predicted yesterday that there would be more racial violence than ever in the United States in 1964. He declared that "Negroes on the mass level" were ready to act in self-defense.

The Negro leader broke last Sunday with the separatist Nation of Islam, or Black Muslims, movement headed by Elijah Muhammad.

He announced then that he would organize a broadly based, politically oriented black-nationalist movement composed of Muslims, Christians, and non-believers who were intellectually and emotionally ready to follow the black nationalist banner.

Yesterday, at a news conference in the Park Sheraton Hotel here, Malcolm formally opened this drive.

"There will be more violence than ever this year," Malcolm told the reporters. "White people will be shocked when they discover that the passive little Negro they had known turns out to be a roaring lion. The whites had better understand this while there is still time. The Negroes at the mass level are ready to act. It is dangerous to deceive the white people into believing that all is well."

## Assails Nonviolence

Malcolm urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence in the civil rights struggle. He asserted:

"It is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law."

"In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality and the Government seems unable or unwilling to protect them," Malcolm said, "we should form rifle-clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham, Plaquemine, La., Cambridge, Md., and Danville, Va. When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs."

"We should be peaceful, law-abiding," Malcolm said. "But the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked."

"If the Government thinks I am wrong for saying this," he declared, "then let the Government start doing its job."

## Accompanied by Muslims

Despite his statement Sunday that he would not seek to take members away from Elijah Muhammad's movement, Malcolm arrived at the news conference accompanied by several Black Muslims who have presumably followed him out of the Chicago-based organization.

Malcolm's nonsectarian appeal to Negroes is apparently producing results. Christians who were formerly inhibited from joining the black nationalist movement because they did not want to join Islam are now coming to New York to confer with Malcolm.

One of those who attended the news conference was Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, the Negro social historian and author from Atlanta, who came to New York to see Malcolm. Dr. Lincoln is the author of an authoritative study of the Black Muslim movement.

## Headquarters Set Up

Malcolm announced that he had established temporary headquarters at the Theresa Hotel in Harlem and would soon open his own mosque for those of his followers who are Muslims.

He said the mosque would be a meeting place for Negroes of all religious persuasions who wanted to enter into discussions of the black nationalist movement.

Malcolm said his new movement was being financed by voluntary contributions. He said he would accept contributions from whites but that white people could never join the movement "because when whites join an organization they usually out-join it."

He said that while "internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced me out of it," he still regarded Elijah Muhammad as his spiritual leader and teacher.

Although a return to Africa is his ultimate goal, Malcolm said that this was a long-range prospect. In the meantime, he said, "22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education, and jobs right now."

He said that he was prepared to cooperate in civil rights action even though he opposed integration and favored complete separation as the only true solution for the Negro people.

In answer to a question, Malcolm said that Negroes could not consider themselves politically mature until they ceased regarding themselves as Democrats or Republicans.

Only when the two parties understand that they can no longer count on Negro votes, he said, will the "corrupt politicians" be swept out.

Questioned about the school integration dispute in New York, Malcolm said that he did not oppose any rational solution but that he believed the only real solution would be to improve the quality of the Negro schools.

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The New York Times

**PREDICTS RACIAL VIOLENCE:** Malcolm X, a leader of black nationalists, at news conference here yesterday.



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## — Malcolm X —

THERE IS LITTLE to be said about Malcolm X that responsible Negro leaders have not already said: That he damages the cause of equal rights, that his advocacy of violence under the fraudulent disguise of "self-defense" basely appeals to passion and hatred.

He is, we would say, far more concerned with power and vainglory than with the rights of Negroes. His own words convict him of having no deep convictions — for instance this statement: "I am too intelligent to take a stand as militant and controversial and, as you might say, extremist, unless I had some support."

Is not this the same as saying that he is too intelligent (or temporizing) to take a militant, controversial, extremist stand unless he found it expedient to do so?

Like all demagogues, of any race or color, he feeds on publicity and recognition. We grant him this small amount here only to join in the verdict against him that has been returned by the real leaders of his own race.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

THE EVENING SUN

THE SUNDAY SUN

THE BALTIMORE

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NEWS

MD.

Date: 3/15/64

Edition: FINAL

Author:

Editor: STERLING NOEL

Title: MALCOLM X

Character:

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Classification:

Submitting Office: BALTIMORE

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## Black Nationalism E-6

It was an interesting coincidence that the news of Malcolm X's defection from the Black Muslim movement came the same day that the Senate began debating the civil rights bill. There is a dialectical relationship between white and black supremacy, and the longer and more bitter the fight over civil rights legislation, the more it will profit the rabid movement Malcolm X represents. Extremes in this case reinforce each other—every foolish and hate-laden word uttered in the Senate against civil rights will find its echo in equally foolish and hateful black nationalist propaganda.

Malcolm X is the younger, smoother and more plausible disciple of Elijah Muhammad—or was, until he broke with the master because he felt that Mr. Muhammad was too narrowly sectarian. Now Malcolm X asserts that he is "prepared to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere." But it should be clear that the effect of his help may be more likely to demoralize and destroy the movement than to help it.

Black nationalists do not believe in desegregation; rather, they seek, as Malcolm X has said, "to heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society." Obviously, this objective will not be furthered by an orderly and just advancement of Negro claims against the white majority. Instead, black nationalism must grow by sowing despair and discord among Negroes.

Thus the movement stands in somewhat the same relationship to the broader civil rights campaign as did the American Communist Party to the liberal and labor causes of the 1930s. The Communists, too, were not interested in finding solutions to the social calamities of that period. They were interested in promoting tumult in order to heighten the political awareness of the proletariat and disrupt the processes of democracy in a capitalist society.

No doubt the civil rights leadership will be able to contain the black nationalist element. At the moment, the Negro separatist movement is not large, although like the Communists, it is capable of generating considerable noise. But it could grow at an alarming rate if Negroes come to feel that a promise made a century ago cannot be redeemed within the framework of democratic methods.

There is a note of menace in Malcolm X's assertion that "there can be no revolution without bloodshed." While this menace can be overstated, it is nevertheless real. It forms a cloud on the horizon as American democracy faces one of its supreme tests.

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# NEGROES PONDER MALCOLM'S MOVE

46  
Differ Over Significance of  
His Political Effort

By FRED POWLEDGE

Leaders of the civil rights movement here and in the South are weighing the significance of the decision last week by Malcolm X, the former Black Muslim leader, to start his own Negro nationalist political movement.

Some leaders think the slender, intense former convict will capture large numbers of Negro intellectuals and working-class people. Others think his popularity will exist only in relation to the amount of space and time the white man's newspapers and television networks spend on him.

Some see Malcolm's entry into the broader field of civil rights as a prelude to a bloody summer. Malcolm, who has advised Negroes to purchase weapons for self-defense, has predicted an increase in racial violence for the coming warm months.

A similar prediction was voiced frequently a year ago by close observers of the movement. But Negro frustration was effectively channeled into such nonviolent demonstrations as the March on Washington.

## Frustration Greater Now

This summer, these same sources say, the frustration is much greater and the traditional civil rights leaders have less control over their followers. "There have been no concrete victories for a long time," one observer said yesterday. "I am really scared about what Malcolm may be able to do."

Another acute observer of the movement, Bayard Rustin, believes that Malcolm's call to action may interest Negroes who formerly had shunned the Nation of Islam. Mr. Rustin, who coordinated the March on Washington last summer and other demonstrations, said in an interview:

"There are many elements in the Negro community—among the working class and among the intellectuals—who, out of the frustration of the current situation, have been deeply attracted to Malcolm's analysis but who rejected his synthesis."

"They're not interested in the separate state idea, or in the back-to-Africa thing, or in the religion," he said, listing three major aims of the Muslim movement. "But they do accept Malcolm's analysis of the evils that are being practiced on the Negro people."

Malcolm's influence will be diminished, Mr. Rustin said, by

"the degree to which the established civil rights organizations are more vigorous and develop a program which quite obviously affects the man in the street."

"God knows we fight," he said. "It's just that the situation gets worse all the time. Jobs get worse; housing gets worse; education gets worse."

The Rev. Richard A. Hildbrand, a leader here in the effort for equal employment opportunity, echoed Mr. Rustin's feelings. He said:

"I welcome anybody who is going to help the civil rights struggle, but I cannot condone violence. Malcolm X is a brilliant person. I have a feeling that we can work together as long as we can contain that philosophy of violence."

## Position Held Ridiculous

The Rev. Robert M. Kinloch, another local leader, called Malcolm's position ridiculous. "He's still preaching the same philosophy under a new brand name," Mr. Kinloch said.

Others in the civil rights movement expressed dismay at Malcolm's proposals. James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said the black nationalist was proposing a race war that Negroes could not win.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was reported not willing to discuss the subject.

Mrs. Gloria Richardson, whose civil rights movement in Cambridge, Md., has been abandoned by the national groups, said of Malcolm: "I think he can be helpful. He can offer something that has not been offered before."

James Forman, executive director of the Southern-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, agreed with Mr. Rustin that Malcolm's new position might be attractive to Negroes.

## Has Many Followers

"It opens up possibilities for people who certainly thought the Muslims had something to say," he declared, "but who reject the whole concept of the separate state and the religion. That cat does have a lot of followers outside of the [Muslim] temple."

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Mr. Forman, like the others who have been working over the last decade for effective integration, does not hate Malcolm X. The leaders rather view Malcolm as the brilliant spokesman for a philosophy radically different from their own—a philosophy about as radical as that voiced by Southern White Citizens' Councils and the Ku Klux Klan.

Some members of the civil rights movement predicted that a few Negro activists will use Malcolm's proposals as a means of threatening whites.

"It's the idea of using a man like this to frighten the people into giving us what we want."

one well-known leader said privately. "A lot of people are saying that we should let Malcolm scare the masses and Baldwin scare the intellectuals and Adam scare the politicians." The references were to James Baldwin, the author, and Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Democrat of Manhattan.

#### Finds Strength Artificial

Another leader, Whitney M. Young Jr. of the National Urban League, believes that Malcolm's strength is artificial—that it is created on paper and videotape by the press.

"I think a great deal of the visibility which Malcolm receives from the media is due to an unconscious sympathy on the part of many reporters and others with the notion of separatism," he said.

"Along comes a man like Malcolm, who says, 'I don't want to integrate your neighborhoods, or your schools, or your daughters, and I'm going to rehabilitate your black criminals and cure your dope addicts and get the people off welfare.' There are an awful lot of white people who think this is what we're looking for," he went on.

"They don't seem to be aware of the fact that Mussolini and Hitler were able to build hospitals and roads and get people to goose-step, using hate as their method," Mr. Young said.

APR 10 1964  
FBI NEW YORK  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

# Malcolm X Maps Campaign To Build Black Nationalism

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Malcolm X, whose reported split with the Muslims was headlined across the country, today told *The Militant* he will remain a Muslim minister but will also engage in independent activity to develop black nationalism as a political force and that he will actively support the civil rights struggle.

He further told *The Militant* he would become minister of a new Muslim mosque in Harlem "to have a religious base within the community and to be free of outside dictation."

Regarding the report that he was launching a "black nationalist party," he said, "I will try to establish an organizational structure whose nature yet remains to be defined."

"From the viewpoint of religion," he explained, "I remain a Muslim."

"But," he added, "my personal political, social and economic philosophy is that of black nationalism."

While he has no concrete political plans as yet, he said, "No Negro can be politically blind. It will be our intention to make all politicians — white and black — well aware that we are present." Indicating his concept of black nationalism, Malcolm X said he considered it to mean political, social and economic control by Negroes within their communities. "Politically," he said, "I mean the Negro must take political control of his community."

"By economic control I mean gain control of the jobs and busi-



Malcolm X

nesses of his community — not necessarily to push others out — but to make the Negro job-conscious, business-conscious.

"My social philosophy is that instead of trying to force themselves into other areas where they aren't wanted, that Negroes must act to check the ills within their own community — ills that are destroying the moral fiber of the community."

Affirming that he would support civil rights actions, the dynamic Muslim minister said he had been invited to Plaquemine, La., by two rights leaders there and that he would speak in Plaquemine this spring.

"I will speak anywhere I am invited," he added. "North, South, East or West."

He said that inquiries regarding speaking engagements could be addressed to him at his home: 23-11 87th St., East Elmhurst, L.I., New York. (In an earlier statement he said he would particularly welcome campus speaking engagements.)

In explaining his future plans, Malcolm X emphasized that what he is doing does not represent a split in the Muslim movement. "There are already enough splits and divisions among Negroes," he said.

In other press statements, the widely popular Negro leader supported the right of Negroes to self-defense, affirmed the value of fighting for specific goals and scored the officialdom of the civil rights movement as ineffectual.

"I am prepared," he was reported as saying, "to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere . . . every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society."

"Good education, housing and jobs are imperatives for Negroes," he said, "and I shall support them in their fight to win these objectives. But I shall tell the Negroes that while these are necessary they cannot solve the main Negro problem."

"I shall also tell them that what has been called the 'Negro Revolution' in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year."

"I shall tell them," he continued, "that a real revolution means — the French Revolution, the American Revolution, Algeria, to name a few. There can be no revolution without bloodshed, and it is nonsense to describe the civil rights movement in America as a revolution."

"The white power structure," he said, "is hopeful that the civil rights leaders will channel the demands and the bitterness of the Negroes into a token painless compromise."

"Another thing. The Negroes still don't understand the power of the ballot in the North. We must make them understand that the Negro voters have it in their hands to decide next November whether Johnson should stay in the House or go back to his cotton patches."

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Date March 19, 1964

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# 'NEGRO HAS RIGHT TO PROTECTION'

## Malcolm X Speaks

### Out

BY MILT FREUDENHEIM  
Chicago Daily News Service

NEW YORK — Outside the Theresa Hotel in Harlem where black nationalist Malcolm X has his headquarters, heavyweight boxing champ Cassius Clay had been addressing the driver of his hired limousine.

The champion was asked, "How do you feel about Malcolm's new group and his call to Negroes to arm themselves with rifles?"

Demonstrating his new reluctance to talk at length, Clay replied affably but succinctly, "I don't know nothing about that."

At that moment on a sunny Harlem morning, Malcolm X passed by. He is the man who introduced the boxer to Elijah Muhammad's nation of Islam

and spent weeks with Clay in his Florida training camp.

CASSIUS AND Malcolm exchanged casual greetings, and Malcolm walked into the Theresa where he picked up his mail and climbed the stairs to the bare office of his new Muslim Mosque Inc., formerly a beauty shop.

He was well-dressed in a brown-black suit, white-on-white shirt and neat green tie. He placed his narrow-brimmed semibowler on the desk and explained his split with the fighter.

"I frankly don't believe," he said, "that it is conducive to his image to involve himself in any way with that which takes from his image as a sports figure."

CASSIUS CLAY has said he is remaining a follower of

the Chicago-based Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm's own position on this is ambiguous.

He says he still follows the back-to-Africa teachings of Elijah Muhammad who preaches Negro separation rather than integration. But Malcolm's new group is drawing support from Elijah Muhammad followers.

"I never did leave the nation of Islam voluntarily," he said. "Mr. Muhammad refused to reinstate me (as New York minister) because he knew if I were reinstated I would remove the local officials of Mosque 7 who were instrumental in having me removed."

He accuses these officials of sending a "special squad to

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Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 CHICAGO DAILY NEWS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 3-21-64  
Edition: Red Streak  
Author: MILT FREUDENHEIM  
Editor: JOHN STANTON  
Title: NOI

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Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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try and kill me" in February. He says he talked the brothers of the special squad out of this idea.

Perhaps by coincidence, Malcolm says he has borrowed a friend's rifle to keep in his Elmhurst (Queens) home. He instructed his wife in how to use it "if anybody tries to come through that door, black, white, green or blue."

IT IS THIS use of rifles for "self-defense" at the doors of their homes that Malcolm

says he is urging on Southern Negroes. Negroes in Northern cities, he implies, already are armed.

A brilliant talker with a flashing smile and occasional wit, Malcolm took a card from his pocket and read Article II of the U.S. Constitution's Bill of Rights:

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

He said he had consulted an attorney on this. He has no intention of carrying a gun or of urging any specific neighbor or person to bear arms. "I don't believe in doing anything that is illegal," he asserted.

He has said: "When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs." But he denied advocating carrying a gun for this purpose. This would break laws, he said.

**MALCOLM SAID** Southern Negroes should obtain rifles for protection if "the Klan or other racists come to the home of a Negro and want to take him out."

"Instead of the other Negroes singing and praying, they

should get together and defend that Negro. If the law doesn't do it, they should."

This doctrine, he said, "actually is an indictment of the government. The country was founded like that, out West. People banded together when there was a breakdown in law enforcement. As far as Negroes are concerned, law enforcement has broken down."

As for Negroes in New York, Chicago and elsewhere, he said: "I don't have to tell Northern Negroes that, especially these Negroes in New York."

"Harlem is a jungle. The law of the jungle is survival of the fittest. You don't have to tell them what to do when it comes to protecting themselves."

**BORN MALCOLM** Little in Omaha, Neb., in 1925, he knows about survival from the inside. His father, a Baptist minister and follower of black nationalist Marcus Garvey, moved his family to Lansing, Mich. Their house was burned down in 1931 by Ku Klux Klansmen, Malcolm says.

Later his father was found killed by a streetcar. Malcolm believed he was lynched.

One of 11 children, he was sent to a boys' institution where he made good grades but was told his ambition of becoming a lawyer was unsuitable for a Negro.

He traveled to New York in 1941 and soon became a Harlem teen-age gangster known as "Big Red" because of his height and copper skin color. Sent to prison in Concord, Mass., in 1947 for burglary, he was converted there to the teachings of Elijah Muhammad and named Malcolm X.

**MALCOLM'S** talent for making news was shown in his suggestion that the crash of a plane-load of Atlanta (Ga.) civic leaders was "divine retribution," and his remark that President John F. Kennedy's assassination was "chickens coming home to roost."

This remark, later diluted by him as being a reference to the "climate of hate," resulted in his suspension and ouster as New York leader of the Black Muslims.

Negro rights leaders in the established organizations such as the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People scorn him. "He is media-created," one NAACP official said.

The official cited a recent poll that showed half the Negroes in America never heard of the Black Muslims. "Before (television interviewer) Mike Wallace and (writer) Louis Lomax discovered Malcolm, it was 75 per cent," he contended.

Malcolm parried this attack by suggesting that "the Rev. Martin Luther King is about the only Negro leader who could walk through Harlem and be recognized."

**MALCOM IS** less than specific about his immediate plans. He addressed an overflow audience at Harvard this week, backed the New York school boycott ("I am against segregation; they are against segregation. But I am also against integration") and met with other Young Turk rebels of the Negro revolt: Sunday in Chester, Pa.

This weekend he plans a "mass rally" in a Harlem hall that holds 2,000. He will pass the hat for donations. By next summer he hopes to put together "a united front for political action with every group in Harlem."

"We will unite and see that the politicians are made aware that we can remove them if they don't remove this oppressive condition, at the city level, the state level, the national level," he said.

"Integration is a pipe dream. It is impractical. It makes hypocrites out of white people. They are for it for somebody else, not themselves."

"I believe that Harlem should be a black community. The tax dollars that we are sending to Poland and Russia and Chiang Kai-shek and all those people should be directed into the Harlem community to build better schools staffed with better teachers."

**HE IS URGING** college student groups to "redirect their attention to the oppressed. We can't awaken the moral consciousness of America. America has lost all moral consciousness."

"Now they must direct all of their energy at awakening the dormant interest of the victim, by showing him what part politics played in all his misery," Malcolm said.

"Let the Negro know that he can keep the man in the White House in the White House, or he can send him back to his Texas cotton patch."



MALCOLM X



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Loyal Followers Saved Malcolm From Death

Courier Exclusive

There was a recent Muslim plot to murder him in cold blood Malcolm X told The Courier this week. He said he is alive today because the "brothers" who were detailed to kill him revealed the plot to him.

"If truth wasn't stronger than falsehood, I would have been murdered in February," he said.

He added that he was saved because his erstwhile followers in Mosque No. 7 who had been sent to kill him "had heard me represent and defend Mr. Muhammad for too long for them to swallow lies."

In an exclusive interview with The Courier this week, the former Muslim minister told of the inner working of the Muslim movements leading to his suspension and eventual break with Elijah Muhammad.

Of his detractors whom he blamed for his break to form his

own movement he said, "They envied me." Then he went on to name a captain and his former assistant minister as opposing him.

In his statement to The Courier in reply to the query: Why did you break with Elijah Muhammad? Malcolm X says:

"I never left the Muslim Movement on my own. Those who envied my increasing successes conspired together to force me out. After announcing to the Muslims at Mosque No. 7 that I would be back in 90 days if I

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submitted gracefully to my suspension, Captain Joseph teamed with the assistant minister Henry X to make it impossible for me to return.

"After I was suspended and silenced on Dec. 1, they proceeded to isolate me to keep me from explaining the diabolical situation to the other Muslims. As soon as they felt I had been sufficiently isolated, Captain Joseph then used assistant minister Henry X to spread lies from the speaker's stand that were skilfully designed to make the Muslims think I had rebelled against the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

"Realizing they were poisoning the minds of the Muslims toward me in my forced absence, I requested a hearing before the general body at Mosque No. 7 so I could defend myself against these false charges. They refused to let my case come before the general body because they knew their charges were nothing but lies that I could easily disprove if allowed to defend myself in front of any group of intelligent Muslims.

"If they had truth on their side they could easily have brought me forth and proved their case, instead of isolating me and then accusing me to the people without giving me a chance to defend myself. These two hypocritically used their positions to deceive the Muslims into thinking that I had turned into a hypocrite.

"The New York Muslims had been complaining heavily against Captain Joseph for years. The rank - and - file Muslims never knew that a confidential directive had been handed down from Chicago after Mr. Muhammad had become ill in 1961, making it impossible for ministers to remove captains. Thus, from 1961 onward captains could be removed only by the Chicago Office. Because of the increasing complaints against Joseph, I had made a "quiet" request to Chicago in early November for Joseph's removal as Captain. I was told to wait until Mr. Muhammad came to New York in December, but on Dec. 3 it was I who was suspended, silenced and eventually removed.

"Normally I would not make public any of the internal affairs of the Nation of Islam, but since Henry is still using the speaker's stand to make the Muslims in Mosque No. 7 think I'm insane, I am forced to speak out through the public media in order to clarify my own position. There is much more that could be said, but it would prove too destructive to too many innocent people. Thus, whatever else I say on this subject will be only that which I'm forced to by my two former chief aides who have now turned into "chief hypocrites."

As leader of the newly organized Muslim Mosque Inc., with headquarters in the Hotel Theresa, Malcolm X said he would be addressing another meeting this Sunday at the Rockland Palace, 155 St. and Eighth Ave., at 8 P.M.

He expressed pleasure that he was pledged the support of many civil rights and black nationalist groups when he spoke at the Dawn Casino last Sunday.

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

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Section 2

March 22, 1964 - February 9, 1965

91 Pages

Tolson ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
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 Gandy ☒

## Feud Within the Black Muslims

**Elijah Muhammad, leader of the separatist Negro sect, faces a revolt in his ranks. His disciple, Malcolm X, leader in New York, has set up a rival 'Black Nationalist' political movement.**

BY GERTRUDE SAMUELS

**T**HE Nation of Islam—better known as the Black Muslim movement—is an Islamic sect, adapted by American Negroes for American Negroes, with a secret membership that could be anywhere from 50,000 to 250,000. What is preached in its temples, or mosques, is a doctrine of black supremacy (for black men are "divine"), hatred of the white man (for whites are "devils"), and complete separation of the races. The Muslims reject integration as completely as does Mississippi's Senator James Eastland. They believe that they have the answer to the masses of Negroes who live in economic despair and are groping for racial dignity.

Negro civil rights leaders who fight for integration are "Toms" and "white-man's niggers," according to the Muslims. The sect says it seeks a separate black nation in America—the nation of Islam—with its own army and flag, but it has never said how it proposes to achieve this secession nor from what part of the United States it proposes to carve its nation.

Officially, the Black Muslims preach nonviolence and honor the law. Many outsiders, however, feel that there is the threat of violence implicit in the fanatical preaching of race hatred, in the rigid discipline maintained by members, and in the secret army—the black-clad Fruit of Islam—well-drilled

in the use of firearms. But experts describe the movement's posture as one of "contained aggressiveness," largely because of the concepts of its charismatic leader, Elijah Muhammad.

**A**CCORDING to legend, the movement began when a "Prophet" appeared in Detroit in the nineteen-thirties denouncing Christianity and the white man. Before "disappearing," he appointed Muhammad as his "Messenger" and endowed him with divine guidance. Muhammad, born Elijah Poole in 1897 at Sandersville, Ga., is the uneducated but dynamic son of a Baptist minister. The Muslims began to thrive under Muhammad about the time the civil rights movement spread in the fifties. Temples and commercial enterprises supported by Muslim money grew and flourished in various cities though headquarters were in Chicago where Muhammad sat. He and his sons—and notably his son-in-law, Raymond Sharrieff, Supreme Captain of the Fruit of Islam—were all-powerful authoritarians. Eschewing politics and the vote, keeping their strength secret, they welded a monolithic organization. They demanded and got blind and unwavering obedience to the spiritual leader, Elijah Muhammad.

In the past two weeks, that solidarity has been broken by a once-trusted lieutenant. The elements of open racial violence and of action

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in the political arena are being projected by a rival movement, "Black Nationalism." The two principal antagonists are: Minister Malcolm X, New York leader of the Muslims; and the "Messenger of Allah," Muhammad.

#### MALCOLM X

**C**ERTAINLY the sect's most adept strategist, uncompromising in his contention that Negroes will never get justice from white people, has been 33-year-old Malcolm X. Born

Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebr., he is an ex-convict who absorbed the Muslim religion while serving a seven-year sentence for larceny in Massachusetts.

Once out of prison, he shed his past life (along with his original surname, as well as an alias, "Big Red") and adopted the new last name X. This is common practice among Muslims, who adopt the symbolic X to connote the mystery of their origins.

Tall, dynamic, with rugged good looks, Malcolm rose in the sect to become the Big X—and the Messenger's ambassador to the Islamic countries of the Middle East and Africa. His flamboyant style, his biting humor and the brutal clarity of his logic—the white man is responsible for the degradation of the Negro—creates in white audiences a sense of collective guilt. At the same time, he wins admiration from Negroes, whose bitterness he can exploit.

The turnouts for Malcolm X at various Negro

and white colleges, including Harvard, make civil rights leaders unhappy. And in the past few months as he began to overshadow Muhammad and the Chicago-based officials, Muslim leaders also became unhappy. Muhammad moved to silence him. His opportunity was not long in coming.

When Malcolm X told a Black Muslim rally at Manhattan Center that the assassination of President Kennedy was an instance of "the chickens coming home to roost," Muhammad rebuked him, saying, "He will not be permitted to speak in public." That, under the code, seemed to end Malcolm's career.

But after 90 days of silence, he broke the code with a public announcement on March 8 that he was leaving the Muslims to organize his own party. He told a television audience, "It's hard to make a rooster stop crowing once the sun has risen." He claims that he has only created a new mosque in New York, the Muslim Mosque, Inc. But he calls his philosophy—political, economic, social and cultural — "Black Nationalism."

**O**VER a glass of ginger ale the other day (he eats only one meal a day, and, like all Moslems, eschews smoking, drinking, gambling and the eating of pork), Malcolm talked of his ambitions. The three elements that distinguish his new party from the old group are: (1) personal independence that will allow him to act, speak and be seen as master of his own house; (2) "self defense units — rifle clubs — ready to 'execute on the spot' those who threaten Negroes; (3) nationalist appeal to all Negroes, not just Muslims, allowing cooperation with the interracial civil rights movement.

This new program is another

ema to Muhammad's Muslims. Yet Malcolm X insists that he is "and always will be" a Muslim and that, so far as he is concerned, Muhammad cannot reject him because no Muslim can be rejected by the spiritual head.

"But it is time for the Negroes to defend themselves," Malcolm said. "If no one will say that, I will. If a person threatens you, by coming in the churches, bombing the churches, killing little girls, shooting little boys, then the Negroes should defend themselves, even if it means taking rifles and shotguns, and driving from our door the people who are brutalizing Negroes. The Negroes should not wait for white investigators. They should find the guilty ones themselves and execute them on the spot."

**E**VERY American citizen is guaranteed under the Constitution the right to bear arms in self-defense. Since he has the legal right to own a shotgun or rifle, I would advise the Negro to have one." Later, Malcolm told a press conference that Negroes "should form rifle clubs" to defend their lives and property.

"All the past actions of the demonstrations and the sit-ins and boycotts have been immature, boyish; that's why," he added contemptuously, "they call the Negroes 'boys.'" The time has come for Negroes to fight back, he said. He intends to tell the Negroes "that what has been called the Negro revolution in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year. I shall tell them what a real revolution means."

In my conversation, I asked him: "Do you expect then to initiate a Cuban or an Algerian-style revolution?"

"I say that if you follow the whole thing to its logical con-

clusion, you have to expect the Negroes to rise up sooner or later."

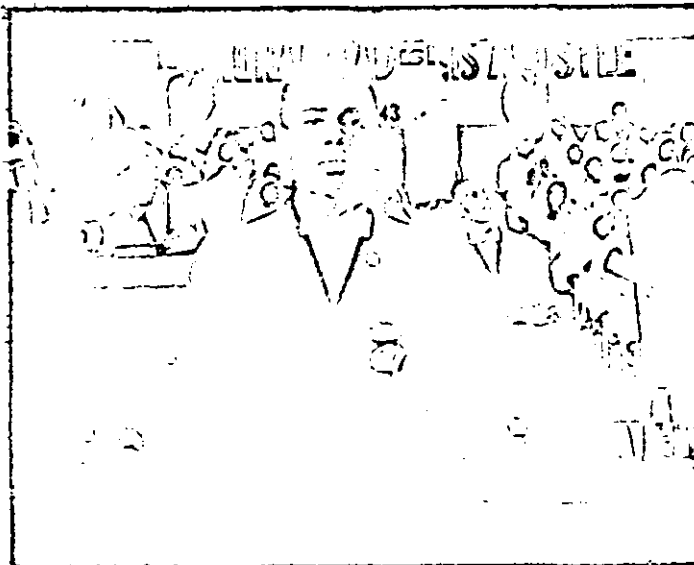
He still appears adamant in his concept of a separate state and separation of the races though he is prepared to flirt with the interracial civil rights organizations.

His aim, now that he is on his own, Malcolm says, "is to work with civil rights groups, if they are willing to raise the caliber of their own black communities — and not force

to see some new faces . . . more militant faces.") He expects his party to enter politics and, by educating Negroes in the mechanics of politics and the vote, "to control the politicians of our community."

"There are three times as many Negroes as Jews in this country," he added, blandly, "yet when it comes to political power, the Jews have 90 times as much power as the Negroes."

"I feel," said Malcolm X,



**BODYGUARD**—A member of the Fruit of Islam, the Black Muslim shock troops, guards Malcolm X (left, in white tie) at a meeting.

Negroes into white neighborhoods where they are not wanted. Separation — a separate state—is a good word, and it is something that you have to have to be independent and equal. At present, the black people are segregated. What we want is separation—independence."

Where?

"No desert spot," he answered. "I hope it's Florida or California, and," he added with a short laugh, "all between."

Clearly Malcolm is not revealing the specifics of his program. He may fear that this would keep away the new blood — especially college-educated youth—he expects to recruit and exploit. ("We want

"everything else has failed. I feel that all the efforts on the part of Negro groups through 1963 have met with failure. The Negroes are angry. I should say they're angrier. And I'm the angriest."

#### ELIJAH MUHAMMAD

**T**ODAY, at 67, the "Messenger" is a small, thin man in bad health (suffering from asthma and bronchitis), whose delicate appearance and winning smile belie the ferocity of his speeches. He is introduced to large Muslim audiences as "the man who has seen God!"

"Get away from the white

man," he adjures the faithful, and they shout back fervently, "We will! Teach us, Messenger!"

There have been few smiles since Malcolm formed his new party. Indeed, Elijah Muhammad thundered like the wrath of Allah as he told me by telephone from his home in Chicago:

"Malcolm's plans have had no effect at all on the movement. My work is divine work, and the people believe in what I am teaching, of the resurrection from the death—the mental death—of my people. Anyone who deviates from Islam is a hypocrite."

**W**HEN he learned that Malcolm still spoke favorably of him and said he remained a Muslim, Muhammad said angrily: "If he spoke favorably, he has no alternative but to remain with me—if he believes in the Divine Message that Allah has given to me to deliver to my people. He would not go after other groups who have not accepted Islam."

"There is no weeping or moaning over anyone who leaves Islam, as such a man is a deviate or hypocrite, who does not want to live under the guidance of God's Messenger."

"Mere belief counts for nothing in Islam, unless carried into practice. He's preparing our people to find themselves and to fight—I heard him on television. It is very silly to say such a thing, because where are they going to get guns and arms?"

"I am in favor of what I have been teaching for the past years, all over the country of America," Muhammad went on, "that we carry no arms, and we do not seek to win victory with arms. We follow what Allah has revealed—and that is, be our own selves, and do nothing to others that we would not have done unto us. That is a universal concept—because that is the best religion."

"I feel absolutely surprised at the man. He was under an indefinite suspension. He had represented himself publicly

for several years as being a Muslim and a believer in the teachings and revelations of Allah that He has given to me. Now he has turned away to go after something that he himself has been criticizing—to the civil-righters' movement."

Then Muhammad added quietly, "This particular work of reforming the so-called Negro, so he can take his place in society, cannot be done by anyone who has not got with him divine guidance. It is absolutely divine work, guided divinely. Malcolm had that as long as he was with me." The old man underscored this heavily and, it seemed, sadly. "But otherwise he does not have it. I think religious scientists and scholars know that our people will have to be completely reformed—and Malcolm's way is not the way to reform them."

**T**HE reaction to Malcolm's new role by national civil-rights leaders ranges from skepticism to puzzlement and worry. Some claim indifference to the split in the Muslim movement. The Muslims, they say, were really repudiated by the Negro masses at the historic march on Washington last year, which dramatized how deeply the Negroes believe in and seek an integrated America. They have been on a decline ever since, and Malcolm's breakaway was a move of desperation, after his public rebuke, since he saw the handwriting on the wall.

Some in this group believe that Malcolm is a creature of the press, radio and television. As one spokesman put it, "They seem to get a masochistic kick out of Malcolm's giving them hell."

As for Malcolm's statements about "self-defense," they believe that he will be as unsuccessful in selling the masses of Negroes on rifle clubs and violent action as he was in selling them on a separate state.

Other Negro leaders are skeptical of a real split in the Muslims. They have known for some time that Malcolm and other young Muslim leaders were convinced that the Muslims were held back

by their aloofness from the civil-rights movement. Now they are wondering whether Malcolm has suddenly become a dedicated man or "remains a charlatan." As one expert put it, "He may be a Trojan horse proceeding, under the guise and protection of Muhammad, but actually maneuvering to get into the civil-rights movement." These leaders are adopting a wait-and-see attitude. They neither condemn nor cheer the "new Malcolm," but will wait and study his program and his sponsors.

As Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. puts it: "We do not know whether he intends to help American Negro citizens in their civil rights campaign, or whether he really is serious in wooing them to some kind of a Black Nationalist separate state."

Certainly Malcolm's attempts to appeal to Christian as well as Muslim Negroes, and his attempt to make his temple all things to all black men trouble many objective outsiders. Some Chicago Muslims are in his corner. It is expected that other young Muslims in the New York and Washington temples will follow, as may the disgruntled from the N.A.A.C.P. and CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality), as well as from the unorganized masses.

**I**T is this last, unknown quantity—the masses of Negroes who do not belong to the civil-rights movement—that concerns many thoughtful observers.

Prof. C. Eric Lincoln of Clark College, author of the definitive study of the Black Muslims, says:

"There is an increasing number of Negroes who feel that nonviolence has run its course, and they are disillusioned." Only the other day, on his college campus in Atlanta, eight Negro student leaders met with an advisory group of leading white Atlanta citi-

zens. The student leaders told them that what used to be a student movement "now involves the total Negro community." And this, reflects Professor Lincoln, includes people who are not necessarily committed to the philosophy of nonviolence.

**O**F immense interest to observers, as Malcolm opens his drive for recruits to his political party, is its financing. He has said that he will accept money from any source, including white people who, however, can't join his group, "because when whites join an organization, they usually out-join it." There is speculation whether Malcolm will be getting at least petty cash from his most picturesque recruit to the Black Muslims, the heavyweight champion of the world, Cassius X (Clay). The 22-year-old fighter whom a Negro reporter has dubbed the Clown Prince of the movement, is constantly in Malcolm's company and expects to live on Long Island to be near Malcolm's home.

Leaders of unquestioned stature in the civil-rights movement are concerned not so much with the personality of Malcolm X as with the conditions in a community that make it possible for any opportunist to exploit and capitalize them. Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, observes: "As long as you have the poverty, the poor housing, the bitter conditions that nourish the despair, there will always be people around like Malcolm X or John X or any-X."

And Professor Lincoln concludes: "The fact that Malcolm X believes that a Black Nationalist party is possible or is needed is a reflection upon the distance we still have to go to make the Negro believe that the white man is sincerely interested in having the Negro participate equally in the common values of this society."

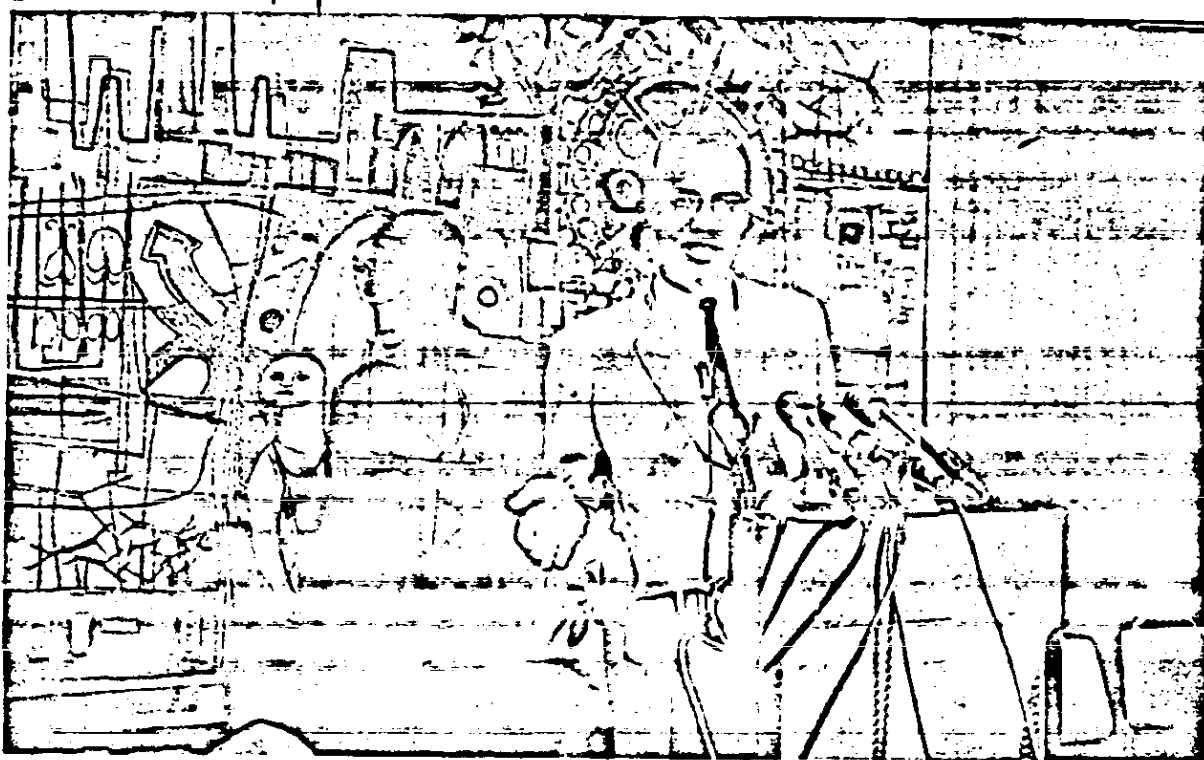


### Separate State

In their new book, "The Negro Revolution in America" (Simon and Schuster), William Brink and Louis Harris show, through polls of Negroes, that there is a "massive negative feeling" toward the Black Muslims. The idea that Negroes form their own separate state in the South or in Africa met with better than 21-to-1 rejection:

	Total Rank and File %	Non- South %	South %	Leaders %
Oppose separate state	87	91	84	99
Favor separate state	4	4	3	1
Not sure	9	5	13	—

"Not only did Negroes oppose the separatist idea, but they greeted the suggestion with ridicule. . . . Fred C. Banks, a juvenile probation officer in Phoenix, Arizona, had this logical extension of the plan: 'Carry this to the nth degree and you'll send all ethnic groups to their original countries. That would leave the U.S. to the Indians.' "



RIVALS—Malcolm X, above, tells a New York audience why he has broken with Elijah Muhammad (below, at a rally).



# The Paradox That Is Malcolm X: All Charm and All Contradiction

By Dick Schaap  
City Editor

The sign on the door says "Eve Nelson Cosmetics—Subsidiary of . . ." The phrase is not finished.

Inside, the green slatted blackboard is divided into long columns, each topped by the letters "CL," which stand for closing prices. There is not a single stock listed on the board.

The room, long and lean, is sparsely furnished—ragged green window shades, checked green-and-white linoleum flooring, two ancient wooden desks, a dozen rickety folding chairs and one strong permanent, non-folding chair.

Malcolm X sits in the non-folding chair. Here, on the second floor of the Hotel Theresa at 125th St. and Seventh Ave., here where Joe Louis once lived and Fidel Castro once lived and Cassius Clay now lives, here in the temporary headquarters set up by Malcolm X since he split away from Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, everything—from incomplete sign to unused stockboard—exudes an air of the unreal.

"Squeak—squeak—squeak" go the marking pencils, as two college girls, their hair swept into African styles, carefully letter the cardboard signs heralding Malcolm's speech on "Black Nationalism in Harlem," which he will deliver at 8 p. m. tonight at the Rockland Palace on 155th St. and Eighth Ave. Suddenly—"Squeeeaaak—squeeeaaak"—the long lines of the X written beneath Malcolm's name.

Down the hall, a man says, "Malcolm's office? Malcolm's in Room 228."

## NO 228

There is no room marked 228. Only the process of elimination leads to the cosmetics sign. The sign spreads across two glass doors, both painted black, leaving no clue to what is inside.

It is all unreal, but Malcolm X himself is the most unreal aspect.

He is, above all else, utterly charming. It is almost impossible, upon meeting him, to dislike him. Friendly, articulate, calmly outgoing, his appearance and his manner melt all the harsh words, the words of violence and rifle clubs, that he has spoken in the past.

He sits in his non-folding chair, his long legs cramped under a wooden desk, and he greets his co-workers and his visitors with politeness and warmth. "Brother James, would you give our visitor a chair?"

He is impeccably dressed, a black suit covering a black cardigan sweater and a white shirt and a solid brown tie, his black shoes brightly polished, his black socks neatly pulled up. And his followers, too, dress carefully, projecting more than anything else, a Madison Ave. image, almost a huckster image. Two of Malcolm's assistants leave their attaché cases lying around the room.

And then Malcolm is talking and work-

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Almont ☒  
Mohr ☐  
Casper ☐  
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ing, and this is when, instead of charming visitors, he frustrates them. He wallows in contradictions and he ducks under straight questions, jabbing back with a speech, not with a straight answer.

Violence? Violence? Malcolm is not for violence, he says.

But didn't he suggest that Negroes carry rifles? He reaches into his billfold and plucks out a small card and quotes the Constitutional amendment guaranteeing citizens the right to bear arms.

"I operate only within the law," he says. "I do not advocate violence. I advocate only each man's Constitutional right to defend himself."

And in the next minute, chatting with a reporter freshly arrived from Europe, a reporter who has covered the violent revolutions of Africa and Southeast Asia, Malcolm is speaking longingly of guerrilla warfare, of sniping and violence in the streets.

Will there be guerrilla warfare among the Negroes in the United States?

"Of course," says Malcolm X. "There is already. You just don't see it."

Is he for it?

"I am not advocating violence."

## DAVID

He slides into slick phrases to avoid taking any firm stands. He derides the civil-rights leaders who co-operate with whites and use methods developed by whites and then, when he is asked if he isn't doing the same thing, relying on speeches and college tours and endless statements to the white press, Malcolm smiles his charming smile and says, "Didn't David use Goliath's own sword to cut off the giant's head?"

Violence? He is totally opposed to that.

Then he is saying that no white man knows what the Negro thinks, that no Negro will tell a white man what he really thinks.

In other words, then, Malcolm himself does not say to the white people what he really thinks.

"I come closer than anyone else," he says.

Again, he hides behind words. "Only the servant sees the master," he says. "The master does not see the servant. The servant sees the master sleeping. The master never sees the servant sleeping. The servant sees the master eating. The master never sees the servant eating. The servant sees the master angry. The master never sees the servant angry. The master never really sees the servant at all."

He smiles, a mixture of friendliness and mocking. "You only see the tree," he says. "You do not see the roots. If the roots were exposed to the open, they would wither and die."

Is he hiding the true roots of his own philosophy?

Only a smile.

Malcolm talks on.

He is against segregation and against



Herald Tribune—UPI

*"... And the next minute, Malcolm is speaking longingly of guerrilla warfare, of sniping and violence in the streets."*

integration. He is for separation—a matter of choice.

He thinks the Supreme Court decision outlawing "separate but equal" schools was a disastrous mistake.

He says that Ralph Bunche is not a Negro and that Carl Rowan, the head of the United States Information Agency, is not a Negro.

He condemns token integration and says that Negroes who say that they were the only Negroes in their schools are neurotic "uppity" Negroes. And in the next breath he tells you that he was the only Negro in his grade school in a small town in southern Michigan, and that his was the only Negro family in town.

It is impossible to take Malcolm X words seriously—unless you are willing to accept, at various times, both sides of every question. Sooner or later, he won't be on both sides.

He is the sort of man who would be wonderful at a cocktail party, if his Muslim beliefs would allow him to attend, because he never lets conversation lag. But he would be less effective when there is a need for action, because at the present time his contradictions must breed confusion.

It is dangerous to dismiss Malcolm lightly. He is too eloquent, too effective in stating a situation—even though he offers no practical way out of the situation—to be ignored. The trick, a difficult one, is to try to figure out Malcolm X. It is a game that almost every thinking person in Harlem is playing these days.

## EVALUATION

If you sit and listen around the bars and grills in Harlem—in Frank's and the Pal on 125th St., in Jock's and Small's and the Shalimar on Seventh Ave., you can see the clergymen and the small politicians and lawyers and the doctors trying to gauge Malcolm X.

No one knows the extent of his power possibly because he has never put his power to any real test.

No politician will associate himself completely with Malcolm.

But none will completely disassociate himself, either.

They are waiting, waiting to see if Malcolm X, now that he has opened his rare door to people who do not follow the strict Muslim precepts, will draw large numbers of followers.

And they debate his manner and methods.

"Malcolm X is a genius," a lawyer says in the back room at Jock's. "He is the most brilliant speaker I have ever heard."

"Malcolm X is a creation of the white press," said a doctor in Frank's.

"Malcolm X is a phony," said a man at the bar in the Shalimar. "All he can do is talk about Malcolm X—and money."

And Malcolm X sits back in his folding chair on the second floor of Hotel Theresa and smiles and watches the slow trickle of converts come through the door, matched by a trickle of white porters trying to figure him out.

And it is amusing, and strange, to hear that Malcolm X, the voice of Black Nationalism, seems to expend his greatest charm and the most time on the whites, not the Negroes, who walk through his palatial blackened doors.



Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

**Malcolm X:** *"He is, above all  
else, utterly charming."*

(ONLY FOR PAPERS IN HASING LEWIS COLUMN. MUST NOT USE.)

(CAUTION: ADVANCE LEWIS COLUMN FOR RELEASE THURSDAY, MARCH 26, A.M. AND P.M. PAPERS. MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THAT DATE.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

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WASHINGTON, March 25--The demagogic Malcolm X, Black Muslim turned Black Nationalist, has made giant strides toward leadership in the Negro civil rights movement within the last two weeks.

A fortnight ago Malcolm, number two man in the Black Muslim hierarchy, announced that he was quitting that group to form his own Black Nationalist organization. b7c

Since then, working out of temporary headquarters in New York's Hotel Theresa, Brother Malcolm (as he now prefers to be called) has seen powerful leaders come to him for assistance.

This, despite his suggestions that American Negroes form "rifle clubs" and arm for "self-defense." This despite Malcolm's advice that Negroes kill police dogs used to curb civil rights demonstrations. This despite his vicious attacks on established Negro leaders (Ralph Bunche is an "international Uncle Tom"). b7c

One weekend after his split with the Muslims, Malcolm was invited to Chester, Pennsylvania, for a meeting with militant Negro leaders. Malcolm received the greatest applause afforded any speaker. Negro leaders who cheered Malcolm included comedian Dick Gregory; Cambridge, Maryland's Gloria Richardson, and Chicago's Lawrence Landry. The last-named Negro heads a nationwide group called the Coordinating Council of Civil Rights organizations.

Upon his return to New York, Malcolm was wooed by Negro militants who ran a second school boycott last week. Malcolm pitched in, was on radio and television to urge his followers to keep their children home in protest against slum conditions.

A quarter million Negroes played hockey and credit went to Malcolm, a Brooklyn minister, the Rev. Milton Galamison, and Jesse Gray, dynamic leader of New York rent strikes.

Gray and Malcolm, as a matter of fact, were singled out by New York Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy as "irresponsible" leaders who, through "lust for power or other sinister motives" see the civil rights movement as a "means to a personal end or as the weapon to create chaos in our community." 100-37321-A

Gray and Malcolm stung back, insisting that "Murphy is the weapon." Their charges were echoed by the New York State Communist Party which shot off a letter to Mayor Robert Wagner demanding that Murphy be fired. NOT RECORDED  
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Whether or not Malcolm will accept Communist support is not known. He neatly dodged one question put to him by a New York newsman, saying only that if he were imprisoned in a cage with a wolf, "I don't care who opens that door and lets me out."

Note: Malcolm has indicated he will plunge headlong into politics at "the proper moment." He has not said if he will affiliate with the all-Negro Freedom Now Party, a group formed last year by the leftist Conrad Lynn, or form a political party of his own. 5.6.64 b7c

(MORE)

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xx own.

While the Freedom Now Party has not yet run a candidate for public office, another all-Negro party has. The New Frontier Party, formed last year by dissident New Jersey Negroes, ran candidates for the State Legislature. While no New Frontier candidates won, they did draw sufficient votes from the Democrats to enable several Republicans to achieve victory.

New Frontier Party leaders, flushed from their Pyrrhic victory, will this year field a full slate of candidates in northern New Jersey. They will run candidates for the U.S. Senate, the U.S. House of Representatives, and the Essex County posts of Surrogate, Sheriff and the Board of Chosen Freeholders.

\* \* \*

The Maryland State Senate, in a virtually-unprecedented move, has blasted U.S. foreign policy as cowardly and ineffective. The Democratic-controlled body approved a Special Resolution stating its "deep concern over the foreign policies of the United States and the low ebb to which this great country has come in the esteem and affection of the rest of the world."

\* \* \*

Nelson Rockefeller is the albatross around his brother, Winthrop's, neck. Winthrop has long been groomed as the man who can be Arkansas' first Republican governor.

But Winthrop must, of course, back his brother for President. Now comes word from Arkansas that leaders of the Republican Party in that state are shying away from Winthrop Rockefeller. Sort of guilt by association.

State GOP Chairman William L. Spicer, for instance, insists that Winthrop is trying to force his brother on State Republicans. This Winthrop denies, but there is no doubt his political sledding would be easier if his brother were not seeking the Presidency.

## ## ##

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UPI-79

(MALCOLM X)

NEW YORK--DISSIDENT BLACK MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X SAID TODAY HIS NEW PROGRAM FOR NEGROES HAS AROUSED "FINE" RESPONSE ACROSS THE NATION DESPITE OPPOSITION FROM THE BLACK MUSLIM LEADERSHIP HEADED BY ELIJAH MUHAMMAD IN CHICAGO.

MALCOLM SAID HE WAS "NOT AT ALL EXCITED" BY THE CHICAGO MUSLIMS' MOST RECENT ATTACK ON HIM--A STATEMENT BY MALCOLM'S BROTHER, PHILBERT X, A MUSLIM MINISTER IN MICHIGAN. PHILBERT CHARGED THAT MALCOLM IS A FALSE PROPHET LEADING NEGROES INTO "VIOLENCE, BLOODSHED AND LOSS OF LIFE."

"THEY ARE IN SUCH A DESPERATE POSITION OUT THERE IN CHICAGO THAT THEY HAVE USED MY BLOOD BROTHER TO MAKE CHARGES AGAINST ME," MALCOLM SAID. "HE NEEDS HIS JOB AND WANTS TO KEEP IT, AND THE BEST WAY TO KEEP IT IS ALLOW HIMSELF TO BE USED."

MALCOLM BROKE WITH ELIJAH MUHAMMAD AFTER THE MUSLIM "PROPHET" CRITICIZED MALCOLM'S DEROGATORY STATEMENTS ABOUT THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY. MALCOLM SAID TODAY THAT ELIJAH "PUT ME OUT" AND "HAS NEVER GIVEN ME A CHANCE TO ANSWER THE CHARGES AGAINST ME BEFORE THE NATIONAL MUSLIM BODY."

"ALL OTHER MUSLIMS WHO HAVE BEEN OUSTED HAVE BEEN GIVEN A HEARING, BUT I HAVE NOT," MALCOLM SAID.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE



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 Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_

# Brother Bitterly Condemns Malcolm X

By Linn Allen

A member of his own family Thursday bitterly condemned former Black Muslim leader Malcolm X as trying to lead Negroes into "violence, bloodshed and loss of life."

Philbert X, a minister of Muhammad's Mosque of Islam

in a four-city Michigan area and one of Malcolm's two elder brothers, delivered an unprecedented public attack at a press conference here.

He called Malcolm "cunning and clever" and said his "reckless efforts . . . will cause many of our unsuspecting

people who listen and follow him unnecessary loss of blood and life."

Malcolm, who left the Black Muslims after a dispute with the movement's chief religious leader, Elijah Muhammad, recently announced he was forming his own sect.

At that time he stated:

"It is dangerous and criminal for Negro leaders to stress the nonviolent approach. Negroes must be taught how to defend themselves under attack. They must be taught how to use rifles and shotguns."

The split in the movement occurred after Malcolm was suspended by Muhammad for 90 days when he described President John F. Kennedy's assassination as "chickens coming home to roost."

Philbert, who at 41 is two years older than his brother, began:

"Ordinarily, I would not suggest the airing of differences between brothers to outsiders and especially to a news media, but because of the grave consequences of recent events, I submit to this medium."

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Philbert X, elder brother of Malcolm X, condemns his brother's behavior. (Sun-Times Photo)

leave the movement and accuse influential Muslims of misconduct.

He told reporters:

"I beseech you to warn those who may be taken in by my brother's desire to promote his own selfish end."

Philbert, who said he spoke as a messenger of Elijah Muhammad, contended his brother's defection was not seriously harming the Muslim movement.

"It is growing all the time," he said. "This is a time of crisis for the so-called American Negro."

He reiterated the Black Muslim stand that Negroes ought to band together into a separate nation.

Philbert is Muslim minister for Lansing, Grand Rapids,

Muskegon and Flint, Mich. He said he spoke prior to the conference with his elder brother, Wilfred X, who is minister at Muhammad's Temple No. 1

in Detroit.

The conference was held at a newly opened Muslim restaurant, the Shabazz, at 616 E. 71st.



Although they are often poles apart on the civil rights issue, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (left) and former Black Muslim leader Malcolm X have a friendly greeting for each other as they meet in a Capitol corridor Thursday. They and other Negro leaders watched debate on the civil rights bill. Both Dr. King and Malcolm X agreed there would be ~~Negro~~ demonstrations in Washington if the debate turns into a filibuster. (AP)

"Malcolm gained great prestige as the result of his association with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, and now he wants to use this prestige to lead the followers of Islam astray," Philbert claimed.

Philbert asserted his brother "would do anything" to achieve fame and to slander Muhammad out a feeling of revenge.

"Malcolm has always prided himself on being a great user of people, especially women," the minister continued, "and now he seeks to prevail upon women who unfortunately were weak and went contrary to Islam."

He said that through women Malcolm would induce men to

## Text of Statement By Malcolm X

The following is the text of the statement made by Malcolm X in opening his press conference at New York's Park Sheraton Hotel, March 12.

Because 1964 threatens to be a very explosive year on the racial front, and because I myself intend to be very active in every phase of the American Negro struggle for Human Rights, I have called this press conference this morning in order to clarify my own position in the struggle — especially in regard to politics and non-violence.

I am and always will be a Muslim. My religion is Islam. I still believe that Mr. Muhammad's analysis of the problem is the most realistic, and that his solution is the best one. This means that I too believe the best solution is complete separation, with our people going back home, to our own African homeland.

But separation back to Africa is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs right now. Mr. Muhammad's program does point us back homeward, but it also contains within it what we could and should be doing to help solve many of our own problems while we are still here.

Internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced me out of it. I did not leave of my own free will. But now that it has happened I intend to make the most of it. Now that I have more independence-of-action I intend to use a more flexible approach toward working with others to get a solution to this problem.

I do not pretend to be a divine man, but I do believe in divine guidance, divine power, and in the fulfillment of divine prophecy. I am not educated, nor am I an expert in any particular field — but I am sincere, and my sincerity are my credentials.

I'm not out to fight other Negro leaders or organizations. We must find a common approach, a common solution, to a common problem. As of this minute, I've forgotten everything bad that the other leaders have said about me, and I pray they can also forget the many bad things I've said about them.

The problem facing our people here in America is bigger than all other personal or organizational differences. Therefore, as leaders, we must stop worrying about the threat that we seem to think we pose to each other's personal prestige, and concentrate our united efforts toward solving the unending hurt that is being done daily to our people here in America.

I am going to organize and head a new Mosque in New York City, known as the Muslim Mosque, Inc. This gives us a religious base, and the spiritual force necessary to rid our people of the virus that destroy the moral fiber of our community.

Our political philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our economic and social philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our cultural emphasis will be Black Nationalism.

Many of our people aren't religiously inclined, so the Muslim Mosque, Inc., will be organized in such manner to provide for the active participation of all Negroes in our political, economic, and social programs, despite their religious or non-religious beliefs.

The political philosophy of Black Nationalism means: we must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces.

Our accent will be upon youth: we need new ideas, new methods, new approaches. We will call upon young students of political science throughout the nation to help us. We will encourage these young students to launch their own independent study, and then give us their analysis and their suggestions. We are completely disenchanted with the old, adult, established politicians. We want to see some new faces — more militant faces.

Concerning the 1964 elections: we will keep our plans on this a secret until a later date — but we don't intend for our people to be the victims of a political sell-out again in 1964.

The Muslim Mosque, Inc., will remain wide-open for ideas and financial aid from all quarters. Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves. We cannot think of being acceptable to others until we have first proven acceptable to ourselves. One can't unite bananas with scattered leaves.

Concerning non-violence: It is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law.

In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham, Plaquemine, La., Cambridge, Md., and Danville, Va. When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs.

We should be peaceful, law abiding — but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked.

If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job.

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The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date April 1, 1964

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## MUSLIM REBEL SPEAKS HERE

**Malcolm: Negro Awake  
Now**

BY STAN PUTNAM

Free Press Staff Writer

Malcolm X, the man who seeks a separate American Negro nation, predicted in Detroit Sunday that a "hot summer" is ahead, one in which one spark of violence could sweep the nation.

"The Negro is awake," Malcolm X said. "The white man must realize this. I am not trying to set the spark. I am only giving the warning."

A CHAMPION of the Negro's complete political, economic and social separation from the white race, Malcolm X addressed a rally at King Solomon Baptist Church, Fourteenth and Marquette.

He spoke as the leader of his newly formed Muslim Mosque, Inc., which also is known as the Black Nationalist Party.

His appearance in Detroit was sponsored by the Group on

Advanced Leadership (GOAL), another Negro organization which contends that separation—not integration—is the answer to the Negro problem.

AT A PRESS conference at GOAL headquarters, 11605 Linwood, Malcolm X again challenged the current direction of civil rights with statements that recently put him on the front pages of the nation's press. He said:

- The Negro must stop begging for a place in the white man's sun by withdrawing to Negro communities in which he could control his own political, economic and social life.

- Negro leaders who teach the ethic of "turn-the-other-cheek" and "non-violence" are traitors to the Negro cause.

- When the Government fails to protect the Negro, he must be ready to defend himself.

- Negroes have been duped by the Democratic Party.

"They have given 80 per cent of their vote only to get, in return, a debate in a Democratic-controlled Congress on whether the Negro should be given his rights.

"The first step in solving the

problem between the races in this country is honest communication," he said.

"Both sides have been misleading each other. The whites don't want integration. The Negro has been telling the white man what he thinks the white man wants to hear."

MALCOLM X split about a month ago from the Black Muslim Negro movement. Before that he was No. 2 man to the Black Muslim's founder, Elijah Muhammad.

He broke from the founder because Muhammad failed to act on his own analyses of the need for Negro separation from the white man, Malcolm X said.

When he stepped out, Malcolm announced that the Black Muslim movement had "gone about as far as it can."

He accused the organization of being "too narrowly sectarian and too inhibited" to assume responsibility in the racial struggle.

MALCOLM X said the Black Muslim leaders ignored his plea "to work with America's 22 million Christian Negroes" in a move "from non-violence to active self-defense."

While his followers in the Muslim Mosque, Inc., are Muslim, he claimed, "We don't allow this to interfere with co-operation with other groups seeking a solution to our political, social and economic grievances."

He said a door-to-door Negro registration campaign—like the one his group is conducting in New York—will be made in every city across the nation to get the Negro into politics.

As independent voters," he emphasized.



Malcolm X

Mr. Tolson.....  
Mr. Belmont.....  
Mr. Mohr.....  
Mr. Casper.....  
Mr. Callahan.....  
Mr. Conrad.....  
Mr. Felt.....  
Mr. Gale.....  
Mr. Rosen.....  
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Detroit, Mich.

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# the SPECTATOR

## The outlook of Malcolm X

**T**HE PREDOMINANTLY WHITE AUDIENCE listened respectfully as Malcolm X laid it on the line: "For 400 years we have fought your battles and all we say today is, it's pay day."

"America," he said, "is the only country in world history in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution, but the United States is not morally equipped to do so. There is no system more corrupt than this which still colonizes and enslaves 22 million blacks while it goes all over the world telling others how to straighten out their houses."

The audience of about 500 that heard him speak in New York's Palm Gardens April 8 under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum included a sprinkling of his own followers, interested people—white and black—and an older group of white radicals whom Malcolm's point of view seemed sometimes alien, of troubling, for he rejects summarily their past and present commitment.

Already persuaded of the need for full-scale registration of Negro voters, this audience agreed with Malcolm that if this could be accomplished, then full use of the ballot in all states would wipe out what he calls "this cracker government" in which ten out of 100 Senate committees and 12 out of 20 House committees are headed by Dixiecrat chairmen ("... and you're going to tell me the South lost the war?").

But Malcolm saw the registration drive as a tactic the power structure cannot allow to work, and he defined Dixie as "all the territory south of the Canadian border" in which the northern liberal Democrat "tells us what he'll do and conspires behind our backs with the Southern Dixiecrat."

**W**HEN BLACK AMERICANS wake up to the fact they've received nothing, he said, it will be the bullets instead of ballots. "They'll forget about turning the other cheek and nonviolence and 'We Shall Overcome'." That time may be this year, he said, and when it comes the blood will flow on both sides.

"It was stones yesterday and it is Molotov cocktails today and it will be grenades tomorrow. Do not think I incite you. It is only if you face up to the seriousness of the situation that you may save yourselves. You are dealing today with a people that not only knows what it wants but knows what it should have. And there's another generation coming up that, in addition, knows how to get it."

The reverberations of a racial explosion here would be felt—and supported—all over the world by the black revolution that has been taking place since 1945, the black nationalist leader believes.

According to Malcolm, the separation of blacks from the white community of America is a fact of life and therefore, Negro Americans should enjoy "complete control over the politics and politicians of our community" rather than leave it to the white man.

The black nationalist, for whom Malcolm is perhaps the most articulate spokesman, argues from this separatist position that he is a part of a world majority rather than an American minority. His primary goal is human rights, not civil rights.

The other black nationalist arguments fall into place within this framework: The white ruling class won't permit the acquisition of human rights by black men without revolution; in such a revolution, black men must defend themselves.

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**T**HIS SEPARATION, Malcolm made clear, explains his position on school integration also—namely, that it doesn't exist and is impractical; but that doesn't mean he's a segregationist, he said. "It is not the presence or absence of black children in a class that determines whether a school is segregated; it is the academic diet—and that is dictated by those who control the school."

Domination of the civil rights movement by whites and by Negroes "begging for a place on a white stage" has dictated the violent character of the movement, in Malcolm's opinion. He said that no intelligent white man would fight for his own freedom the way he fights for black freedom. "Sure he'll sit in and be nonviolent and so forth, but when his own property is attacked, he's not nonviolent. He's only nonviolent when he's on your side."

It was his indictment of white participation in the civil rights struggle, his adamant refusal to acknowledge individual contribution to freedom or progress anywhere and his rejection of their participation in the struggle to come that disturbed his older white radical listeners.

Young people, however, seemed to accept his willingness to cooperate on tactics "with any group white, pink, black or yellow" and delay settlement of larger questions.

—Jane McMar

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The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
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New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_

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# AT MILITANT LABOR FORUM

## Malcolm X Details Black Nationalist Views

Evans \_\_\_\_\_

Gale \_\_\_\_\_

Rosen \_\_\_\_\_

Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_

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By David Herman

NEW YORK — An audience of nearly 600 heard Malcolm X speak on "Black Revolution" at an April 8 meeting at Palm Gardens under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum.

He was well received by the Negroes who comprised about a quarter of the audience, and by most of the whites, as he outlined his views on Black Nationalism. (See announcement, page 1) Some white liberals, however, were visibly disturbed by his scathing indictment of the role of liberalism in the Negro struggle and his insistence on an all-black leadership for the Negro movement.

A lively point in the discussion period was a heated exchange between Malcolm X and James Wechsler, liberal editorial columnist for the *New York Post*. Wechsler sought to bolster the press propaganda smear that Malcolm X is a "hate-monger."

### Open Minds

This charge was not substantiated for those who came to learn what Malcolm X really stands for and who listened to him with an open mind. A number of such young people later indicated that the meeting had given them a completely different conception of Black Nationalism than they had gotten from the news media.

Malcolm X, in turn, welcomed the opportunity to address the meeting and also commended *The Militant*. In his closing remarks, he said:

"I want to thank the Militant Labor Forum for the invitation to speak here this evening. I think as I said earlier, the paper is one of the best I've read. We always encourage those in Harlem to buy it when we see it up there, or where ever else we may see it. It's a very good paper, and I hope they continue to have success — make progress. They can probably straighten out a lot of white people. Let us straighten out the black people."

58 MAR 1 1964

### A Rude Liberal

During the question period, he proved deft and firm in straightening out those whites who invited it. The exchange with Wechsler, for example, began when the liberal journalist tried to take the floor without being recognized. Malcolm X firmly insisted that he be seated, observing, "you're being rude. You're proving my point" about white liberalism.

He called on several other questioners and then turned back and offered the floor to Wechsler. In a completely hostile vein, Wechsler demanded to know if Malcolm X intended to pay tribute to Rev. Bruce Klunder, the white minister who died under a bulldozer in a Cleveland civil rights demonstration.

Countering Wechsler's effort to exploit Rev. Klunder's death as a polemical point against Black Nationalism, Malcolm X replied that the time is long past when



Malcolm X

Negroes are going to applaud the contributions of individual whites to the Negro struggle.

"I didn't put him under the bulldozer," he declared, "Uncle Sam put him under the bulldozer. The Supreme Court put him under the bulldozer."

Wechsler sought unsuccessfully to continue the debate and apparently finished what he had to say in a column in the April 13 *New York Post* devoted to the meeting in which he took an exceedingly dim view of Malcolm X and the Militant Labor Forum.

*New York Mirror* \_\_\_\_\_

*New York Daily News* \_\_\_\_\_

*New York Post* \_\_\_\_\_

*The New York Times* \_\_\_\_\_

*The Worker* \_\_\_\_\_

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*People's World* \_\_\_\_\_

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# Likes FNP

In response to a question about the Freedom Now Party, Malcolm X answered that he didn't know too much about it, but "what I know about it I like."

During his presentation, Malcolm X denounced the Democratic party. "Any Negro who registers as a Democrat or a Republican is a traitor to his own people," he said in answer to a question.

Another questioner asked him about the importance of Marxism. "I don't know too much about Karl Marx," he answered. But he indicated an understanding of the key role of economic issues with a concise explanation of the shrinking world market for American goods and its effect on the American economy.

At several points in the question period Malcolm X talked about what whites can do.

"The whites can help if they're progressive-minded," he said, "but my observation and analysis of the type of help that they've been giving makes me very cautious about the help they offer."

## Two Standards?

"No white person would go about fighting for freedom in the same manner that he has helped you and me fight for our freedom — none of them would. When it comes to black freedom, then the white man — he freedom rides and sits-in. He's non-violent. He sings 'We Shall Overcome' and all that sort of stuff. But when the property of the white man is threatened or his freedom is threatened, he's not non-violent."

"So if the whites are sincere in the struggle, they will show the black man how to use better tactics, tactics that will get results — and not results a hundred years from now."

"Our people are not going to wait ten years," he said.

"If this house is a house of freedom and justice for all — if that's what it is — then let's have it."

Toward the end of the question period an elderly white man insisted on a chance to answer Malcolm X. Given the floor, he proceeded to lecture Malcolm X on what was wrong with his views, and called him "bloodthirsty."

Malcolm X answered the attitude of the man of the meeting. Richard Gar-

"You include right now the man in the audience," type of attitude that Sam a houn-

try. the collection. American. P. to the chair. He doesn't re- collect. He re- unique attitude. He's quiet listening. He's taking it. He's analysing it. And when he stands up to speak, he's got a more intelligent manner than you and will have more friends than you...

"I'm not saying this to give him or pat him on the back. I think you know me better than that. If I say positive things about him, I mean it."

"He will probably get some of you saved, but you'll get most of you killed."

NEW YORK, April 13 — Malcolm X announced last night that he was leaving for Africa next week to spend three weeks there telling everyone who will listen about the condition of black men in this country and finding out how the Africans feel about the Afro-Americans.

Gloria Richardson, leader of the Cambridge, Maryland movement, shared the platform with Malcolm X and Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader.

Both Gloria Richardson and Malcolm X supported the call of Brooklyn CORE for a "stall-in" at the roads leading to the world's fair on its opening day. Both emphasized the need for individual initiative and the need for every individual to take on himself the responsibility of carrying on the struggle for freedom.

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## Africans Kidnapped

Malcolm X devoted the last of the current series of Sunday night rallies to telling how the civilized Africans were kidnapped, systematically de-humanized to the point where their will to resist was destroyed and then brought to this country to be slaves.

He said that any strategy used by any group that exposed the situation of the black man in this country before the world was a good strategy.

Gloria Richardson opened her remarks by saying that Brother Malcolm had added a necessary and vital spark to the struggle.

She advocated controlled self-defense as a barrier to violence. Through the tactic of controlled self-defense we may be able to avert a civil war, she said.

Independent political action as advocated by Malcolm X and the Freedom Now Party was the second line of self-defense, she said.

Jesse Gray spoke briefly, emphasizing the need to raise concrete demands when carrying out any protest action.

The next rally will be held in about four weeks when Malcolm X returns from Africa.

DETROIT, April 13 — Malcolm X drew repeated rounds of applause from an appreciative audience of nearly 2,000 Negroes here last night. He spoke at a rally sponsored by the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL) at the King Solomon Baptist Church.

He warned that the Negro people must make a revolution if they were to win their freedom now. He explained that there had been no bloodless revolutions previously, but suggested that America could heed the demands of the Negroes in 1964 and have a bloodless revolution for the first time.

The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date April 23, 1964

"Militant"

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## Malcolm X Pleased By Whites' Attitude On Trip to Mecca

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X has informed a New York friend in a letter from Saudi Arabia that he will return to the United States in two weeks with new, positive insights on race relations.

He said he had gained them from his religious experience in Mecca, the Holy City of Islam. He said that for the first time in his life he had felt no racial antagonism toward whites nor had he sensed any antagonism on their part against him.

The letter from Mecca, dated April 25, described how he had arrived at his new insights on race relations while on a pilgrimage.

### 'All Colors and Ranks'

"There are Muslims of all colors and ranks here in Mecca from all parts of this earth," he wrote.

"During the past seven days of this Holy Pilgrimage, while undergoing the rituals of the Hajj [pilgrimage], I have eaten from the same plate, drank from the same glass, slept on the same bed or rug, while praying to the same God—not only with some of this earth's most powerful kings, Cabinet members, potentates and other forms of political and religious rulers—but also with fellow-Muslims whose skin was the whitest of white, whose eyes were the bluest of blue, and whose hair was the blondest of blond—yet it was the first time in my life that I didn't see them as 'white' men. I could look into their

faces and see that these didn't regard themselves as 'white.'

"Their belief in the Oneness of God (Allah) had actually removed the 'white' from their minds, which automatically changed their attitude and behavior toward people of other colors. Their belief in the Oneness of God has actually made them so different from American whites, their outer physical characteristics played no part at all in my mind during all my close associations with them."

Before leaving for the Middle East, Malcolm had said that he would lead his newly formed black nationalist organization to 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.

Malcolm's letter said he hoped to visit Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nigeria, Ghana, and Algeria before returning to New York by May 20.

He described some of his reactions to Mecca this way: "I have never before witnessed such sincere hospitality and the practise of true brotherhood as I have seen and experienced during this pilgrimage here in Arabia."

"In fact, what I have seen and experienced on this pilgrimage has forced me to 'rearrange' much of my own thought-pattern, and to toss aside some of my previous conclusions."

In describing the people on the pilgrimage, he wrote: "Their sincere submission to the Oneness of God, and their true acceptance of all nonwhites as equals makes the so-called 'whites' also acceptable as equals into the brotherhood of Islam with the 'nonwhites'. Color ceases to be a determining factor of a man's worth or value once he becomes a Muslim. I hope I am making this part very clear, because it is now very clear to me."

"If white Americans would accept the religion of Islam, if they would accept the Oneness

of God (Allah), then they could also sincerely accept the Oneness of Man, and they would cease to measure others always in terms of their 'differences in color'."

At another point he wrote: "The American Negro should never be blamed for racial 'animosities,' because his are only reactions, or defense mechanisms which his subconscious intelligence has forced him to erect against the conscious racism practiced . . . by American whites."

"But as America's insane obsession with racism leads her up the suicidal path, nearer and nearer to the precipice that leads to the bottomless pits below, I do believe that whites of the younger generation, in the colleges and universities, through their own young, less hampered intellect, will see the 'handwriting on the wall' and turn for spiritual salvation to the religion of Islam and force the older generation of American whites to turn with them."

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## Malcolm X To Debate Louis Lomax

Negro supremacist Malcom X will debate with Negro author Louis Lomax here May 23 on "Which Way Goes the Negro—Integration or Separation."

The debate, described as a "no holds barred" affair, will be held at 8:30 p.m. in the Civic Opera House. Reserved tickets are from \$2.50 to \$4.

Malcolm X, who recently broke with the Black Muslim leadership, is an advocate of Negro-white separation. Lomax, author of "Come Up America" and "The Negro Revolt," is an advocate of non-violent action.

Irv Kupcinet, Sun-Times columnist, will serve as moderator.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS  
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**Islamic Leader Has a Stake in Sincerity**

# Man Who 'Tamed'

## Malcolm Is Hopeful

By Jesse W. Lewis Jr.  
 Staff Reporter

NEW YORK—The man who takes the credit for "taming" Malcolm X and converting him to "true Islam" is Dr. Mahmoud Youssef Shawarbi, director of an Egyptian national who directs the Islamic Center here.

Dr. Shawarbi said Malcolm X came to him to learn about "real Islam." After Dr. Shawarbi was convinced that Malcolm was sincere he urged him

to make the pilgrimage to new organization, "The Muslim Mosque, Inc."

### Complete Turnabout

Malcolm, a publicly declared ex-Black Muslim and now ex-racist, also said that Dr. Shawarbi was "instrumental" in "helping me to understand true Islam, a religion that teaches brotherhood and tolerance between peoples of all colors and national origins." His views, included in a letter telling of his experiences on the pilgrimage, were distributed to news media under the name of Malcolm's

there was opposition to his tutelage of Malcolm X from other Arab Muslims here in New York. Most of the criticism stemmed from fears that Malcolm is not sincere and may use the religion and pilgrimage as a device to improve his public image for his own purposes.

### Questions Answered

Against this background, Dr. Shawarbi has a stake in Malcolm's sincerity.

What caused Malcolm, who



The Washington Post  
**MALCOLM X**  
 ... returning from Mecca

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was once too outspoken even for the Black Muslims, to turn away from his extreme brand of racism?

These questions were answered by Dr. Shawarbi during a four-hour interview in his third floor office in the gray stone building that houses the Islamic Center at 1 Riverside dr.

Dr. Shawarbi, 43, is a native of Cairo and still is on the staff of Cairo University, his alma mater. He said he also holds degrees from the universities of Wales and London.

"Malcolm first came here in March," said Dr. Shawarbi in a mixed Egyptian and British accent. "I never met him before but I had heard quite a bit about him.

#### 'Wanted to Learn'

"He told me he wanted to learn about the 'real Islam.' He said he was already a Muslim but felt there was more to it. First, I had to persuade him to give up his racist ideas. I pointed out that sometimes Arabs themselves feel they are somehow special Muslims because the Prophet Muhammad was Arab. But he warned us we will be judged by our deeds and not by our race."

Dr. Shawarbi said he and Malcolm met several times during the six weeks preceding Malcolm's trip to Mecca. Malcolm is in Africa now, expected to return to this country Wednesday.

"I have no doubt of his sincerity. During our many meetings I could not help but be impressed by his desire to learn about Islam. Sometimes he would even cry while passages of the Holy Koran were being read." Dr. Shawarbi said.

#### Given Royal Treatment

After he was fully convinced that Malcolm was converted, Dr. Shawarbi urged him to make the trip to Mecca. While there, Malcolm wrote that he was the guest of Crown Prince Faisal because of introductions of Dr. Shawarbi.

Malcolm was greeted by the Saudi Deputy Chief of Protocol and was given a car and driver guide to accompany him during his visit. "It was an honor that in America would be bestowed upon a King—not a Negro," Malcolm wrote.

Dr. Shawarbi appeared confident that Malcolm would abandon his call for Negroes to arm themselves and form rifle clubs. He also predicted Malcolm's political organization will grow because whites may join.

#### Setting a Good Example

"If he admits all people to his political movement—irrespective of color or religion—and he goes about things quietly and Islamically, I am sure it will be a very big movement.

"In this way he will be serving his whole country, his own group and his new religion and setting a good example of a true Muslim for the American people."

The interview ended when Brother James 67X, an aide of Malcolm's came in to leave a sheaf of press releases that included a recent letter from

Malcolm sent from Lagos, Nigeria.

In this latest letter, Malcolm said he is warmly received in Africa "as soon as they learn that I am Malcolm X of the militant American Muslims. Africans in general, and Muslims in particular, love militant."

#### 'Long-lost Brothers'

The letter said Malcolm hoped his pilgrimage would "officially" link his organization with "750,000,000 Muslims of the World of Islam."

He said in Africa, American Negroes are considered to be "long-lost brothers of Africa." The letter ended: "Despite western propaganda to the contrary, our African Brothers and Sisters love you, and are happy to learn that we also are awakening from our long 'sleep' and are developing a strong love for them."

#### Mailing Room

A few miles away is Malcolm's headquarters on the second floor of the Theresa Hotel at 125th st. and 7th ave. Right now it is little more than a mailing room. Boxes of press releases line the walls. On a table are a few Saudi Arabian English newspapers and information brochures.

Across the hall, Muhammed Ali, who is world heavyweight boxing champion, is Cassius Clay, is planning to set up his own office. Clay would not say what effect Malcolm's breakaway from the Black Muslims would have on the movement.

"Anybody can go to Mecca," he said. "We may have lost one star but we'll get another five times as bright. Malcolm—he's still my brother—was just nationally known. I'm famous all over the world, Clay said.

Most civil rights observers here are adopting a wait and see attitude. Some predict that Clay may try to assume Malcolm's old position in the Black Muslims. Others feel that Malcolm will be just as militant when he returns this week.

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(MALCOLM X)

NEW YORK--CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER JAMES FARMER SAID TODAY HE BELIEVES MALCOLM X, THE FORMER BLACK MUSLIM LEADER, HAS BEEN CONVERTED FROM BLACK NATIONALISM TO INTEGRATION DURING HIS VISIT TO MECCA.

FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY SAID HE BASED HIS BELIEF ON A POSTCARD HE RECEIVED FROM MALCOLM X, WHO IS EXPECTED TO RETURN TO THIS COUNTRY FRIDAY OR SATURDAY.

ACCORDING TO FARMER, THE CARD SAID:

"GREETINGS FROM ARIVIA.

"I'VE JUST VISITED THE HOLY CITY OF MECCA WHERE I'VE SEEN THOUSANDS OF THOUSANDS OF PILGRIMS OF ALL COLORS WORSHIPING TOGETHER IN PERFECT PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD. IT IS A SIGHT SUCH AS I'VE NEVER SEEN IN AMERICA. IT WAS WONDERFUL TO BEHOLD."

MALCOLM X BROKE FROM THE BLACK MUSLIMS AND ORGANIZED THE BLACK NATIONALISTS. BOTH ORGANIZATIONS BELIEVE IN BLACK SUPERIORITY AND REJECT THE INTEGRATION MOVEMENT.

"IT IS DIFFICULT TO JUDGE FROM JUST ONE POSTCARD," FARMER ADMITTED. BUT HE ADDED "I THINK THAT MALCOLM X WILL JOIN THE INTEGRATION MOVEMENT WHEN HE GETS BACK."

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## Arrest of Malcolm X Ordered

NEW YORK, May 20 (UPI)—A traffic court judge yesterday ordered the arrest of black nationalist Malcolm X when he failed to appear for trial on a speeding violation.

Judge Kenneth Phipps signed the arrest order for the defendant after waiting more than two hours for him to appear. Malcolm X, who recently formed his own group following a rift with the Black Muslim movement, had been given a ticket March 6 on a charge of speeding on the Triboro Bridge.

The black nationalist left New York last month on a pilgrimage to Mecca. His wife said today that she expected his return in two or three days.

The defendant, charged with doing 50 miles per hour, 10 miles over the bridge speed limit, had pleaded innocent and his trial was set for today in traffic court.

A court clerk intoned the name "Malcolm X. Little" four times over a two and one-half hour period, but no one responded. Judge Phipps then signed the arrest order.

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# Malcolm X and Black Nationalism

## EDITORIAL COMMENT

Since his break with the Black Muslim movement, Malcolm X has continued to focus his fiery speeches on the need for more militancy in the black liberation struggle. The change in his remarks, if any, has been to emphasize still more the anti-government--the revolutionary--aspect of his position, and to begin to talk in terms of a political, more than religious, drive for black power.

One of the key ingredients in Malcolm's call for an upsurge of black nationalism is the inevitable triumph of the Negro masses. He effectively derides the eternal-rule attitude of the white ruling class and the fatalism of many Negro leaders who accept the white man's notion of the white man's majority forever overwhelming the black minority.

Malcolm links the U.S. Negro to the growing world movement of colored peoples against U.S. colonialism. He says, "In fact, in most of the thinking and planning of whites in the West today, it's easy to see the fear in their conscious minds and subconscious minds, that the mas-

ses of dark people in the East, who already outnumber them, will continue to increase and multiply and grow until they eventually over-run the people of the West like a human sea, a human tide, a human flood.... You think you outnumber the racial minority in this country; you don't outnumber us all over the earth."

The commercial white press singled out Malcolm's remarks on armed self-defense for special coverage. When Malcolm calls for black rifle clubs, the press howls with hysterical headlines designed to fan the flames of hatred of "rednecks," north and south, and to terrify southern "moderates" and northern liberals.

In an effort to frighten Negroes away from Malcolm's call for a Black Nationalist Party, the press warns demagogically that "only violence will result" from Malcolm's militancy (as if everything has been nice and peaceful for the past hundred years!). The white ruling circles have let their press run wild with plea after plea from "established" Negro leaders for "non-violence" and "responsi-

bility."

Despite all the sensationalism and one-sided reporting, Malcolm's call for self-defense is only a part of his program, and it is not so new. Robert Williams established a rifle club and self-defense techniques in Monroe, N.C., quietly and successfully defending the Negro community there against Ku Klux Klan attacks (until the combined assault from southern racists and the FBI succeeded in driving Williams to exile in Cuba).

Birmingham Negroes, too, fed up with the slow pace and no-pace of progress and beginning to recognize the collusion of the federal government with the Dixiecrats, resorted to armed defense to protect their lives and homes. Recent demonstrations in Maryland and Nashville, Tenn. have also seen Negroes fight back--although in a limited way--against police terror.

The press is obviously trying to create an hysterical reaction to Malcolm's words in an effort to frighten the black masses and stop the growth of the self-defense trend. But the headlines may boomerang as more black men and women learn about Malcolm's call to stand up and fight.

Especially significant in Malcolm's arsenal is his often clear estimate of the federal government and its alliance with the Dixiecrats. Referring to the control that the Dixiecrats hold over Congress and the White House, he says, "In fact, when you see how many of the committeemen are from the south, you can see that we have nothing but a cracker government in Washington, D. C. And their head is a cracker President."

On nationalism, he says: "My philosophy is black nationalism, my economic philosophy is black national-

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 People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
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ism, my social philosophy is black nationalism... to me this means that the political philosophy of black nationalism is that which is designed to encourage our people, the black people, to gain complete control over the politics and politicians of our own community.... We should gain complete economic control over the economy of our community, the businesses and other things that create employment, so that we can provide employment for our own people, instead of having to picket and boycott and beg other people for a job."

These words, while militant, nonetheless raise as many questions as they answer: Who does Malcolm mean when he says "We should gain complete economic control?" And what kind of economic system does Malcolm propose to control? Would he simply substitute black bosses for white--or does he propose that power be put in the hands of black workers? Or doesn't he distinguish between black workers and black bosses? In his criticisms of those who "picket and boycott and beg... for a job," does Malcolm reject pickets and boycotts as tactics? In the months ahead, he will have to answer these questions, among others, if he is to win active mass support.

But Malcolm's grasp of the role of the federal government stands in sharp contrast to other Negro leaders who still preach reliance on the "cracker" in Washington, and the hope that somehow the federal government will be pushed into making important concessions. Malcolm's call for black political power, although vague, is in contrast to those integrationists who see ending oppression within the confines of the white man's capitalist economy.

However, Malcolm is not the only black leader to put forward this new attitude in recent months. Many Negro

leaders are coming to grips with the failure of the integration movement to win anything from the federal government except platitudes and jail sentences. Many are coming to see that the so-called civil rights bill, bogged down in a filibuster, is actually a giant fraud, both in what it says (or doesn't say) and in the way it's being used as a political football.

This new approach is reflected by the forces around Gloria Richardson in Cambridge, Md., Stanley Branche and the Freedom Now Committee in Chester, Pa., Lawrence Landry in Chicago, the "ad hockers" in San Francisco (see last month's PL), and the Brooklyn CORE rebels and Rev. Milton Calamison in New York. While these forces are not all the same and the leaders are not all of equal ability or consistency, they share many of the above-mentioned attitudes, as does Malcolm X.

The unification of all such forces around a clear program would be a big blow against the ruling class, and an uplift to the entire black freedom movement. The recent formation in Washington of an organization called ACT, under the chairmanship of Landry and with the participation of most of the above-mentioned forces as well as some SNCC leaders, could be a big step in the direction of that unity.

In this regard, Malcolm X's position is not clear. How, for example, will he reconcile the desire and ability of the Negro masses to act now with his perspectives for self-determination? Can he reconcile his opposition to integration with his verbal support for militant integrationists and his participation in ACT?

Malcolm's statement that he will be the black man's Billy Graham seems to put him at odds with some form of mass action to secure the black revolution of which he speaks. Surely Malcolm himself doesn't believe independent black power, political or economic, can be preached into being.

At this point, Malcolm's main pitch is towards the ballot. He says the only way to avoid a violent revolution is by the ballot: "Why is America in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution? Because the Negro in this country holds the balance of power and if the Negro... were given what the Constitution says he's supposed to have, the added power of the Negro in this country would sweep all the racists and segregationists out of office.... It would wipe out the southern segregationists that now control America's foreign policy as well as America's domestic policy.... The black man has to be given full use of the ballot in every one of the 50 states. But if the black man doesn't

get the ballot, then you are going to be faced with another man who forgets the ballot and starts using the bullet."

(Perhaps it is the smell of the ballot that has brought Adam Clayton Powell to the edges of Malcolm's activities. Or perhaps it is Powell's assignment from the power structure to use his demagoguery to guarantee that the nationalist movement becomes nothing more than an appendage to the electoral system.)

In the final analysis, Malcolm's policies will be tested by deeds and by the ability of black nationalism to attract large numbers of Negro workers, a feat so far unachieved by the integration movement, or by existing nationalist groups.

To accomplish this, Malcolm will have to develop and explain his identification with the world-wide anti-imperialist front, a large part of which has transcended nationalism and adopted internationalism and the class outlook that goes with it. Moreover, he, together with others, will have to demonstrate the concrete advantages of black nationalism at home and organize masses of black workers to fight the white rulers (this implies a certain amount of differentiation between white rulers and white masses)--the only kind of fight which will lead to freedom.

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The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
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The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 5-20-64

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(MALCOLM X)

CHICAGO--FORMER BLACK MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X SAID TODAY NEGROES HAVE REACHED "A POINT OF NO RETURN" IN RELATIONS WITH WHITES AND "IT'S ONLY A MIRACLE" THAT THERE HAS NOT BEEN WIDESPREAD RACIAL VIOLENCE.

MALCOLM X TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE THAT NEGROES WILL TURN TO VIOLENCE WHEN A "POINT OF NO RETURN" IS REACHED. HE SAID THEY HAVE ALREADY REACHED THAT POINT.

"WHITE PEOPLE ARE BEING MIGHTY NAIVE IF THEY THINK BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT RESORT TO VIOLENCE," HE SAID. "IT'S ONLY A MIRACLE THAT WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE HAS NOT BROKEN OUT."

HE SAID MORE AMERICAN NEGROES WOULD MOVE TO AFRICA IF THEY KNEW WHAT CONDITIONS WERE LIKE ON THAT CONTINENT. HE SAID HE WAS WARMLY RECEIVED ON A FIVE-WEEK TOUR OF GHANA, NIGERIA AND OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS.

"IF THERE WERE A LARGER NUMBER OF AMERICAN NEGROES WHO HAD THE CORRECT PICTURE OF AFRICA, THERE WOULD BE MANY MORE GOING BACK," HE SAID. "IF THEY SAW THE INTEREST BY AMERICAN WHITES IN AFRICA, THEY WOULD WANT TO GO BACK."

MALCOLM X QUOTED SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS, D-ILL., AS SAYING AFRICANS WERE NOT INTERESTED IN THE STRUGGLES OF AMERICAN NEGROES.

"THE SENATOR HAS BEEN VERY MUCH MISINFORMED, VERY MUCH MISTAKEN ON THIS PARTICULAR POINT," HE SAID.

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# Malcolm X Suggests Putting Negro Problem To The UN

By Ronald G. Berquist

Malcolm X, who calls himself a minister of Islam, offered Saturday night a new series of solutions for racial problems in the United States.

During a debate in the Opera House with Negro author Louis Lomax, Malcolm had these suggestions:

1 Problems of racial tension in the country should be taken before the United Nations.

2 American Negroes should consider Pan-Africanism and strengthen their cultural and philosophical ties with the African continent.

3 The American Negro should be prepared to abandon the "leaking boat" of his current state.

## A Separate State?

Whether this last item means a separate state for the Negro as Malcolm X once advocated while still with the Black Muslims' Elijah Muhammad was unexplained.

However, earlier in the debate, moderated by Sun-Times columnist Irv Kupcinet, he disavowed any such thing.

Putting it in a still vaguer reference, he said:

"We do not want integration nor do we want separation. The program should be designed to preserve our human rights."

## 'I'm Not A Racist'

Before leaving Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X sided with his superior's racist view.

Moving in the direction of moderation, Malcolm X told

some 2,000 persons at the debate:

"I no longer subscribe to sweeping indictments of one race. I'm not a racist and I do not subscribe to the tenets of racism."

## An International View

He said that the problem of the American Negro should be taken out of the realm of civil rights and placed in the international sphere.

By that he meant associating the aspirations of the American Negro with other minority groups of the world.

"Our people look beyond

national boundaries," he said. "In the context of the world, we are in the majority and not in the minority."

## No Clear-Cut Way

Malcolm X appeared to offer no clear-cut means by

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Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
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12

CHICAGO SUNDAY  
SUN-TIMES  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Edition: FOUR-STAR FINAL  
Author: RONALD G. BERQUIST  
Editor: JOHN G. TREZEVANT  
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MALCOLM X.

Character:

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During debate at Opera House, Malcolm X (left) speaks as Louis Lomax (right) listens. Moderating the expression of views is Sun-Times columnist Irv Kupcinet (center). (Sun-Times Photo)

which the American Negro can assert and preserve his human rights.

Nor did Lomax, a former professor of philosophy at Georgia State University and the author of books on racial

problems, have anything more concrete in this respect.

From that point of view, the debate was a draw.

#### 'Bound Together'—Lomax

Lomax, however, made these points:

"The American Negro and the white man are bound together in the American experience. Separation would destroy each. There is no other alternative for any of us but to live together.

"However, the white man in America has done wrong for so long, he now believes it is right to do wrong.

"But I'm not going to separate from the white man. I'm going to engage him and I'm going to win."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

**NEGROES: TAKE  
PLIGHT TO U. N.  
—MALCOLM X**

Malcolm X, former No. 2 Black Muslim leader, proposed here last night that the American Negro place his plight before the United Nations. He made his proposal in a debate with Louis E. Lomax, former assistant professor of philosophy at Georgia State university, in the Civic Opera house.

Malcolm X, who was expelled from the Black Muslim sect for extremist statements, recently returned from a five-week visit to Africa and the middle east. He said he had been assured that African nations that are members of the U. N. would support the American Negroes' cause.

Malcolm urged action this year to avoid what he said would become guerrilla warfare similar to that in Laos and Viet Nam.

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# MALCOLM X SPEAKS:

## 'Guerrilla Warfare Is Ne

By CLARENCE HUNTER  
Star Staff Writer

Malcolm X sat in a Harlem restaurant and spooned up a banana split as he talked about reciprocal dying, guerrilla fighting, revolution and his new Pan African organization.

Malcolm, the former chief spokesman for Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, a black supremacist sect, said he has discarded the unyielding "hate white" philosophy of that group.

His conversation, however, indicated that he still regards the white man as the Negroes' No. 1 enemy and that his future course will be to fight that enemy with every ounce of his energy.

"I reserve the right to do whatever, wherever, whenever and however is necessary to get results," he said. He was not smiling.

No "metamorphosis" resulted from his pilgrimage to Mecca, Malcolm said. He remains inflamed over the American Negro's condition and thinks only a revolution will correct it.

### Freedom for Negroes

"Take a duck, for example," Malcolm said. "Ducks can't lay chicken eggs unless a revolutionary change makes it possible for them to do it. When you have a political system which is not capable of producing freedom for Negroes because it was founded to produce freedom for whites, then you must change it and you don't change it by getting on your knees and singing 'We Shall Overcome' for 100 years."

His political group, separate from his exclusively-black Muslim Mosque, Inc., so that it can attract other black peoples as well as American Negroes, will not advocate, nor will it initiate violence, Malcolm promised.

"The last thing the Negro wants to do is violence, but he must protect himself," Malcolm said. "When you start talking freedom, you have to talk about dying a little, too. Reciprocal dying, I mean. When a black man dies, a white man should die. Suffering is all right and non-violence is all right, too, as long as they are reciprocal."

Malcolm insisted that Negroes should form vigilante committees, Mau Mau, anything to protect themselves. He said "people aren't using much fore-



MALCOLM X

sight if they don't see guerrilla warfare as the next step in the civil rights struggle." There are evidences of this in Cambridge, Md., "where Negroes shot a Negro National Guardsman," Malcolm said.

### Devil and Double Devil

As a Black Muslim, Malcolm was known to view all whites as "devils." Now after a 12-day visit to the world of Islam, he said he is convinced that "blacks and whites" can solve their problems amiably if they approach them in a spirit of "brotherhood and tolerance between peoples of all colors and national origins."

As a result of this tempering, he still speaks of devils, but in this fashion:

"Anyone... mind you, I am saying anyone... who overtly, intentionally, and knowingly deprives another man of his human right is a devil. I said anyone who does this is a devil. And, if he consciously, knowingly and intentionally deprives the man of knowledge that will enable him to correct his condition, he is a double devil. And this devil has to go."

The Afro-American Freedom Fighters, Malcolm's new political group, is envisioned by him as the vehicle which will exterminate the "devil" that haunts him. It also is the organization Malcolm hopes will

link the American Negro's cause with the independence drives of African nations.

### Take Fight Before U. N.

"You have never heard of a Negro organization with the word fighter in it, have you?" Malcolm asked. "The first aim of the AAF is to lay the groundwork to get the American Negro's case before the United Nations to make it an international issue. I want to take the whole Negro struggle to the Human Rights Commission of the U. N. and charge the United States with the same thing as South Africa and Portugal are charged with there."

Forces like the Algerian Freedom Fighters and the Mau Mau "were people trying to throw off the yoke of colonialism... and this is the task facing the American Negro," Malcolm said.

Malcolm, who became a Black Muslim, See MALCOLM X, Page A-6

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MALCOLM X

# Negroes Urged to Serve As 'Freedom Fighters'

Continued From Page A-1  
Muslim while he was in prison in 1948, said he has no idea how many followers he will attract to his mosque or Freedom Fighter organization, both headquartered in Harlem.

Having just returned from Algiers, he said he must work to create an organization that will follow the tenets of Islam in "the best way we can in a Western and highly mechanized society."

## Sees Mosque Prospering

Malcolm is confident his mosque will prosper. He will attract converts as well as defectors from the Black Muslims, he predicted.

"Many are leaving the Black Muslim movement, especially the militant and young ones who have gone out because of the lack of activity," Malcolm said. "When I entered the Nation of Islam in 1952 in Detroit, there were not over 400 active

Muslims following Mr. Muhammad and he had 10 mosques. By 1962 . . . now, I don't want to sound like I'm bragging . . . no one could count the number of his followers."

Claiming "there's no way of telling" how many followers he has now, Malcolm said: "I've gotten calls for help in organizing Muslims in other cities—Philadelphia, Washington, Boston and Los Angeles."

He said he wasn't worried about financial support. "We are scratching," is the way he described his money situation. "I don't have any expensive habits. I never have met a true revolutionary who worried about money."

The desire and willingness to cooperate with other civil rights organizations, Malcolm said, is the major difference between his present group and his Black Muslim affiliation.

"In the Black Muslims I belonged to an organization which stressed moral reformation but never took part in politics, the civil rights struggle or the Negro revolt," he recalled. "Now in our Muslim Mosque, we will keep religion in the mosque because we don't want to involve it directly in the struggle. Through our Freedom Fighters, we will work with any organization in any way desirable to attack the political, economic or social evils that affect Negroes."

## Pan African Movement

The traditional rights groups such as the NAACP, Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and CORE shunned Malcolm X when he was a Black Muslim. He expects them to change this posture now. This is one reason he will work hard to create a strong Pan African movement. No Negro leader

could afford to ignore such a group, he said.

The Freedom Fighters, Malcolm emphasized, won't encourage the physical return of Negroes to Africa.

"We will work for a psychological, cultural and social migration to Africa," he said. "The Jews in America have benefited from such a migration to Israel which automatically enhanced their prestige right here in America. If the Negro in this country was to become involved in a similar way, the common bond that would exist between the African and us would automatically put us in a stronger political, economic and social position in this country."

As Malcolm talked and answered questions for about two hours in the 22 Restaurant on 135th street between Fifth and Lenox avenues, about 10 men, apparently his followers, entered and sat in various booths. He greeted each as "brother" with a smile, a quick handshake or a slight nod of his head. Malcolm sported a closely cropped beard he grew while traveling abroad.

## Why He Left Black Muslims

Why did he leave the Black Muslims?

Carefully avoiding any derogatory remarks about Mr. Muhammad, Malcolm explained that he was "forced out" of the group by a combination of things that included his personal disillusionment with the enforcement of the sect's moral code.

"As long as I thought the Black Muslims represented moral reformation, I represented them. When I saw differently I left them," said Malcolm, who celebrated his 39th birthday while visiting in Algeria on May 19. He, his wife and three children, live in Queens, not far from the New York World's Fair.

The fact that he had been told that the Black Muslim nation "was not teaching orthodox Islam, and that we had strayed 100 per cent from the path," whetted Malcolm's appetite for understanding "Islam as it really was," Malcolm said.

## Quest of Prince Faisal

He contacted Mahmoud Youssef Shawarbi, deputy director of the Islamic Center of New York and director of the Islamic Federation of the United States and Canada.

Mr. Shawarbi, he said, opened his eyes to brotherhood and tolerance between persons of different races. He gave him a letter of introduction which opened many doors for him during his pilgrimage, Malcolm said.

While in Jedda, Saudi Arabia, Malcolm said, he was a state guest of Prince Faisal, who supplied him with transportation and a religious guide. He visited Mecca and Medina at will, wearing the native clothing and performing all the requirements of the religion.

On the way home, Malcolm visited Beirut, Cairo, Nigeria and Ghana. His speeches, especially in Ghana and Nigeria, attacked America's racial ills. He said he sought the aid of the Africans to get America's racial problems before the United Nations.

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Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

# Cops Arrest Malcolm

## X Men

# Threatening Harlem

## Muslims

Armed with two rifles, six followers of Malcolm X drove up to the Harlem Mosque of the rival Black Muslims last night.

About 35 Black Muslims manned the gunmen, but police arrived in time to prevent bloodshed.

The six, arrested for violating the weapons law, were described as former Black Muslims who switched to the Negro nationalist movement formed by Malcolm X after he left the Muslim fold.

Malcolm was leader of the Harlem Mosque until Elijah Muhammad, national head of the Black Muslims, suspended him last December for remarks he made about the assassination of President Kennedy.

Informed sources said the real reason for the suspension was a personal feud between the two leaders.

Subsequently, the New York mosque began eviction proceedings to oust Malcolm from the home it had given him at 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst. But Malcolm refused to move.

### Charges Threat

At a hearing on the eviction case this week, Malcolm charged the Black Muslims were out to kill him.

Last night, police said, six of his followers tried to phone him but received no answers. Fearing something had happened to him, they armed themselves with the rifles and drove to his Queens house. There, Malcolm assured them he was in no trouble.

The six then drove to Muslim Mosque No. 7—also called Muhammad Temple or Islam—at 116th St. and Lenox Ave. As

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1 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM  
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they got out of their car, 35 Muslims poured from the mosque and its ground-floor restaurant.

#### Improvised Weapons

The Muslims armed themselves with sticks, rocks and other improvised weapons. One of Malcolm's men, identified by police as Williams, George, 35, of 115 W. 118th St.,

loaded his carbine with a clip of 30 shells. Someone called police.

As a sergeant and two patrolmen arrived in a radio car, the six men jumped in their auto and started to drive away. Other police converged on the scene and captured them. In addition to the weapons charge, George was booked for felonious assault.

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# Malcolm X, 'Angriest Muslim,' Changes Mind

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 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

By BRYCE B. MILLER.

Until a few months ago Malcolm X, known as the "angriest Black Muslim" of them all, went about the country preaching the cult's message of "hate-all-whites" and complete segregation—of a separate black state somewhere in the United States.

For 12 years he was chief lieutenant for Elijah Muhammad, leader of the cult, and its chief spokesman. He whipped audiences of Negroes to a fever pitch against "white devils" and the Christians he claimed gave him his light coffee color by raping his grandmother.

"I rejoice when a white man dies," he would say, his face contorted with hate.

## Quotes Axiom

On President Kennedy's assassination he described himself as a farmboy "who had always believed in chickens coming home to roost."

It was shortly after that statement that Malcolm X was expelled from the Muslims, although he claims the real reason was a "moral crisis" that he could not live with.

But what has gone generally unnoticed is that this forceful and eloquent man has done a complete about-face on the question of separation of the races and is now preaching to his fellow Negroes a message of "brotherhood" with the whites.

It still is a militant and even violent message. But the hate-all-whites doctrine that once marked his every word is no longer there.

In an interview he explained why he has rejected the teachings of Muhammad and is now preaching co-existence with whites to his followers.

## Admits About-Face

"I have done a complete about-face and I'm man enough to admit it... even if it makes me look ridiculous in the eyes of the world," Malcolm X said yesterday.

"The only reason some people might think my about-face is ridiculous is my inability to bring to the eye of the public the main ingredient—it is of such a nature that it can't be brought into public before it is brought into court.

"There was a moral crisis involved.

"When I lost my confidence in Muhammad as a person, I began to re-examine his philosophy, perhaps objectively for the first time, and his doctrine—his entire organization and behavior pattern."

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3 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

Date: 7/3/64  
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## Malcolm X Gets Guard

NEW YORK, July 4 (UPI)—Police were keeping the home of black nationalist leader Malcolm X under surveillance today after a reported attempt on his life.

Malcolm X told police two members of the Black Muslims tried to attack him near his home in Queens last night.

Malcolm X had been the New York leader of the Black Muslim movement until his split with Elijah Muhammad several months ago.

There have been a number of incidents between the two groups in recent weeks that have resulted in the arrests of several persons, police said.

Malcolm X said two men "came out of nowhere" when he left his home last night to move his car. He said they tried to force their way into the car, but he locked the doors and quickly drove off.

He said he drove around the block and back to the house, ran in and grabbed a rifle.

"I have weapons I would use without hesitation," he said. "But I would hate to use them against Muslim brothers who are just dupes of Elijah Muhammad."

Elijah Muhammad preaches separation of the races. Malcolm X, after a visit to the Moslem holy city of Mecca, made an about-face on the racial issue and now preaches that Negroes and whites should cooperate.

The Washington Post and Times Herald A-10  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
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"He teaches hate and offers something that is unobtainable. I believe the black man needs something more. I try to show my followers how they can get something more."

#### Rejects Separation

"We don't believe in any of Muhammad's philosophy of separation. We believe the Afro-American should have his full part in the entire American experience," he continued.

Only a few months ago, on March 17, 1964, a young Negro writer from South Africa, Lewis Nkosi, wrote for the London Observer:

"Malcolm X is the only black man in America whose face I have watched turn radiant with hate against the white people."

Malcolm X still hates. But his hate has shifted from the entire white race to the "white racists."

He made it clear that his followers are being taught only to hate "oppression, segregation and injustice which some white people practice."

#### 'Not All Bad'

"We realize that all white people are not bad," he said.

"Elijah Muhammad taught that the whole white race was a race of devils. When I went to the holy city of Mecca (earlier this year) I found white men walking arm and arm with black men. I wrote back to that effect and it infuriated Muhammad. He was in a rage."

When Malcolm X left the Black Muslims, many followed him into what he

called the Black Nationalist Movement. It weakened Muhammad's position and authority.

Last Sunday, while Elijah Muhammad was speaking in Harlem, Malcolm X held an organizational meeting of a new group to be called the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Another meeting will be held this Sunday to announce the objectives of the organization. It is designed as a "grass-roots" movement drawing its membership from all strata of America's 22-million Negroes.

#### A Replacement

The OAAU will replace the Black Nationalist Movement. Malcolm X has been named its chairman.

"When I formed the Black Nationalists, I said at that time we would encourage students across the country to undertake a new analysis of the problem and come up with a solution or organizational structure that would enable us to work on the problem," Malcolm X said.

"We formed a brain trust of intellectuals, celebrities

and students—sat down for four weeks almost in secret and discussed this thing. All the ingredients ended up... by forming the OAAU which is political, economical and social.

"For the Afro-American to control his own destiny, he must control the decisions that affect his destiny."

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Malcolm X Warns Police Of Tactics, Says Harlem Negroes Are Armed

CAIRO, Egypt (NPI) — Black nationalist leader Malcolm X declared here last week that Negroes in New York's Harlem district are the best armed Negroes in the world, and warned that there could be a racial explosion unless the police change their tactics in dealing with them.

Malcolm X, attending the summit conference of African leaders here, advocated recently that Negroes, in the South in particular, arm themselves against attacks by racists.

Commenting on news of the Harlem riots, Malcolm X indirectly blamed the scare tactics, used by the police, on Commissioner Michael Murphy. He said:

"I am surprised that the trouble has been contained to the degree it has. Until two years ago, New York City used wiser methods than any other city to deal with

racial problems.

"But under police Commissioner Murphy, for some reason, tactics have changed. Now it is a case of outright scare tactics. This won't work because the Negro is not afraid. If the tactics are not changed, this could escalate into something very, very serious."

Alluding to Negroes being armed, Malcolm X said:

"There are probably more armed Negroes in Harlem than in any spot on earth. If the people who are armed got involved in this, you can bet they'll really have something on their hands."

After drawing a 90-day suspension for ridiculing the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X left the Black Muslim organization headed by "The Honorable" Elijah Muhammad a few months ago to found his own Muslim Mosque, Inc., group.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

THE NEW CRUSADER  
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 Editor: BALM L. LEAVEL  
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INSIDE LABOR

Malcolm X, Calling For Violence,  
Meets with Communists in Cairo

By Victor Riesel

Cairo, United Arab Republic: -- Malcolm X, whom the Chinese Communists call the "Chairman of the Afro-American Unity Organization," spent a considerable amount of his time in the presence of international Communist propagandists here.

Not only did he endorse the rioting back home, but he publicly called for retaliation against the white community. He said the time had come to meet "violence with violence; an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

He prepared a series of inflammatory anti-U.S. documents here on the pretext of presenting them to the recent meeting of the Organization of African Unity, and it was reported across the world that he attended the conference. This is nonsense. He did not get near the parley. He was not accredited to it.

Streets were roped off. Hotels which the heads of states and foreign ministers occupied were cleared of all but official guests. Only those with special blue cards and lapel badges, which were changed daily, were able to get anywhere near the conference area. All but the short formal opening session were executive meetings.

I was at that session. I talked later with several heads of state--many of them old friends whom I had helped in the U.S. when they were in exile. They are now amongst America's best friends in Africa.

Malcolm X was not at any of the conference sessions. I was informed that it "is ridiculous" and "undignified" to think for a moment that anyone such as Malcolm X would be heard by the African counterpart of the Organization of American States.

Malcolm X's activity here was strictly a propaganda operation which he set up at the Hotel Semiramis, where some newsmen gathered. He made certain that his violent anti-U.S. diatribes were put in the hands of the Chinese Communist correspondents planted here by the New China News Agency.

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But when Malcolm X wanted to be with his pro-Communist friends he came over to the Hotel Omar Khayam (on Zamalik, an island in the middle of Cairo), a former palace. I vouch for this personally. I was there when he met Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois, widow of the late Dr. W. E. DuBois, in the lobby. When the aged Dr. DuBois died recently, he was a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and had switched his citizenship to Ghana.

The Hotel Omar Khayam was also the headquarters of the violently anti-U.S., pro-Communist Ghanaian delegation to the African States' conference. On Thursday, July 16 Malcolm X and his frequent companion, Mrs. DuBois, met for hours in the garden restaurant of the hotel.

Mrs. DuBois and her late husband, one of the most active of Negro Communist leaders in the U.S., spent much time in Peking. They were frequent guests of Mao Tse-tung himself. Dr. DuBois delivered many anti-U.S. speeches which were broadcast across the world by the powerful Chinese mainland radio.

Mrs. DuBois has long been active in world Communist circles. Her background is important here to show the strange inter-weaving of characters now attempting to infiltrate and agitate the Negro communities of the U.S.

Mrs. DuBois knew the Castro brothers, Fidel and Raoul, in Mexico as far back as the late forties. She now is associated with the pro-communist "Freedomways," a publication allegedly devoted to the Negroes.

In the past few years she has been a prolific writer in defense of the pro-Communist dictatorial state of Ghana.

She even praised the appointment of a convicted British spy as the head of the dept. of physics at the comparatively new University of Ghana. The spy, who served a long prison term in England, is Dr. Alan Nunn May, once a member of the most secret British atomic research agency.

--MORE--

Intelligence agent of several countries now are eager to learn just how Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X made contact with such Communist activists as Mrs. DuBois. Of considerable interest is the source of Malcolm X's funds now that the Muslims under Elijah Muhammad have declared war on him.

Malcolm X has been making expensive and extensive trips across Africa. I ran into his trail in several cities--especially in Ibadan, Nigeria, where he delivered speeches so anti-U.S., so incendiary, that they could be printed only on asbestos.

It is also being noticed that the Chinese Communist broadcasts have been featuring him and his splinter sect.

Why?

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Malcolm X

Organization of Afro-American  
 Unity

SET up this year, the Organization of Afro-American Unity is a local organization headed by Malcolm X, former Eastern representative of Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims . . . Malcolm, 38, is a resident of Flushing, Queens . . . When Malcolm broke with Mr. Muhammad, he organized the Muslim Mosque, Inc., in the Theresa Hotel . . . On this following he set up the Afro-American organization as a broadly based nonsectarian movement . . . Malcolm seeks to recruit Negro intellectuals and professionals who cannot accept Islam but favor separation of the races in the United States as a solution to the problems of race relations . . . In recent visit to Cairo, Malcolm circulated an appeal to delegates of 34 African nations asking them to raise the issue of prejudice against the Negroes in the United States before the United Nations . . . In that message, he asserted the "right of maximum retaliation against our racist oppressors."

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# Malcolm X in Cairo Urges African Aid to U. S. Negroes

[On July 17, Malcolm X, militant U.S. black nationalist leader, addressed the conference of the Organization of African Unity, under whose auspices 33 heads of independent African states met in Cairo, United Arab Republic. He urged the African nations to take the plight of black Americans to the UN. The following are excerpts from his speech to the conference.]

We, in America, are your long lost brothers and sisters, and I am here only to remind you that our problems are your problems. As the African-Americans "awaken" today, we find ourselves in a strange land that has rejected us, and, like the prodigal son, we are turning to our elder brothers for help. We pray our pleas will not fall upon deaf ears.

We were taken forcibly in chains from this mother continent and have now spent over 300 years in America, suffering the most inhuman forms of physical and psychological tortures imaginable.

During the past ten years the entire world has witnessed our men, women and children being attacked and bitten by vicious police dogs, brutally beaten by police clubs, and washed down the sewers by high-pressure water hoses that would rip the clothes from our bodies and the flesh from our limbs.

And, all of these inhuman atrocities have been inflicted upon us by the American governmental authorities, the police, themselves, for no reason than that we seek the recognition and respect granted other human beings in America...

Our problem is your problem. No matter how much independence Africans get here on the mother continent, unless you wear your national dress at all times



Malcolm X

when you visit America, you may be mistaken for one of us and suffer the same psychological and physical mutilation that is an everyday occurrence in our lives.

Your problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.

If South Africa is guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the mother continent, then America is guilty of worse violations of the 22 million Africans on the American continent. And, if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a domestic issue.

Many of you have been led to believe that the much publicized, recently passed Civil Rights Bill is a sign that America is making a sincere effort to correct the injustices we have suffered there. This propaganda maneuver is part of her deceit and trickery to keep the African Nations from condemning her racist practices before the United Nations, as you are now doing as regards the same practices of South Africa.

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## High Court Decision

The United States Supreme Court passed a law ten years ago making America's segregated school system illegal. But the Federal Government has yet to enforce this law even in the North. If the Federal Government cannot enforce the law of the highest court in the land, when it comes to nothing but equal rights to education for Afro-Americans, how can anyone be so naive as to think all the additional laws brought into being by the Civil Rights Bill will be enforced? ...

Out of frustration and hopelessness our young people have reached the point of no return. We no longer endorse patience and turning-the-other-cheek. We assert the right of self-defense by whatever means necessary, and reserve the right of maximum retaliation against our racist oppressors, no matter what the odds against us are ...

In the interests of world peace and security, we beseech the heads of the independent African states to recommend an immediate investigation into our problem by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights ...

"No one knows the master better than his servant." We have been servants in America for over 300 years. We have a thorough, inside knowledge of this man who calls himself "Uncle Sam." Therefore, you must heed our warning: Don't escape from European colonialism only to become even more enslaved by deceitful, "friendly" American dollarism.

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(MALCOLM X)

CHICAGO--MALCOLM X WAS QUOTED TODAY AS SAYING "THE BLACK MUSLIM MOVEMENT WILL CRUMBLE BECAUSE THE ORGANIZATION IS HELD TOGETHER BY COERCION, BY A GESTAPO-TYPE POLICE FORCE WITHIN ITS OWN RANKS."

MALCOLM X, A FORMER LEADER IN THE BLACK MUSLIM ORGANIZATION, SAID IT IS NOT TRUE, AS HAS BEEN REPORTED, THAT HE WAS QUOTED FROM IT BECAUSE OF DISPARAGING REMARKS ABOUT PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ASSASSINATION.

"THE REAL REASON", HE SAID IN AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN THE CURRENT ISSUE OF EBONY MAGAZINE, WAS JEALOUSY OF MY GROWING INFLUENCE AND MY OBJECTING TO A BREAKDOWN OF MORALITY."

MALCOLM X SAID THE ORGANIZATION HE FORMED AFTER HIS SEVERENCE WITH THE BLACK MUSLIMS IS NOT OPEN TO CAUCASIANS.

"IF JOHN BROWN WERE STILL ALIVE," HE WAS QUOTED AS SAYING, "WE MIGHT ACCEPT HIM."

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## Malcolm X Sees End of Muslims

CHICAGO, Aug. 29 (AP). — Malcolm X predicts the Black Muslim organization, to which he once belonged, will crumble.

"The organization is held together by coercion, by a Gestapo-type police force within its own ranks," he is quoted as saying in the September issue of Ebony, a Negro monthly magazine.

Malcolm X quit the Black Muslims after differences with sect leader Elijah Muhammad and formed his own Black Nationalist movement.

The magazine says he has mellowed to the point where he no longer hates all whites, although he still doesn't want them in his group.

By the same token, Malcolm says he has no use for non-violent Negroes. "If you show me a non-violent Negro, I'll show you a Negro whose reflexes don't work, one who needs psychiatric care," he stated.

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Malcolm K. Little

## Judge Tells Y Malcolm Home Isn't Xactly His

If Malcolm X, militant Negro nationalist, doesn't come home soon from his racial politicking in Egypt, he won't find any home to return to.

Queens Civil Court Judge Maurice Wahl yesterday ordered him to give up the six-room \$16,200 home at 23-11 97th St., Elmhurst, which he has held since late 1959.

### Rules It Muslim Property

Wahl's decision was given on evidence taken at a trial June 16-17 in which the Black Muslims of Muhammad's Temple of Islam, Inc., sought Malcolm's eviction. Judge Wahl held that the property clearly belonged to the temple, which had bought it as a residence or parsonage for Malcolm, an East Coast Black Muslim leader.

Malcolm lost his right to remain the judge ruled, when he left the Muslims and formed a new cult.

### What Caused the Split

Malcolm—legal name Malcolm X Little—parted with the Muslims after Elijah Muhammad, leader of the movement, suspended him last December because of a speech in which termed the assassination of President Kennedy a case of "the chickens coming home to roost."

Judge Wahl stayed execution of his ruling until Jan. 31 to give Malcolm time to find a new home for his wife and four children.

Percy Sutton, Malcolm's attorney, announced he would appeal.

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## Around the Nation:

### Malcolm X-pelled

NEW YORK—Malcolm X, the erstwhile leader of the Black Muslim sect, must vacate his \$16,000 parsonage in Queens, a civil court judge ruled.

The court found that the house had been purchased by the Temple of Islam Inc. as a parsonage before Malcolm X was ousted as Black Muslim leader, and that the house rightfully belongs to the organization.

Attorneys for Malcolm X, currently in Egypt, said they would appeal.

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## Malcolm X Hits Both Goldwater And Johnson

Malcolm X, the militant black nationalist leader, has publicly declared that he will not vote for either Goldwater or Johnson in the coming presidential election.

This statement, along with other views on the current election campaign, appears in a lengthy article, entitled "I'm Talking to You, White Man," in the Sept. 12 *Saturday Evening Post*. The article consists of excerpts from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* by Alex Haley and Malcolm X which is soon to be released by Doubleday & Co.

"Johnson and Goldwater," Malcolm X writes, "I feel that as far as the American black man is concerned, are both just about the same. It's just a question of Johnson, the fox, or Goldwater, the wolf. 'Conservatism' is only meaning 'Let's keep the niggers in their place,' and 'Liberalism' is meaning 'Let's keep the knegrrows in their place, but tell them we'll treat them a little better. Let's fool them more, with more promises.' Since these are the choices, the black man in America, I think, only needs to pick which one he chooses to be eaten by, because they both will eat him."

Goldwater, Malcolm writes, "isn't another liberal just trying to please both racists and integrationists, smiling at one, and whispering to the other. Goldwater flatly tells the black man he's not for the black man." After comparing the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates, Malcolm concludes: "I wouldn't put myself in the position of voting for either one, or recommending to any black man to do so."



Malcolm X

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# MALCOLM REJECTS RACIST DOCTRINE

Also Denounces Elijah as a Religious 'Faker'

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X has renounced the philosophy of black racism and denounced Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, as a religious "faker."

In two long letters from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, to a friend in New York, Malcolm said he had embraced the brotherhood of man and "shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in [Elijah Muhammad] even more fanatically and more blindly than I did."

Malcolm broke with Elijah Muhammad, who advocates black separatism, earlier this year and founded his own non-sectarian nationalist organization. He has spent many months in Mecca studying with the grand imams of Islam—ranking scholars of Islam—and working with the Muslim World League.

## A 'Strait-Jacket World'

In his letter dated Sept. 22, Malcolm wrote:

"For 12 long years I lived within the narrow-minded confines of the 'strait-jacket world' created by my strong belief that Elijah Muhammad was a messenger direct from God Himself, and my faith in what I now see to be a pseudo religious philosophy that he preaches. But as his then most faithful disciple, I represented and defended him at all levels . . . and in most instances, even beyond the level of intellect and reason."

"I shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in him even more fanatically and more blindly than I did. If Western society had not gone to such extremes to block out the knowledge of True Islam, there would not be such a religious 'vacuum' among American Negroes today into which any religious faker can bring all forms of distorted religious concoctions and represent it to our unsuspecting people as True Islam."

## All Men Brothers

Malcolm continued:

"I declare emphatically that I am no longer in Elijah Muhammad's 'strait jacket,' and I don't intend to replace him with one woven by someone else. I am a Muslim in the most orthodox sense; my religion is Islam, as it is believed in and practiced by the Muslims here in the Holy City of Mecca."

"This religion recognizes all men as brothers. It accepts all human beings as equals before God, and as equal members in the Human Family of Mankind. I totally reject Elijah Muhammad's racist philosophy, which he has labeled 'Islam' only to fool and misuse gullible people, as he fooled and misused me. But I blame only myself, and no one else for the fool that I was, and the harm that my evangelic foolishness in his behalf has done to others."

Malcolm wrote that he was neither anti-American, un-American, seditious nor subversive, but an open-minded man who was trying to weigh everything objectively.

## Vows Belief in Allah

He said he was "fed up with strait-jacket societies."

"I respect every man's right to believe whatever his intelligence leads him to believe is intellectually sound," Malcolm said, "and I respect my right to believe likewise."

After reaffirming his belief in Allah as the Supreme Being and in the Prophet Mohammed, Malcolm said, "yet some of my dearest friends are Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, agnostics, and even atheists—some are capitalists, Socialists, and Communists—some are moderates, conservatives, extremists—some are even Uncle Toms." "It takes all these religious, political, economic, psychological and racial ingredients," he said, "to make the Human Family and the Human Society complete."

Turning to the racial situation in the United States, Malcolm said, "no one has to stir up the Negroes," and that the "sociological dynamite" stemming from unemployment, bad housing and inferior education existed in American society."

## Asks 'Meaningful Actions'

"It takes no one to set it off . . . Putting the blame on me and other militants will never decrease nor stop these racial explosions today. Nothing will stop [them] but real meaningful actions, sincerely motivated by a deep sense of humanism and moral responsibility to remove once and for the very basic causes that produce the 'materials' for these explosive conditions."

"We must forget politics and propaganda and approach this as a Human Problem which all of us as human beings are obligated to correct. The well meaning whites must become less vocal and more active against racism of their fellow whites . . . and Negro leaders must make their own people see that with equal rights also equal responsibilities."

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The New York Times 59  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
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# 'I Want To Undo My Wrongs' — Malcolm X

The New York Times

NEW YORK — Malcolm X has renounced the philosophy of racism and has denounced Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Chicago-based Black Muslim movement, as a religious "faker."

In two long letters from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, to a friend in New York, Malcolm X said he has embraced the brotherhood of man and "shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic

zeal now believe in him (Muhammad) even more fanatically and more blindly than I did."

The erstwhile national spokesman of the Black Muslim movement broke with Elijah Muhammad earlier this year and founded his own non-sectarian Nationalist organization. He has spent many months in Mecca studying with the grand imams of Islam and working with the Muslim World League.

In a letter dated Sept. 22, Malcolm wrote:

"For 12 long years I lived within the narrow-minded confines of the 'strait-jacket-world' created by my strong belief that Elijah Muhammad was a messenger direct from God Himself, and my faith in what I now see to be a pseudoreligious philosophy that he preaches.

"But as his then most faithful disciple, I represented and defended him at all levels . . . and in most instances, even beyond the level of intellect and reason.

"I shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in him even more fanatically and more blindly than I did.

"If Western society had not gone to such extremes to block out the knowledge of true Islam, there would not be such a religious 'vacuum' among American Negroes today into which any religious faker can bring all forms of distorted religious concoctions and represent it to our unsuspecting people as True Islam."

"I declare emphatically," Malcolm continued, "that I am no longer in Elijah Muhammad's 'strait-jacket,' and I don't intend to replace his with one woven by

someone else. I am a Muslim in the most orthodox sense; my religion is Islam as it is believed in and practiced by the Muslims here in the holy city of Mecca.

"This religion recognizes all men as brothers. It accepts all human beings as equals before God, and as equal members in the Human Family of Mankind.

"I totally reject Elijah Muhammad's racist-philosophy which he has labeled 'Islam' only to fool and misuse gullible people, as he fooled and misused me. But I blame only myself, and no one else, for the fool that I was, and the harm that my evangelistic foolishness in his behalf has done to others."

Malcolm wrote that he is not anti-American, un-American, seditious nor subversive, but an open-minded man trying to weigh everything objectively.



MALCOLM X

Fig 16 A  
The Miami News  
Miami, Fla.  
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Submitted by Miami  
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PAGE 8

ARIZONA REPUBLIC

PHOENIX, ARIZONA

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OCT 23 1964

Date: 10/10/64

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: MALCOM X LITTLE,  
MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

Character:

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Classification: 100-5909

Submitting Office: PHOENIX

☐ Being Investigated

## Gregory Sees Malcolm X Rise

TUCSON (AP)—Dick Gregory, Negro comedian and civil rights worker, said last night at a Tucson Press Club forum Malcolm X is America's No. 1 strong man, and he will be even stronger when he returns to the United States from visiting Middle East nations.

Gregory, on a 30-day tour of the United States, sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality, said he was happy CORE and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were having a feud.

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# MALCOLM CLAIMS NEW MUSLIM ROLE

Reports World League Has  
 Authorized Center Here

By M. A. HANDLER

Malcolm X has informed a friend here, in a letter sent from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, that the World Muslim League has designated him an official representative in the United States, with authority to open a Muslim Center in New York. Malcolm, former national spokesman of the Chicago-based Black Muslim movement, broke earlier this year with Elijah Muhammad, the head of the movement. He said he had renounced racism in any form, and denounced Elijah Muhammad as a religious "faker."

In his letter of Sept. 23 announcing his designation by the World Muslim League, Malcolm said the Secretary General of the supreme religious body in the Muslim world had promised to send him authorized teachers and to provide 15 scholarships for study at the Islamic University in Medina, Saudi Arabia.

Malcolm reported that he had worked all summer and into the fall at the headquarters of the World Muslim League to prepare himself for his new role as a Muslim evangelist in the United States.

## Certified by Document

A document dated Sept. 3, a photostat of which was received here, certified Malcolm as a true member of the Muslim faith. Among other things, the document, signed by the Rector of Al-Azhar, stipulated that "it is his [Malcolm's] duty to propagate Islam and offer every available assistance and facilities to those who wish conversion to Islam."

The World Muslim League is not the same as the Arab League, a political organization of Arab states. The World Muslim League, Malcolm wrote, was founded in Mecca May 18-20, 1962, and is governed by a constituent council of 23 grand imams, the leading religious teachers in the Muslim world.

The Secretary General with whom Malcolm is working was identified as Sheikh Muhammad Sarur Al-Sabban. Malcolm described him in the following terms:

"He is a tall, thin, ebony black man. He was formerly a slave, who rose to become the minister of finance, and is reputed to be still the richest and most powerful figure in Saudi Arabia today. His allegiance to the royal family is unquestioned, although many very responsible Arabs refer to him as the 'real king of the Hejaz [Saudi Arabia].'"

Malcolm said the World Muslim League's function was to "coordinate all other organizations and produce a greater degree of cooperation and working unity in the Muslim world."

He wrote that he intended to return to the United States after the Nov. 3 election. He said he felt it was a mistake for the Negroes to become identified with the Democratic or Republican party.

SAUDI ARABIA

WORLD MUSLIM LEAGUE

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UPI-24

(MALCOLM X)

DAR-ES-SALAAM, TANGANYIKA--AMERICAN BLACK NATIONALIST MALCOLM X SAID YESTERDAY HE WOULD NOT RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE NOV. 3 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. "IF ANYTHING HAPPENS, THEY'LL BLAME ME," HE SAID.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

# Malcolm X Will Distribute 35 Scholarships



Malcolm X

Malcolm X, whose recent activities in Africa were instrumental in getting the Organization of African Unity to pass a resolution condemning racism in the United States, announced that he has received a number of scholarships from African and Arab countries which will enable young Afro-Americans to go abroad to study — expense-free.

Twenty scholarships were made available by the Supreme Council on Islamic Affairs at the University of Al-Azhar in Cairo, Egypt, where Malcolm X has been guest of state for several months. Fifteen scholarships were granted to the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia.

The scholarships are to be distributed to Afro-Americans between the ages of 16 and 30. Distribution will be nation-wide. For further information write: Malcolm X Scholarships, 2090 Seventh Ave., Suite 128, New York 27, N.Y. Letters must be received by Nov. 15.

According to an Oct. 11 *New York Times* account, Malcolm X plans to return to the U.S. after the Nov. 3 elections. He also reiterated his earlier position on the presidential campaign that it was a mistake for Negroes to become identified with either the Democratic or Republican parties.

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UPI-169

(MALCOLM X)

NEW YORK--NEGRO LEADER MALCOLM X SAID TONIGHT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND CONGOLESE MOISE TSHOMBE SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SHOOTING OF WHITE HOSTAGES BY CONGOLESE REBELS IN STANLEYVILLE.

"WHEN LYNDON B. JOHNSON BEGAN TO FINANCE TSHOMBE'S MERCENARIES, IT WAS ONLY NATURAL TO EXPECT SUCH A DISASTROUS UNDERTAKING TO PRODUCE THE DISASTROUS RESULTS THAT CAME ABOUT TODAY," HE SAID.

"TSHOMBE IS A MURDERER, AND AS LONG AS THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TAKE SIDES WITH A MURDERER, THIS MUST BE EXPECTED," HE ADDED SHORTLY AFTER HIS ARRIVAL FROM AN 18-WEEK TOUR OF AFRICA AND EUROPE.

MALCOLM X, WHO CHANGES HIS NAME TO MALIK-AL-SHABAZZ WHEN HE BECAME CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, WAS LOUDLY CHEERED BY ABOUT 30 SUPPORTERS AT KENNEDY AIRPORT.

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**MALCOLM SPEAKS**

ACCRA—Malcolm X, Afro-American leader visiting in Ghana said in an interview with Hsinhua (New China News Agency) that China's successful explosion of its first atom bomb was "the greatest thing that has happened to the black people in the twentieth century." He praised the Chinese Government's proposal for a world summit conference to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons as "a very good suggestion."

Referring to the present freedom fight of Afro-Americans and the firm support given to this struggle by the Chinese people, Malcolm X said that the U.S. imperialists would never loosen their grip on the 22 million Afro-Americans before the people of Asia and Africa cast off the yoke of imperialism. "Bearing this in mind," he said, "we appreciate the great strides that the Chinese people have made towards true independence and the unlimited contribution they are making to help the oppressed peoples in other parts of the world throw off the chains of imperialism."

Malcolm X, commenting on the recent U.S. presidential election, said that the only difference between the two candidates was that while one "would use the method of a wolf," the other "employs the approach of a fox." "Both are trying to eat us up," he concluded.

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UPI-207

(MALCOLM X)

OXFORD, ENGLAND--FORMER BLACK MUSLIM CHIEF MALCOLM X SAID TONIGHT HE BELIEVED STRONGLY IN EXTREMISM IN DEFENSE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.

HE SAID ONLY WHEN THE NEGRO TAKES UNCOMPROMISING STEPS TO BRING ABOUT HIS FREEDOM WILL HE WIN THE RESPECT OF WHITES.

"THERE WILL BE MORE WHITES THEN ON THE SIDE OF THE NEGRO THAN THERE ARE NOW WITH THIS WISHY-WASHY 'LOVE THINE ENEMY' APPROACH THEY (THE NEGROES) HAVE BEEN USING," HE SAID.

MALCOLM SPOKE AT AN OXFORD UNION SOCIETY DEBATE.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

# Boston Minister

## Tells of

## Malcolm—

## Muhammad's

## Biggest Hypocrite

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By Minister Louis X  
(Boston, Mass.)

It is hinted, according to the *New York Times* newspaper (Sunday, Nov. 8, 1964; pg. 48, column one) that Malcolm is returning to the States. We, therefore, would like to ask the questions:

IS Malcolm bold enough to return and face the music—since he

MEMBER OF NATION OF ISLAM

ordered the notes to be played — after bowing out and leaving the musician with untrained dancers? Would he like to face Mr. Muhammad? Would he like to face his deceived lieutenant, James (the former James 67X), who recently held a meeting to deliver a message from his chief? His meeting consisted of approximately 100 people, only 23 of whom were originals.

At this meeting, Malcolm's lieutenant denied what he said represented

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People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 12-4-64  
"MUHAMMAD SPEAKS"  
Page 11.



Minister Louis

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125 DEC 10 1964

## Saved-By Messenger's Guidance

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Thousands of shocked, black Americans have become deeply resentful of the shameful attempts by defector and hypocrite Malcolm to slander and destroy the great Islamic leader, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who lifted him from obscurity and placed him in a position of national prominence and trust. The vicious slanders of this particular defector, while doomed to failure, have caused concern not only among the ranks of Muslims, but among many fair-minded non-Muslims.

The divinely-guided mission of Mr. Muhammad, however, has exposed the envy, jealousy and emptiness of this defector, which has disgraced not only himself but all those who have associated with him.

The following objective article from Minister Louis of Boston is printed in response to demands for a definitive statement on the acts of this particular character, who has resorted to becoming an international hobo, without home or followers. It is a lesson on how a slanderer and hypocrite becomes the victim of the traps he attempts to set for others.

his own opinions, but that he was speaking as authorized by Malcolm.



**GAINING HIS** guidance directly from the Messenger of Allah, (center) rather than from defectors, world heavyweight champion, Muhammad Ali (r.) and his brother, Rahman Ali (l.) have moved steadily towards unprecedented success in their fields, with

the respect of admirers around the world, in sharp contrast to attempts by once-Minister Malcolm to defame and destroy his former teacher. Here the champion and his brother take a lesson from the Holy Qur'an from Mr. Muhammad.

12-4-64

"MUHAMMAD SPEAKS"

Page 11.



*Would Malcolm like to face such a weak lieutenant who has bowed out as a true brother and officer of his master? Would he like to meet the brothers whom he lead into trouble before fleeing the city?*

#### "HOW THE GAME IS BEING PLAYED"

Malcolm constantly asks, through mail to various hypocrites and weak believers of Messenger Mu-

hammad, how the game has been played. It has been played to the dissatisfaction of you, Mr. Malcolm Little. You are now the target of the dissatisfaction of both your own followers (which are very few) and the followers of Muhammad.

#### "MALCOLM LIKE THE REBEL, KORAH"

Malcolm is like the famous rebel, Korah, in the times of Moses. Korah thought he was playing the game well, claiming to be an aid to Moses, but turned out to be Moses' deadliest hypocrite. Korah was successful in getting a few to follow him, but Allah caused an earthquake to open its mouth and they all were dropped to their death into

a crevice of the earth. This proves that Allah had chosen Moses and not Korah.

Another parable depicting Malcolm is that of Judas, who tried to deceive Jesus into believing he was one of his best followers and treasureurs. He could get the money from the people, but when Jesus spoke of using the money in a way that Judas did not like, he went out and joined the enemies to trap Jesus. Judas' trapping was successful, but not without the knowledge of Jesus, who knew it from the beginning.

Judas had hugged and kissed Jesus many times, as was the custom of the disciples and Jesus. So has Malcolm hugged and kissed Muhammad many times in the

past, and Muhammad had hugged and kissed Malcolm, though Muhammad knew Malcolm's hypocrisy. He kept reminding a certain group of laborers of the intentions of Malcolm with the wisdom given to Muhammad by Allah, Who made Muhammad a genius in maneuvering an affair wisely to bring a strong opponent to his knees.

#### "MALCOLM REPEATS MOSEILMA'S WORK"

Messenger Muhammad is like Muhammad of nearly 1,400 years ago, (may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him), who had a rebel by the name of Moseilma. I shall name characters

(Continued on page 12)

# Life of

# Muhammad

# The Prophet

# Like That of

# Messenger

# Muhammad

# of Today

12-4-64  
"MUHAMMAD SPEAKS"  
Page 11 & 12

(Continued from page 11)

mentioned by some of the writers on Muhammad's life, especially those identified by Washington Irving in his book on the history of Muhammad and his Successors (chap. 2, page 15).

Speaking of the false prophet Moseilma, who, encouraged by the impunity with which, during the illness of Mahomet (Mahummad), he had been suffered to propagate his doctrines, had increased greatly the number of his proselytes and adherents, and held a kind of regal and sacerdotal sway over the important city and fertile province of Yamama, between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia.

#### "MOSEILMA AND SEDJAH"

There is quite a flavor of romance in the story of this impostor. Among those dazzled by his celebrity and charmed by him was Sedjah, wife of Abu Cahdia, a poetess of the tribe of Tamim, distinguished among the Arabs for her personal and mental charms. She came to see Moseilma in the manner of the Queen of Sheba who came to witness the wisdom and grandeur of King Solomon. They were inspired

with a mutual passion at the first interview, and passed much of their time together in tender, if not religious, intercourse.

Sedjah became a convert to the faith of her lover, and caught from him the imaginary gift of prophecy. He appears to have caught, in exchange, the gift of poetry, for certain amatory effusions, addressed by him to his beautiful visitant, are still preserved by an Arabian historian and breathes all the warmth of the Song of Solomon.

#### "MOSEILMA, KILLED BY ETHIOPIAN, WACKSA"

This dream of poetry and prophecy was interrupted by the approach of Khaled at the head of a large army. Moseilma sallied forth to meet him with a still greater force. A battle took place at Akreba, not far from the capital city of Yamama. At the onset, the rebels had a transient success, and 1,200 Muslims were killed. Khaled, however, rallied his forces; the enemy were overthrown, and 10,000 cut to pieces. Moseilma fought with desperation, but fell covered with wounds. It is said his death blow was given by Wacksa, the Ethiopian, the same who had

killed Hamza, uncle of Muhammad, in the battle of Ohod, and that he used the same spear. Once his pardon by Muhammad, Wacksa had become a zealous Muslim.

#### "SURVIVORS TURN TO ISLAM"

The surviving disciples of Moseilma promptly became converted to Islam under the pious but heavy hand of Khaled, whose late offense in the savage execution of Malec was completely atoned for by his victory over the false prophet. This is the story—given by Washington Irving—of this rebel of Muhammad's (from pages 15 through 17).

#### "MESSENGER MUHAMMAD'S HISTORY COMPARES"

The followers of Elijah Muhammad should give special attention to the Messenger's history here in America as it compares almost 100 per cent with the history of Muhammad and his followers, hypocrites and enemies almost 1,400 years ago.

They should study Muhammad's history, if they would like to learn, in words and deeds, how they compare with each other in his-

tory, and how closely Muhammad's hypocrites and enemies compare with all the prophets' hypocrites and enemies, from Noah to modern times and, with Messenger Muhammad in the U.S.A.

The Holy Qur-an states that Noah had a disbelieving son who did not believe in his father's preaching that there would not be an escape for anyone from the flood except those who were with him in the ark. This son and his wife (wife of Noah) disbelieved (see Holy Qur-an); and David's son, Absalom, disbelieved. Messenger Muhammad's history compares so closely with histories of former prophets and enemies in their homes and among their followers, that we are just compelled to point them out to you.

#### "MALCOLM COMPARES WITH HYPOCRITES OF HOLY QUR-AN"

Malcolm's defection from Messenger Muhammad compares so completely with the hypocrites of the Holy Qur-an that it does not take a scholar's eye to discern it. After his defection, Malcolm went first to the public to proclaim that he was going for himself — to the wonder of the world — after his teacher had brought him up

to such a great position before the eyes of the world. The world was astonished by the way he turned and jumped off of the springboard of intelligence and honor into the chasm of shame, regret, despair and hatred. He was so beautifully presented to the people by his teacher, Messenger Muhammad, and was so sincerely backed by his teacher as his number one man. Yet, Muhammad knew his intentions and secretly whispered them here and there to his followers, telling them that one day Malcolm would do just as he is doing.

#### "MALCOLM UNSUCCESSFUL IN BUILDING MOSQUE"

Malcolm found himself unsuccessful in building a Mosque in opposition to the beautiful mission and message of Muhammad. When Messenger Muhammad entered New York on June 28, 1964 — though Malcolm tried to prevent his coming by putting out the threat of death against him, hoping that his threats would keep Muhammad from fulfilling his promise of visiting New York — he showed the wisdom and strategy of a general leading a victorious brave, and fearless army against the cowardly hypocritical dog (Malcolm). •

Malcolm thought that he had mastered — or could with his oration — New York against the wisdom and cleverness of Muhammad. But he and his followers were openly defeated and put to a flight by Muhammad's intelligent and well-disciplined F.O.I. members (with their coolness, display of obedience to and love for their leader made them the envy of most organizations in America) that Malcolm changed his mind. He saw that a Mosque in opposition to Muhammad would not be able to bear enough fruit to overcome the wisdom of Muhammad.

#### "MALCOLM, GENERAL WITHOUT ARMY"

Malcolm then chose politics as his weapon against Muhammad. Malcolm, like a silly general without an army (as a white paper referred to him) offered to send troops to Mississippi to set up guerrilla warfare against the Southern murders of our original people.

# Harlem's Answer



THE ABOVE SCENE taken at Armory when all Harlem this year gave the Honorable Elijah Muhammad the greatest welcome given to a black leader, was the most shocking

repudiation to threats and claims made by disgraced hypocrite Malcolm Little.



**WE ARE WITH MUHAMMAD**

ROUND 12345678910

"WE ARE WITH MUHAMMAD" banner emblazoned on mass meeting on West Coast sizes up the overwhelming response to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad who made trip despite threats and slanders.

When he saw he had no one to answer and had no munition plants to manufacture arms for such an army, another step was taken to deceive the poor, black man of America to once again bathe his head in blood.

The Southern devils would have welcomed him to send a shotgun army against machine guns, grenades, and the well-trained state troopers of Mississippi. They would have cut his poorly armed troop to pieces before they ever reached the state of Mississippi. Malcolm saw that he would have been defeated, having no political training and no knowledge of the science of the government's political machine. He could not verbally defeat them in an argument, not to even think of physical strategy. He, then, was going to set up poor, ignorant black men and women to their doom, while he already had planned to flee for his life to Afr.

### "CAN MALCOLM FACE THE PEOPLE?"

Does he have the nerve to face these people? Whenever he thought he could lie and get his lie strengthened in the public, he would use the leaders. He kept intimating that the people would be shocked if they knew the true reasons for his defection from Muhammad. He

forgot he had announced he was on his own. He kept hinting until Muhammad wrote and told him to get on a house top or a mountain and shout to the world anything he wanted to shout about. But Messenger Muhammad also reminded Malcolm that only he maintained the keys.

### "MALCOLM LACKS THE KEY"

Thus Malcolm found that he had not been successful in opening the door of success without Muhammad's key. So Malcolm lashed out his venomous poison to wash Messenger Muhammad with mud and filth. He searched Messenger Muhammad's family to see how many of them he could get on his side. He remained in Chicago while Messenger Muhammad was sick in Arizona, trying to gather strength to overthrow Messenger Muhammad and bury him. Malcolm had weak-minded Muslims going about talking of voting for him to be the leader after Muhammad, until one of Messenger Muhammad's sons (Wallace), whom the Messenger had nursed from a baby, thinking he would take over after his death. Here is where the unprofitable son shamed Messenger Muhammad. He declared in a letter to his father that he would be willing to follow Malcolm, and that he was not particular

whether or not he became a successor.

### "NO MATCH FOR MUHAMMAD"

But they are no match for the wisdom of Muhammad. He was directed by God, Himself, to read a list of 104 books by certain authors on his mission and the people he had to teach. Neither Malcolm nor the Messenger's son knew anything about this wisdom of Messenger Muhammad, nor of what Allah had taught him. Messenger Muhammad, acting as a wise, experienced sailor, set his sails and compass, paying no attention to the yells of passengers who could not even read the compass. Messenger Muhammad said nothing, knowing that their ultimate end would be shame and regret.

### "MALCOLM FLEES"

Malcolm fled across the Atlantic (where Muhammad had first sent him) to get some knowledge of his people and of Islam, he thought this would make him a better teacher and better aid Messenger Muhammad in a new Islam; now being manifested by Allah, Himself, — for the Muslims in the Hereafter. But Malcolm was so jealous of Muhammad's divine mission that he ~~was~~ set out to trail the path of Mes-

senger Muhammad made in 1959 in Africa and Asia, to win Messenger Muhammad's influence among the Orthodox Muslims. He left no stone unturned in trying to accomplish this.

### "WORLD CHAMP DENOUNCES HIM"

He tried Muhammad Ali, the heavyweight boxing champion of the world. He wanted to share in that honor. Malcolm even claimed he was the one who taught Muhammad Ali, and that he should follow him. But God, Whose proper name is Allah, cut him off and made Muhammad Ali acknowledge and acclaim the mission of Messenger Elijah Muhammad as divine, and turned Malcolm down as a hard, cold-hearted hypocrite.

### "MALCOLM GOES TO CAIRO"

Malcolm went to Messenger Muhammad's son, Akbar in Cairo — knowing Akbar did not fully understand the circumstances in America. Messenger Muhammad's son would not have even spoken to him, unless he was telling him, "to rise up now and look at your head down there on the sidewalk," as the Holy Qur-an forbids greetings of peace (As-Salam-Alaikum) to hypocrites.

Malcolm tried to enter the African Conference of Independent States (held in Cal-

ro) hoping to impress the so-called American Negroes, and especially the followers of Messenger Elijah Muhammad, that he was getting help for them from Africa's newly independent governments; to make them see him as a wise and sincere lover of the freedom of his people, over the divinely-missioned Elijah Muhammad, who not once (while in Africa and Asia) asked them to aid him and his followers.

### "MUHAMMAD'S PURPOSE IN AFRICA"

Muhammad did not go to Mecca for that purpose. He was invited there by one of the scientists to meet and have dinner with them. Messenger Muhammad refused and returned to Jeddah, and from there to Pakistan, as he confessed to all, that he was merely on an observation tour and not there to make speeches, contend with anyone, or proclaim his mission in America. Thus Messenger Muhammad acted wisely, since he had not yet gotten the entire 22 million so-called American Negroes aroused to the divine truth. He did not make such claims as the lying, hypocrite Malcolm, who later proclaimed himself as the chief leader of the so-called American Negroes. When he was among the political people,

(Continued on page 14)

# Hypocrite Brought Disgrace To Self, Family and Friends

(Continued from page 13)

he claimed he was the political man for the so-called American Negroes. Among the religious Imams, he proclaimed himself the religious head of Islam in America.

## "CLAIMS BACKING OF WORLD MUSLIM COUNCIL"

Malcolm is the great liar and scandalizer of his master, who had taught him more than anyone ever had. Before his defection, he preached of Messenger Muhammad as being "the wisest man of our times." But, all the while, he was jealous of Messenger Muhammad's wisdom, and thought that by his eloquent delivery of the teaching, he could capture the people. So Malcolm went on the warpath, without a complete army and without the wisdom. He now sends such lies back to America that he has the promise of backing from the World Muslim Council in building a Mosque in New York to teach the American so-called Negroes true Islam.

## "CLAIM NOT BACKED UP"

We have not heard this from the wise leaders of the East. This is Malcolm's lie. We do not believe that those leaders of the East are so weak as to join a man who knows nothing about Islam,

and was not divinely backed, but who has chosen himself. Malcolm had said he would not have religious teaching in his organization after his defeat by Messenger Muhammad in New York on June 23, 1964.

## "MALCOLM RETURNED, SEEKS WHITE FRIENDS"

Malcolm returned from Africa trying to make friends with the white people and with the leaders of the NAACP, to see if he could steal leadership or a position somewhere. He played the hypocrite on both sides; against the white man of America and against Muhammad, too. He had blasted the white man and the NAACP for 9 or 10 years. He preached the truth, as revealed to Muhammad by Allah; that the white race was a race of devils, whom the father, Yakub, had grafted out of the black man 6,000 years ago, to try the wicked at ruling the righteous for 6,000 years. Malcolm now pleads to the white man that he had learned they were not devils, by seeing so-called white Muslims in Mecca, and that the religion of Islam is for all men and all nations, and not a

"tuxedo" religion, as he referred to the religion that God had given to Muhammad that no religious prophet or scientist has even dared to challenge bore him witness that it was the truth.

## "MALCOLM LIKE DOG"

Malcolm had seen Muhammad crush and paralyze the disputes of many scholars and scientists of religion who tried to oppose him. And, now he returns to them, as the Bible says in making a parable of the hypocrite: "The dog that returns to his own vomit." All of them knew he was lying and that he had lied to them and lied to Muhammad in trying to overthrow him. But, the wisdom of God in Muhammad shows the whole world that he cares not if they disbelieve the truth of Allah as revealed to him.

They will not hurt him, but will hurt only themselves because Muhammad did not speak of himself, but of God, and God would back His own words. He is still trying to make the white man be-

(Continued on page 15)



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"MUHAMMAD SPEAKS"  
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# Messenger's Divine Mission

(Continued from page 14)

lieve that he made a mistake in bearing witness to the truth of God as revealed to Muhammad (that they were devils) and now he wishes to have them accept him as their brother.

## "MALCOLM MAKES FOOL OF HIMSELF"

Malcolm made the foolish and ignorant mistake a few weeks ago (as given in the New York Times newspaper) in trying to condemn Muhammad. He said his best friends were among such non-believing people as atheists, infidels, Hindus (whom the Muslim world over despises, as well as infidels), Jews, Christians, Catholics, and even "Uncle Toms." He really made a fool of himself. No Muslim is a Muslim who says such people are his best friends. No Muslim can be a Muslim who accepts such people as his brothers.

## "TO FOLLOW MALCOLM IS TO BE DOOMED"

If any Muslim—whether he be an Imam or just a rich man—backed a fool like Malcolm in building a Mosque,

he would be a fool himself. Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm. The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor (Elijah Muhammad) in trying to rob him of the divine glory which Allah has bestowed upon him. Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death, and would have met with death if it had not been for Muhammad's confidence in Allah for victory over the enemies.

## "MALCOLM: UNABLE TO HOUSE FAMILY"

Malcolm hired a lawyer to keep the eviction of his family in court as long as possible, just to give the Muslims trouble in getting him out of the house and lot owned by the Muslims. Messenger Muhammad allowed this to go on, knowing that the longer it went in court, the more people would have time to see him as he is—a foolish rebel and hypocrite not capable of even putting his family in a home. He had gotten popularity, and then became jealous of his teacher and his teacher's place. He now falls, as Lucifer did, from Heaven.

## "GOD IS WITH MUHAMMAD"

To prove that God is with Muhammad and will not grant victory to or allow anyone else to aid anyone in getting victory over Muhammad, Muhammad uses no arms. He just allows his hypocritical followers to come to

their end — as he did his brother in 1935 — to show them that they cannot be a judge of the Apostle of Allah, nor can they deprive him of his mission, because a mission is from God. Even if Malcolm could get the angels of heaven on his side, this would not help him overthrow Muhammad as long as Muhammad is divinely missioned. Allah has never asked the angels of heaven to choose one apostle for Him, and the Holy Qur-an teaches you this. So, Malcolm made the wrong move in going around the world, trying to get someone to overthrow Muhammad, because Muhammad is not missioned by us or any other people. Messenger Muhammad has never asked for any outside help. He is able to fight—with wisdom—anyone who attacks him and tries to disprove his apostleship. He takes their own scriptures and shows them that they have misinterpreted them, and defies them to dispute with him in this wisdom. Malcolm has seen this.

## "MALCOLM USES WOMEN"

Just as Moseilma went around getting next to the women he once had the strength to use for sweethearts, Malcolm has done the same with Lucille Rosary and Evelyn Williams. He would visit Chicago several days in advance of making an appearance there, in order to call, converse, and talk around with Evelyn Williams, planning Muham-

mad's overthrow. He tried to make her his special agent in getting other sisters to aid her and Lucille. Malcolm made several calls to other sisters whom he thought were weak enough to side with him, but without avail. He writes from Mecca and sends greetings and messages from Egypt, and other places to Muslim women in the Mosque, whom he thinks are weak with Muhammad and his leadership. He tries to use them, but, most of them are not so weak—since the manifestation of Allah's backing of Muhammad's mission—that they will agree to cast themselves down from the respect of the Muslims and Messenger Muhammad by following such an open and defeated hypocrite as Malcolm.

## "MUHAMMAD, THE VICTORIOUS"

Allah is making manifest that they cannot fight his apostle and win with their disbelief in Him and Elijah. No; not even to his own son (Wallace) and grandson (Hasan) who chose the road of hypocrites. They are now being defeated openly, as the Holy Qur-an declared they would be.

## "MUHAMMAD, THE VICTORIOUS"

Neither hypocrite nor anyone else can win in opposition to those chosen by Allah. WILL MALCOLM BE BOLD AND BRAVE ENOUGH TO MEET HIS DEFEAT?

(more to follow in the next issue of MUHAMMAD SPEAKS)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Malcolm X Home, Blasts U.S. Congo Policy

b7C

Malcolm X, the angriest black man in America, returned to New York last week after a four-month tour of Africa. In an exclusive interview with the Philadelphia Independent, the fiery leader bitterly condemned U. S. intervention in the Congo and what he called "the cold-blooded murder of thousands of Congolese Freedom Fighters by paid white mercenaries."

"The United States must be held responsible for the slaughter of black men in the Congo," Malcolm said. "The U. S. supported and financed the government of Moïse Tshombe who murdered Patrice Lumumba, the first premier of the Congo. The United States supports Tshombe because he can be controlled and through him, the U. S., Britain and Belgium can continue to control the Congo."

Branding news accounts of the slaughter of white hostages in the Congo as "distortions and half-truths," Malcolm declared that while less than 100 whites had been killed by Congolese rebels, more than 4000 Negroes have been killed thusfar by white troops who are paid a bounty for every black man slain.

"The U. S., Britain and Belgium are determined to maintain control of the Congo at any price — even if it means the murder of thousands of Congolese," Malcolm said. "The Congo is the richest piece of property on earth. It has fabulous natural and mineral resources. If the Congo got into the hands of honest Negroes they would be in position to cause the downfall of Angola and eventually South Africa."

## 'CANNIBALISM' LIES

Referring to reports of cannibalism of murdered white nuns, Malcolm declared:

"That's just another lie used by the U.S. Government to support its intervention in the Congo. Actually, many of those slain white people had lived in the Congo for forty years. If the Congolese Freedom Fighters wanted to eat them, they would have done it years ago when they were young and tender — not now."

Malcolm, who formerly was the number two man in the Black Muslim movement, resigned from that organization last March after a feud with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the cult. Malcolm has since formed his own black nationalist movement with headquarters in New York City.

The bearded Negro had nothing but praise for Red China, and its support of the Congolese rebels.

"I don't call it Red China," Malcolm said. "There is only one China and that is the China of Mao Tse Tung. There are more than 700 million Chinese and they all support the Congolese in their fight for independence."

## NEGROES SHOULD SPEAK

Malcolm said that U.S. Negroes should make it their business to let their "Congolese brothers" know they do not support the policies of the U.S. government regarding the Congo. He said that he will call a mass rally next Sunday at New York's Audubon Ballroom to organize a protest march on the United Nations Building.

"The government of Red China has gained stature and respect from Africans in its support of the Congolese while the United States is condemned and despised for its support of Tshombe, a murderer with the blood of Lumumba on his hands," Malcolm declared.

"Many of the paid mercenaries who are fighting in the Congo are former U.S. soldiers from the Southern United States," Malcolm

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pointed out. "There are many Negro war veterans right here in Harlem. Some of them should volunteer their skills to the Congolese Freedom Fighters. They have as much right to fight side by side with their African brothers as the white U.S. mercenaries have to join Tshombe."

Malcolm said that the U.S. press had attempted to brand him as a convert to Chinese Communism because of his support of the Congo rebels.

#### SMEAR TACTICS

"It's just another tactic aimed at sneering me and discrediting my views," he said. "When I was in Africa I was honored by the continent's greatest leaders. I lived at President Sekou Toure's home in Conakry, Guinea. I conferred with Prime Minister Milton O. Bote for more than three hours when I visited Uganda. In Kenya, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta invited me to address the members of Parliament."

Malcolm said his affluence among Africans caused certain U.S. powers to seek methods of discrediting him.

"When I was in Kenya," he recalled, "the U.S. Ambassador came to me and asked me not to speak out so strongly against the conditions of Southern Negroes because it hurt our image among Africans. I told him that instead of attempting to quiet me, he should tell the U.S. government to put an end to oppression of black people both here and in Africa."



MALCOLM X

## Dr. King Preaches Negro Restraint

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. talking with reporters at St. Paul's Cathedral yesterday. The Rev. Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy, an associate of Dr. King, is seated at right.

By JAMES FERON

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Dec. 6—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. told a congregation in St. Paul's Cathedral today that "the doctrine of black supremacy is as great a danger as the doctrine of white supremacy." Four thousand Britons packed the cathedral to its

huge doors to hear the first evensong sermon ever delivered in St. Paul's by a non-Anglican. Dr. King, a Baptist, said, "All over the world, as we struggle for justice and freedom, we must never use

second-hand methods to gain it." Speaking in the measured cadence familiar to millions of Southern Negroes in the United States, Dr. King added:

"We must not seek to rise from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage, substituting justice of one type for that of another. We must not substitute oppression for another kind of oppression."

Rebuke to Malcolm X

The civil-rights leader, visiting here on his way to Oslo to receive the Nobel Prize for Peace, devoted his sermon largely to noncontroversial themes. But his plea for moderation in the rights struggle appeared directed at the activities of Malcolm X, leader of the militant Black Nationalist movement, who is also in London.

Speaking on television last night, Malcolm warned that the patience of United States Negroes was wearing thin in the fight for equal rights. He intimated that major violence was just under the surface.

At a news conference after his sermon, Dr. King pursued the racial question. "Negroes in the United States are more in line with the philosophy of integration and togetherness," he said, "and not in line with racial separation."

He added that only 75,000 out of 22 million Negroes in the United States "joined groups supporting black supremacy."

Dr. King's invitation to deliver the Sunday-afternoon sermon came from Canon John Collins of St. Paul's. There were Negroes in the congregation, but their representation was small in proportion to their 1 per cent share of the popu-

lation. There were also a few foreign visitors.

Dr. King spoke for three-quarters of an hour on the theme "The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life: Length, a Healthy, Rational Self-Interests; Breadth, Honor Thy Neighbor and Height, Love of God."

Quotes His Wife

He quoted Greek philosophers as well as poets, modern authors, world leaders, Mrs. King and the Bible. Occasionally he drew a murmur of amusement from the congregation.

Recalling the parable of the Good Samaritan, who helped a stricken man on the road between Jericho and Jerusalem, Dr. King asked why a priest had passed by without stopping. The priest may not have noticed the stricken man, Dr. King said, or he may have been afraid to stop. Then again, Dr. King suggested, "he might have been rushing off to form a Jericho Improvement Association."

To many worshipers seated in the transepts or behind the massive columns along the nave, Dr. King was not visible.

Loudspeakers discreetly installed in recesses and behind statuary carried his voice throughout the cathedral.

After the sermon, the congregation stood and sang a hymn that began:

Once to every man and nation  
Comes the moment to decide,  
In the strife of truth with  
falseness,  
For the good or evil side.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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# Malcolm X Assails U.S. Role in Congo



**BACK HOME.** Malcolm X interviewed by television and newsmen on his arrival from Africa at Kennedy International Airport. Among those at the airport to greet him were three of his children, including Ilyasah, who seemed unperturbed by klieg lights.

By David Herman

NEW YORK, Nov. 30 — Malcolm X denounced the "criminal action of the United States government in conjunction with Belgium in the Congo" last night at the first Harlem rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity since his return from Africa.

"We want the world to know we don't like what Sam is doing to our brothers in the Congo," the black nationalist leader declared.

At a press conference held upon his arrival at Kennedy International Airport on Nov. 24, Malcolm X was asked about the alleged massacre of white hostages in the Congo. He replied: "When Lyndon B. Johnson began to finance Tshombe's white mercenaries, it was only natural to expect such things to happen. The weight of the guilt is on the white mercenaries. It's too bad they had to die, but when you shed tears for those hostages, shed tears for

the Congolese who died too."

"Congolese have been massacred by white people for years and years . . . Chickens come home to roost," he added.

At the Harlem rally, Malcolm charged that Lyndon B. Johnson was responsible for what had happened in the Congo. Characterizing Tshombe as the "worst Negro in the world," Malcolm told the audience of about 1,000: "Johnson is sleeping with him. Man you voted for him. You were insane, out of your mind. I don't blame you. You were tricked."

Commenting on the fact that the U.S. government pays the salaries of the hired white troops in the Congo Malcolm X suggested: "Many of you are vets and many of you are unemployed. We might put on a drive in Harlem to raise some black mercenaries." The audience roared approval.

(Continued on Page 5)

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The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
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# ...Malcolm X Paris Meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

Malcolm X pointed out that he was not against white people, but against all people who were doing wrong. He stressed that he was not and had never been a racist. At his press conference he declared that he wanted to get together with any persons — "white or black" — who were sincerely interested in working for a solution of the problems of Afro-Americans.

At the rally he attacked the United States Information Service as "one of the most vicious organizations that has ever been sent anywhere — it makes Goebbels' organization look like child's play." The USIS in Africa, he said, spreads the illusion that the Civil Rights Act has made the U.S. a paradise for black people.

He further charged that the U.S. government applied a great deal of pressure to prevent American Negroes from participating in the meetings of the Organization of African Unity. The USIS, he said, had in this connection singled him out for a smear attack.

The black nationalist leader emphasized the international character of the Afro-American's struggle for human rights. During his 18-week travels among the peo-

ples of Africa and the Middle East his "main theme was to try and impress upon them that there are 22 million people in the United States who are inseparably linked with them . . . The problem is one; the destiny is the same." He pointed out that the oppressed peoples must support each other's struggles for freedom.

Malcolm X explained to the Harlem audience that when he spoke for the OAAU, he put his religion in his pocket. "Any time I have a religion that won't let me fight for my people, I say to hell with that religion. That's why I'm a Muslim . . . It teaches you an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It also teaches you, if someone steps on your toe, chop off his foot."

## Described Trip

The recently returned traveler described his trip briefly. About half of his time was spent in Cairo, Egypt, which he described as a city with a revolutionary atmosphere. A great many liberation movements have headquarters there, he explained, noting that "all thinking people who are oppressed are revolutionary . . . This is an era of revolution . . . which means an era of change. They don't want a gradual change; they want a change right now."

He also visited Mecca in Saudi Arabia (for two days); Lebanon; Ethiopia; Zanzibar and Tanganyika (now Tanzania); Nigeria; Southern Rhodesia; Ghana; Liberia; Guinea; Algeria; Sudan, and Kenya.

In the course of his travels he spoke with: Nasser, of Egypt; Julius Nyerere, of Tanzania; Sékou Touré, of Guinea; Nkrumah, of Ghana; Azikiwe, of Nigeria; and briefly with Jomo Kenyatta, of Kenya.

The next OAAU meeting will be held Sunday, Dec. 13, at 8 p.m. at Audubon Hall, 166 St. and Broadway. There will be no meeting on Dec. 6, because Malcolm X is flying to England for a debate at Oxford University. The Dec. 13 meeting will be on "The Congo Crisis." Specialists will report on what happened in the Congo giving information suppressed in the newspapers.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_

**Explained U.S. Put Up Wolf to Sell Fox**

# Paris Meeting Hears Malcolm X

By Ruth Porter

PARIS, Nov. 23 — There wasn't a square inch of unoccupied space in the meeting room. The seats were filled an hour before the lecture was scheduled to begin. The "late" arrivals stood or sat on the floor. When not another human being could be jammed into the hall, the crowd spilled into the corridors, hoping to stand within earshot. Those who arrived on time could not find standing room in the corridors and had to leave. The speaker himself could barely push into the room over the assorted legs of those on the floor. Africans, Americans black and white, European leftists of all persuasions, representatives of the press, all were intensely interested in what Malcolm X would say.

Invited to speak in Paris by "Presence Africaine," an African cultural organization which only a few weeks before had presented Langston Hughes, Malcolm X began by explaining that he represents two different organizations — one which is religious and one which is non-religious. "Tonight," he continued, "I am speaking for the one that is non-religious." After giving a brief characterization of the Black Muslim movement which split "primarily because it polarized into two groups — those who were militant and those who were more militant," Malcolm described the task of those who had left Elijah Muhammad:

"We also realized that, as Afro-Americans, our problem went beyond religion. To find out the kind of organization that would be most helpful to us, we studied the tactics and the strategy that our brothers and sisters were using in Africa. They tried to unite on the basis of what they could agree on, and formed the Organization of African Unity. We in the United States decided to form a similar organization, called the Organization of Afro-American Unity.



**WORLD SIGNIFICANCE.** Delegates to Pan-African Conference in Ghana. African struggle has sparked militancy among colored peoples of world.

Since the topic of this lecture tonight has been listed as the 'African Revolution and Its Effect on the Afro-American Struggle,' I feel that I should speak in my capacity as chairman of the OAAU rather than in my religious capacity — since the OAAU is a political movement.

"The spirit of militancy which has become so manifest in the United States and all over the West is inseparable from the spirit of militancy which exists in Africa," he said. "The enemies of our struggle for independence had tried to give Afro-Americans the impression that we have nothing

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in common with the people of Africa and the people of Africa have nothing to do with Negroes of the Western World.

"It is true," he continued, "that for many years those of us of African ancestry in the West were reluctant to identify with Africa, but this was [the result of] an image projected by our enemies. This enemy created a negative image of Africa as a jungle, a place full of wild animals, etc. The image was made hateful to us. They knew that once we were made to hate our own origin, we would hate ourselves. And all people of African ancestry throughout the world would hate Africa and hate themselves. They did it so shrewdly and so successfully that they created those of us in the West who hated ourselves — our nose, our lips, our skin, our hair.

"Since 1959," Malcolm X said, "when the African states began to emerge, the image of Africa and the image of Africans has been changing. This threatens the number-one racist society on the face of the earth — the United States. South Africa preaches and practices racism, but the United States preaches integration and practices segregation. It is, therefore, much more hypocritical."

The hall rang with applause as the black nationalist leader added:

"Efforts of 'liberals' to solve our problems for us have been efforts to make us become more American than African. They have no desire or intention to solve the race problem because it would mean giving up power — and no one ever gives up power. It has to be taken from them.

The bi-lingual question period that followed was extremely lively, with many pointed and politically sophisticated queries and comments.

"How is it possible that certain people are still preaching non-violence?" an African asked.

"Easy to answer," replied Malcolm X. "Shows you the power of dollarism. The dollar makes anything possible. When the Sharpeville Massacre took place in South Africa, it brought out the fact that the brothers in South Africa had to go into action, that non-violence had become outdated. So they used their tricks. They gave an African a peace prize for being non-violent. In America, there are an increasing number of black people who have come to the same conclusion regarding non-violence; so they come up with another peace prize!"

Queried on the results of the recent U.S. presidential election, Malcolm replied:

"It is the same system. It isn't a President who can help or hurt; it is the system. And this system is not only ruling us in America; it is ruling the world. Nowadays, when a man is running for President of the United States, he is not running for President of the United States alone, but he has to be acceptable to other areas of the world where American influence rules.

"If Johnson had been running all by himself, he would not have been acceptable to anyone. The only thing that made him acceptable to the world was that the shrewd capitalists, the shrewd imperialists knew that the only way people would run toward the fox would be if you showed them a wolf. So they created a ghastly alternative. And it had the whole world — including people who call themselves Marxists — hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater. I have to say this: those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected — because he is supposed to be a man of peace. And at that moment he had troops invading the Congo and South Vietnam! He even has troops in areas where other imperialists have already withdrawn. Peace Corps to Nigeria; mercenaries to the Congo!"

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## Millions of Britons See Malcolm X In TV Broadcast of Debate at Oxford

By Roger Protz

LONDON, Dec. 4 — Into the cloistered atmosphere of Oxford University, for centuries one of England's twin bastions of education for the sons of the upper crust, came the voice of American Negro revolt. Last night Malcolm X was one of the guest speakers in the end-of-term debate in the Oxford Union.

The black nationalist leader from the U.S. was speaking in support of the motion set for the debate — the now famous statement by Barry Goldwater: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

The student audience, which included many Africans and Indians, gave the American visitor a long ovation for a stirring and vitriolic speech that cut through the traditional stuffed-shirt atmosphere of the Oxford Union, which is closely modeled on the House of Commons — complete with banal repartee and "honorable members."

### Scotch Poet

Speaking with Malcolm X for the motion was the Scottish poet, Hugh MacDiarmid, who is a curious mixture of Scottish nationalist, Communist Party member and Anglophobe. He gave a somewhat clinical appraisal of the need for determined action by the people to win freedom and democracy.

Ranged against them were Humphrey Berkeley, a Tory member of the House of Commons, and Lord Stonham, a "socialist" member of the House of Lords. As they clearly had the most to lose by extreme action by the masses, they spoke fervently in support of moderation.

It was left to Malcolm X to set the debate alight with an impassioned plea for the American Negroes and the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

He began by attacking the latest imperialist intervention in the Congo which had precipitated yet another round of bloodshed and misery. He was particularly scathing in his denunciation of the press which had turned the event into another excuse for racist attacks "savages" and "primitives."



Malcolm X

### The Motion

Turning specifically to the motion set for the debate, he said: "I don't believe in any form of unjustified extremism, but when a man is exercising extremism in defense of liberty for human beings I do not consider that a vice."

"When a man is a moderate in defense of justice for human beings I say he is a sinner."

He spoke of the day black men would come to realize that they were justified in taking uncompromising steps and any means necessary to bring about their freedom.

"I believe that the day when they do, many more whites will have more respect for them. There will be more whites than there are now on their side with this wishy-washy, love-thine-enemy approach

they have been using up to now!"

He concluded with the famous passage from Hamlet: "To be, or not to be: that is the question. Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, or to take arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing end them?"

To thunderous applause, he declared that the latter choice was the only possible one if people are to gain their emancipation.

The debate was televised on the BBC's main national network and must have been seen by at least ten million viewers. Lest they should be indoctrinated by Malcolm X's forceful arguments, the broadcasting company ushered in two of its leading commentators to refute his "wildly exaggerated picture of the U.S."

The administration in the U.S., they said, was fully geared to pushing through civil-rights legislation. And, with that hypocritical paternalism which is the hallmark of liberal Englishmen, they solemnly agreed that Malcolm X could not be altogether blamed for his views. He had had an "unfortunate" upbringing and extremism breeds extremism!

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2<sup>nd</sup> CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 12/14/64  
Edition: 3 STAR FINAL  
Author: HUBB LION  
Editor: W.D. MAXWELL  
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**REPEAT PERFORMANCE.** Malcolm X at Militant Labor Forum meeting in New York last spring. He will speak for the Militant Labor Forum again on Thursday evening Jan. 7 on "1965: The Prospects for Freedom." The meeting will be held at Palm Gardens, 310 W. 52nd St., 8:30 p.m.

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# Malcolm Dogma Comes Too Late

By ROY WILKINS

Executive Secretary, N.A.A.C.P.

Nothing in the civil rights situation engages the attention of white Americans more quickly than the suggestion that the long-patient Negro is about to take up arms and wrack vengeance for past mistreatments.

The white public listens with only half an ear to the deadly statistics on Negro unemployment. It gives only part-time attention to the dilapidation, the rats, the filth, the robber rents and the crime of the slums. It yawns over demonstrably inferior schools in the Negro ghettos.

But let someone, known or unknown, raise a cry about using guns in a shooting war with white folks and the white community is all ears.

Malcolm X, the split-off Black Muslim, has been garnering gobs of attention for himself by expounding the don't-turn-the-other-cheek philosophy. Not only don't turn it, advises Malcolm, but smack a cheek of your own—a white cheek.

Malcolm went to the Middle East some months ago where he confessed to the discovery that white people are people, too. Commentators hoped, rather wistfully, that white Americans hereafter might expect less cyanide and more of the milk of human kindness in his sermons. It was not to be. At year's end Malcolm made sure of their unease and their apprehension for 1965 by a Harlem speech calling for the formation of a Mau Mau Society.

"If the language (of the oppressors) is a shotgun, get a shotgun," he said . . . "he who kills by the sword shall be killed by the sword." Pointing a finger at his audience of fewer than 500 he urged Negroes to "even the score" with whites.



MALCOLM X

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43 BOSTON GLOBE  
Boston, Mass.  
BOSTON HERALD  
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BOSTON TRAVELER  
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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
MONITOR  
Boston, Mass.  
RECORD AMERICAN  
Boston, Mass.

Date: 1/3/65  
Edition: SUNDAY  
Author: ROY WILKINS  
Editor: VICTOR O. JONES  
Title: MALCOLM X

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## Enthusiasm Wanes

Malcolm X is a persuasive debater and a rabble-rousing speaker in the Adam Clayton Powell class, which is to say, top grade. He also has grievances on his side—deep, callous, cruel grievances. The murderous Simon Legree policies of Mississippi and of areas in several other Deep South states are encouraged by the indifference of non-Southerners. The Malcolms, few though they be in number, have something going for them: The statistics, the history, the burnings, bombings, killings and perversions of justice in the courts.

But going against the Malcolms is the fact that they are probably too late. The forces under the banner of non-violence have at last aroused the nation. History has taken a turn in the years since World War II which has compelled the United States to act on its racial problem.

Even if the attendance figure was off by 200, this number out of 400,000 persons in Harlem does not suggest overwhelming enthusiasm in that community for the Mau Mau approach. History reveals that Negro Americans, as a group, have never committed themselves to retaliatory violence as a policy.

If they did not reach for shotguns and rifles when lynchings were at a twice-a-week average and when segregation and discrimination were in humiliating flower, they are not about to immolate themselves now, when things are improving, especially when they consider the 9-to-1 numerical odds.

This is not to rule out violence here and there, nor to suggest that every one of the impatient and frustrated younger Negro generation will abide by historical trends. These are more bitterly aware of their imposed disabilities than they were before better education and better communication opened their eyes. Some may listen to the Malcolms, especially if mobs are egged on by police and if persecution goes unpunished.

But if the United States does not rest on pious declarations and on a law-on-the-books, but moves steadily to eliminate racial bias, the Mau Mau idea will sputter and die.

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## WASHINGTON SHOOK UP

# Is Malcolm X Clueing In Africans on U.S.?

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — In response to a question at a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity here last night, Malcolm X denied he had taken personal credit or responsibility for the unprecedented attack on American racism by African nations during the recent United Nations debate on the Congo.

The Jan. 2 *New York Times* had reported that Malcolm X felt he had "laid the groundwork" for the attacks during his four-month visit to Africa last summer.

The black nationalist leader, however, did not deny he felt it was a good thing for African countries to begin to take an interest in freedom for American Negroes.

It was obvious from the UN debate that victims of racism in this country have important new allies abroad. It was also apparent that the African nations see an identity in their struggle for freedom from white domination and the struggle of Afro-Americans.

The *Times* article accurately reported Malcolm's interest in the internationalization of the U.S. Negro struggle for equality; that he was a guest of many heads of state during his African trip; and that U.S. authorities took an early "interest in Malcolm's activities in

North Africa."

Unreported by the *Times*, however, was the consternation among U.S. officials when Malcolm X was given the red-carpet treatment in Africa.

In Kenya, for example, where he was given time on the govern-

ment radio station and had many top-level meetings with government officials, the U.S. embassy protested against such honors being given to Malcolm X, a person not held in high esteem by U.S. spokesmen. The protest was rejected by the Kenya government.



Malcolm X

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — Films of Egypt, Kenya and Ethiopia taken by Malcolm X on his recent trip to Africa were shown at the regular Sunday night rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity last night at the Audubon Ballroom at 166th St. and Broadway. Despite freezing weather and a holiday weekend, about 700 people turned out for the meeting.

The beautiful color films included scenes of the Egyptian Independence Day celebration, showing many of the leaders of liberation movements in Africa on hand to witness the military display. More films — narrated by Malcolm X — will be shown Sunday, Jan. 10, including scenes of Ghana, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt.

Okello Odongo, member of parliament and assistant minister of finance in Kenya, was introduced and spoke briefly, supporting what Malcolm X had said.

The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
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(MALCOLM X)

HANOVER, N.H.--MALCOLM X, HEAD OF THE BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, SAID TONIGHT THAT HE WILL VISIT MISSISSIPPI NEXT MONTH TO "SHOW THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY NEW METHODS FOR SECURING FREEDOM."

HE TOLD MORE THAN 1,000 PERSONS AT DARTMOUTH COLLEGE THAT THE SUMMER OF 1965 WOULD BE "THE LONGEST, HOTTEST, BLOODIEST SUMMER EVER."

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A 'ROAD OF LOVE' OR ...

## Malcolm X's Road of Violence

By GEORGE CARMACK  
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

SELMA, Ala., Feb. 5 — Two routes to the right to vote have been dramatically laid out to the Negroes of this Alabama city.

Malcolm X has given the route of the Black Muslims —

a route of violence. He told more than 300 Negroes — many of them high school students — crowded in an old brick church here yesterday:

"The black people have the right to the ballot. I am 100 per cent for their effort to get it —

and by whatever means is necessary."

The Rev. Fred L. Shuttleworth of Birmingham followed Malcolm X to the pulpit and laid out a route of non-violence — what he called a "road of love."

He said that when he and Martin Luther King Jr. first started working for Negro rights, they took this pledge:

"In our struggle to be free, we hold our affirm that not one hair on the head of one white man will be harmed."

Rev. Shuttleworth asked his Selma audience to take the same pledge.

### CRITICAL

Malcolm X was critical of the United States — particularly its actions in the Congo. He accused the U. S. of instigating violence and said our nation "sent its planes to destroy people under the guise of a rescue mission."

"I don't think America is going out of business — not for communism or anything else," said Rev. Shuttleworth. "When I sing 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee,' I know it's my country. I thrill at seeing Old Glory flying in the breeze. I consider it a privilege to work in a movement such as this for I know this is what Old Glory stands for."

The contrast between Malcolm X and Rev. Shuttleworth was not limited to the doctrine they preached.

### WELL-TAILORED

Malcolm X — a tall man with a light brown beard, horn-rimmed glasses, wearing a dark, well-tailored suit — preached his violence in scholarly tones.

Small, wiry Rev. Shuttleworth

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—UPI Photo

**Black Muslim leader Malcolm X enters the picture in Selma, Ala.**

—dressed in a loose-fitting brown suit— was every inch the actor as he marched up and down the stage behind the pulpit.

"Walk and keep on walking up and down our streets and to our courthouse to get our rights," he said.

# Radio Interview With Malcolm X

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[Harry Ring, Militant staff writer, has been delivering a series of news commentaries over radio station WBAI-FM in New York. His program of Jan. 28 was devoted to an interview with Malcolm X. The following is a transcript of the interview.]

Ring: Many whites who are sympathetic to the Freedom Now Movement are generally critical of that section of the movement known as the Black Muslims or Black Nationalists. I think this is due in good measure to the lack of unbiased information as to what those described as Black Nationalists really stand for, and I think this lack of accurate information is the product of a deliberate policy of distortion and misrepresentation by the general news media.

I think, for example, that one of the most misrepresented and maligned public figures in this country today is Malcolm X, leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Because I feel his views have been so badly distorted, I have invited Malcolm X to be my guest on this program to ask him some questions to get at what he really believes.

Minister Malcolm, it is just a year since you have been associated with Elijah Muhammad and his Nation of Islam. Have your views changed since then and, if so, can you indicate in what way they have changed?

Malcolm X: Well, I have been traveling and my scope has broadened. For one thing, I believe in the religion of Islam which automatically teaches us the brotherhood of man. Whereas as a follower of Elijah Muhammad, I said that I believed in the religion of Islam but his teaching or version of it was not based upon the brotherhood of man. It was against people just on the basis of their color. But my beliefs now are 100 percent against racism and against segregation in any form and I also believe that in the religion of Islam, as I now understand it, that we don't judge a person by the color of his skin but, rather, by his behavior, by his deeds and we think that this is justified.

Ring: Let me ask you a question about a problem that disturbs many white supporters of the Freedom Now Movement. Why do you reject the concept of non-violence?

Malcolm X: Well, we think that when non-violence is taught to the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council or these other elements that are inflicting extreme brutality against blacks in this country, then we would accept it. If we're dealing with a non-violent enemy, then we would be non-violent, too. But as long as our people in this country have to face the continued acts of brutality on the part of the racist element in the North as well as in the South, then I don't think that we should be called upon to be non-violent. When they'll get non-violent, we'll get non-violent.

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King: A week or so ago, Police Commissioner Murphy asserted that the outbreak of violence in Harlem could actually provide the fuel for such an outbreak. I know that you were one of those who recently made such a warning. What would you say about this?

Malcolm X: Well, Commissioner Murphy's attitude is one of the things primarily responsible for much of the ill feeling among the races and especially in the black communities like Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and other places. When he says — when he warns — against anyone mentioning that there is a great chance for continued violence this summer, what he is doing is trying to stick his head in the sand.

His attitude is the same as the American attitude toward the existence of China. The general American attitude is that Americans are supposed to pretend that 700 million Chinese don't exist and that a little island off the coast of China is China. Well now, Commissioner Murphy has this same attitude toward the conditions that exist in the black community. These conditions are so explosive that it is impossible for them to continue to exist without there being violent explosions.

Instead of Police Commissioner Murphy involving himself in some kind of work that will eliminate the causes of these explosions, he wants to condemn the people who are pointing toward the continued existence of these conditions and who at the same time are warning that the continued existence of the causes are going to create the explosions.

So I think that the Police Commissioner is probably the best example of an imbecile. I hate to use this kind of word on your program, but he actually has a very imbecile approach to the problems that exist in the black community and his continued mouthing of this type of thing will do nothing to better the condition; rather, it makes the condition worse.

King: One question that I've wondered about — in several of your lectures you've stressed the idea that the struggle of your people is for human rights rather than civil rights. Can you explain a bit what you mean by that?

Malcolm X: Civil rights actually keeps the struggle within the domestic confines of America. It keeps it under the jurisdiction of the American government, which means that as long as our struggle for what we're seeking is labeled civil rights, we can only go to Washington, D.C., and then we rely upon either the Supreme Court, the President or the Congress or the senators. These senators — many of them are racists. Many of the congressmen are racists. Many of the judges are racists and oftentimes the president himself is a very shrewdly colored racist. And so, we're depending upon these grievances being redressed just within the jurisdiction of the United States government.

On the other hand, human rights go beyond the jurisdiction of this government. Human rights are international. Human rights are something that a man has by dint of his having been born. The labeling of our struggle in this country under the title civil rights for the past 12 years has actually made it impossible for us to get outside help. Many foreign nations, many of our brothers and sisters on the African continent who have gotten their independence, have restrained themselves, have refrained from becoming vocally or actively involved in our struggle for fear that they would be violating U.S. protocol, that they would be accused of getting involved in America's domestic affairs.

On the other hand, when we label it human rights, it internationalizes the problem and puts it at a level that makes it possible for any nation or any people anywhere on this earth to speak out in behalf of our human rights struggle.

So we feel that by calling it civil rights for the past 12 years, we've actually been barking up the wrong tree, that ours is a problem of human rights.

Plus, if we have our human rights, our civil rights are automatic. If we're respected as a human being, we'll be respected as a citizen; and in this country the black man not only is not re-



Malcolm X

spected as a citizen, he is not even respected as a human being.

And the proof is that you find in many instances people can come to this country from other countries — they can come to this country from behind the Iron Curtain — and despite the fact that they come here from these other places, they don't have to have civil-rights legislation passed in order for their rights to be safeguarded.

No new legislation is necessary for foreigners who come here to have their rights safeguarded. The Constitution is sufficient, but when it comes to the black man who were born here — whenever we are asking for our rights, they tell us that new legislation is necessary.

Well, we don't believe that. The Organization of Afro-American Unity feels that as long as our people in this country confine their struggle within the limitations and under the jurisdiction of the United States government, we remain within the confines of the vicious system that has done nothing but exploit and oppress us ever since we've been here. So we feel that our only real hope is to make known that our problem is not a Negro problem — it's a human rights problem, but right at a level where the whole of humanity serves in our behalf.

King: In the recent debate on the Congo in the United Nations, a number of spokesmen for the African nations condemned the U.S. intervention in the Congo and they likened the United States' role in the Congo to its treatment of the black people in Mississippi. One reporter at least — I believe from the New York Times — said that you were at least in part responsible for the African delegates taking this position.

Malcolm X: I have never taken responsibility or credit, you might say, for the stance taken by the African nations. The African nations today are represented by intelligent spokesmen. And it was only a matter of time before they would have to see that they would have to intervene in behalf of 22

minutes. b. Americans who are their brothers and sisters.

And it is a good example of why our problem has to be internationalized. I see the African nations are speaking out and linking the problem of racism in Mississippi with the problem of racism in the Congo and also the problem of racism in South Vietnam. It's all racism. It's all part of the vicious racist system that the Western powers have used to continue to degrade and exploit and oppress the people in Africa and Asia and Latin America during recent centuries.

And when these people in these different areas begin to see that the problem is the same problem and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then the oppressed people of this earth make up a majority, not a minority. Then we approach our problem then as a majority that can demand, not as a minority that has to beg.

Ring: I noticed that you mentioned the problem of Vietnam. Generally, you're associated with concerning yourself with the problems of black people. How do you see the problem of U.S. intervention in Vietnam as related to the problems of your people?

Malcolm X: It's a problem anytime the United States can come up with so many alibis not to get involved in Mississippi and to get involved in the Congo and involved in Asia and in South Vietnam. Why that, right there, should show our people that the government is incapable of taking the kind of action necessary to solve the problem of black people in this country. But at the same time she has her nose stuck into the problems of others everywhere else.

We see where the problem of Vietnam is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in the Congo is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in Mississippi and Alabama and New York is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The oppressed people all over the world have the same problems and it is only now that they're becoming sufficiently sophisticated to see that all they have to do to get the oppressor off their back is to unite and realize that it is one problem — that our problems are inseparable. And then our action will be inseparable. Our action will be one of unity and in the unity of oppressed people is actually the strength, and the best strength of the oppressed people.

Ring: To get back to the problem of Harlem. I noticed that last week a group of Harlemites who

had been without — and hot water for over a week went down to City Hall and sat down in the mayor's office. A few days later I read that the housing commissioner had decided that the city would make repairs on buildings that required it and bill the landlord.

He made it known — and I had never known this before — that a law had been on the books for many years permitting the city to do this — that they had done it during the depression a few times, but it's never been used since. Now it seems to me that this action by these Harlem tenants brought this about. Do you think that effective gains can be made through this kind of action?

Malcolm X: Definitely. Whenever our people are ready to take any kind of action necessary to get results, they'll get results. They'll never get results as long as they play by the ground rules laid down by the power structure downtown. It takes action to get some action, and this is what our people have to realize. They have to organize and become involved in well coordinated action which will involve any means necessary to bring about complete elimination of the conditions that exist — conditions that are actually criminal. Not only unjust but criminal!

Ring: You've said that your attitude on many questions has changed in the past year. How about your attitude toward the established civil-rights organizations?

Malcolm X: I'm for whatever gets results. I don't go for any organization — be it civil-rights or any other kind — that has to compromise with the power structure and has to rely on certain elements within the power structure for their financing and which puts them in a position to be influenced and controlled all over again by the power structure itself.

I'm for anything that they're involved in that gets meaningful results for the masses of our people — but not for the benefit of a few hand-picked Negroes at the top who get prestige and credit, and all the while the masses' problems remain unsolved.

Ring: But would you support concrete actions of these organizations if you feel they go in the right direction?

Malcolm X: Yes. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will support fully and without compromise any action by any group that is designed to get meaningful immediate results.

Ring: I'm sorry, but that's all we'll have time for. It's been a pleasure to talk to you and I want to wish you every success in your efforts.

Malcolm X: Thank you.

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UPI-77

(MALCOLM X)

LONDON--AMERICAN BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X WAS REFUSED ENTRY BY FRANCE TODAY. HE RETURNED HERE AND SAID DEFTANTLY, "I NEVER GO TO ANY PLACE WHERE I AM NOT WANTED."

HE FLEW TO PARIS TODAY TO SPEAK TO AN AFRO-AMERICAN RALLY THERE BUT FRENCH OFFICIALS MET HIM WITH A GOVERNMENT ORDER SAYING HIS PRESENCE WAS UNDESIRABLE. HE WAS BACK IN LONDON FOUR HOURS AFTER HE HAD LEFT IT.

MALCOLM X SAID HE OFFERED AN ENGLISH PENNY TO FRENCH SECURITY MEN AT PARIS' ONLY AIRPORT AND TOLD THEM TO "GIVE THAT TO DE GAULLE BECAUSE THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS WORTH LESS THAN A PENNY."

HE SAID THE SECURITY MAN REFUSED IT, THAT HE THREW IT TO THE GROUND AND THAT A POLICEMAN PICKED IT UP.

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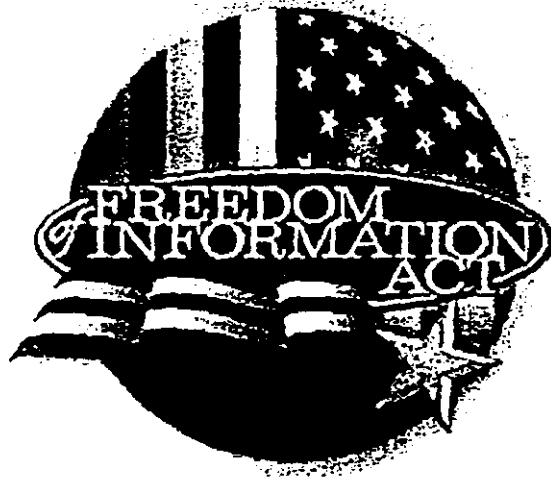
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**MALCOLM X LITTLE**

**PART 22 OF 24**

**BUFILE:100-399321 SUB A  
SECTIONS 3 AND 4**

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. HQ 100-399321-A

Section 3

February 10, 1965 - February 27, 1965

75 Pages



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### **MALCOLM X BARRED BY FRENCH SECURITY**

LONDON, Feb. 9 (UPI)—Malcolm X, an American black nationalist leader, was refused entry by France today. He returned here and said defiantly, "I never go to any place where I am not wanted."

Malcolm flew to Paris today to speak to an Afro-American rally there but French officials met him with a Government order saying his presence was undesirable. He was back in London four hours after he had left it.

He said he had offered an English penny to French security men at Orly Airport in Paris and told them to "give that to de Gaulle because the French Government is worth less than a penny."

The 39-year-old former Black Muslim leader said nine policemen and officials had met him at the plane.

"They gave me no reason why I was barred and did not let me contact the American Embassy," he said. "I was shocked. I thought I was in South Africa. They let [Congo Premier Moise] Tshombe in. He's the worst person on earth and he's de Gaulle's friend."

Malcolm said he planned to spend the rest of the week in London "if nothing else happens," then return to New York.

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 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
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 New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
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071-44

(MALCOLM X)

SMETHWICK, ENGLAND--A VISIT BY BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X. TO THIS MIDLAND STEEL-MILLING CENTER, WHERE NEGROES ARE NOT OVERWHELMINGLY POPULAR, STIRRED A STORM OF PROTEST TODAY.

MAYOR CLARENCE WILLIAMS CHARGED THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR X'S VISIT ARE "TRYING TO TURN SMETHWICK INTO A BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA."

RESIDENTS PROTESTED THE TRIP WOULD STIR UP NEW RACIAL PROBLEMS.

LONDON NEWSPAPERS SAID THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORP., WHICH TRIED TO ARRANGE A TELEVISION APPEARANCE FOR X IN THE TOWN, MADE A "DEPLORABLE MISTAKE."

MALCOLM X SAID HE TOURED THE INDUSTRIAL TOWN TO LEARN FOR HIMSELF IF IT WERE TRUE NEGROES ARE TREATED HERE AS THEY ARE IN ALABAMA...

"LIKE HITLER TREATED THE JEWS."

"IF COLORED PEOPLE GO ON BEING OPPRESSED IT WILL SPARK OFF A BLOODY RACIAL BATTLE," X SAID.

A BBC TEAM TRIED TO ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN THE NEGRO AND PETER GRIFFITHS, WHO DEFEATED LABORITE PATRICK GORDON WALKER IN LAST OCTOBER'S GENERAL ELECTION, BUT GRIFFITHS WAS IN LONDON.

GRIFFITHS' DEFEAT OF GORDON WALKER--WHO RECENTLY RESIGNED AS FOREIGN SECRETARY AFTER A SECOND ELECTION DEFEAT--STIRRED PROTESTS IN PARLIAMENT THAT THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN WAS RUN ON THE RACIAL ISSUE. THE M.P. DENIED THE CHARGE.

MALCOLM X VISITED MARSHALL STREET, WHERE GHD SMETHWICK TOWN COUNCIL IS BUYING HOUSES FOR RESALE TO WHITE PEOPLE ONLY.

WILLIAMS SAID IT WAS REGRETTABLE THAT "ILL-INFORMED PEOPLE" SHOULD BRING NEW PUBLICITY TO THE TOWN.

"IT'S SIMPLY DEPLORABLE FOR THEM TO COME HERE APPARENTLY WITH THE AVOWED INTENTION OF CREATING MORE TENSION," HE SAID. "IT MAKES MY BLOOD BOIL THAT THIS MAN (X) SHOULD BE ALLOWED INTO THE COUNTRY."

THE LONDON EVENING STANDARD, COMMENTING ON THE VISIT, SAID THE BBC WAS "UTTERLY LACKING IN JUDGMENT AND RESPONSIBILITY."

IT DEMANDED THE DISMISSAL OF DERRICK AMOORE, HEAD OF THE BBC TEAM.

A BBC SPOKESMAN DENIED THAT THE CAMERA TEAM TOOK X TO SMETHWICK. HE SAID THE NEGRO LEADER WAS ALREADY IN THE AREA AND THE TEAM SIMPLY TRIED TO ARRANGE FOR HIM TO MEET GRIFFITHS.

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UPI A39N

BY STANLEY SCOTT

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

NEW YORK, FEB. 14 (UPI)--POLICE TONIGHT SOUGHT CLUES TO WHO TOSSED FOUR FIRE BOMBS FROM A PASSING AUTO SETTING FIRE TO THE HOME OF BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X. Little

IN THE HOUSE AT THE TIME WERE MALCOLM, HIS WIFE, BETTY, AND FOUR DAUGHTERS--ATTILAH, 6; QUBILAH, 4; ILLYASH, 2; AND GAMILAH, 5 MONTHS. NONE WAS INJURED.

THE MOLOTOV COCKTAILS, TOSSED THROUGH A LIVING ROOM WINDOW WHILE THE FAMILY SLEPT, WRECKED THE LIVING ROOM AND CAUSED MODERATE SMOKE AND WATER DAMAGE TO THE OTHER EIGHT ROOMS OF THE BRICK HOUSE.

MALCOLM AND HIS FAMILY FLED INTO THE STREET WHILE FIREMEN FOUGHT THE FIRE. THEY DID NOT RETURN TO THE \$17,000 DWELLING IN THE MODERATE-INCOME EAST ELMHURST SECTION OF THE CITY. THE NEGRO NATIONALIST LEADER WAS REPORTED TO HAVE TAKEN OFF FOR DETROIT, WHERE HE HAD A PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENT, WHILE HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN TOOK UP RESIDENCE WITH FRIENDS.

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UPI A41N

1ST ADD MALCOLM (A39N) NEW YORK X X X WITH FRIENDS.  
 POLICE SAID THEY HAD NO CLUES TO THE BOMB THROWERS. NEITHER DETECTIVES NOR MALCOLM WOULD COMMENT ON A POSSIBLE MOTIVE. BUT THE HOUSE HAS FIGURED IN LITIGATION BETWEEN MALCOLM AND MEMBERS OF ELIJAH MUHAMMAD'S BLACK MUSLIMS, WHO OUSTED MALCOLM FROM THEIR ORGANIZATION.

INVESTIGATORS SWEEPED UP FRAGMENTS OF FOUR BOTTLES IN MALCOLM'S HOME. THE BOMBS WERE FASHIONED OF WHISKEY BOTTLES CONTAINING A VOLATILE FLUID AND WICKS WHICH WERE SET AFIRE BEFORE BEING TOSSED THROUGH THE WINDOW.

POLICE SGT. THOMAS CONNORS SAID THE FRAGMENTS OF THE BOTTLES HAD BEEN SENT TO THE POLICE LABORATORY FOR CHEMICAL ANALYSIS AND POSSIBLE FINGERPRINTS.

THE BOMBS CRASHED THROUGH THE FRONT WINDOW ON THE FIRST FLOOR OF THE TWO-STORY HOUSE AT ABOUT 2:50 A.M. EST.

ONLY A FEW HOURS EARLIER, MALCOLM, WHO HAS CALLED ON NEGROES TO ARM THEMSELVES WITH RIFLES TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST WHITE ATTACKS, HAD RETURNED FROM A TRIP TO ENGLAND.

"I Woke up and heard a crash through the window," MALCOLM SAID. "THE FIRST THING I KNEW THE HOUSE WAS ON FIRE."

FIREMEN, RESPONDING TO A SINGLE ALARM, QUICKLY CONTROLLED IT. ASKED WHETHER HE KNEW ANY REASON WHY BOMBS MIGHT BE FIRED INTO HIS HOUSE MALCOLM LAUGHED.

HE HAS BEEN AT ODDS WITH THE CHICAGO-BASED BLACK MUSLIMS SINCE HE WAS OUSTED LAST MARCH AND FORMED HIS OWN MILITANT NEGRO GROUP.

THE MUSLIMS CONTEND THAT THEY OWN THE HOUSE AND THAT IT WAS PURCHASED SOLELY FOR THE USE OF ONE OF THEIR LEADERS. MALCOLM MOVED IN WHILE HE WAS THE NEW YORK CHIEF OF THE BLACK MUSLIMS. AN EVICTION ORDER HAS BEEN ISSUED BY QUEENS CIVIL COURT, WHICH SET JAN. 31 AS THE DEADLINE FOR HIM TO MOVE.

MALCOLM TOLD POLICE HE WAS GOING TO DETROIT FOR "SOME BUSINESS I HAVE THERE." HE REFUSED TO ELABORATE BUT SAID THE BOMBING HAD MADE IT "MORE INSISTENT THAN EVER THAT I GO."

IN EUROPE, MALCOLM RAN INTO CONTROVERSY.

LAST WEEK HE VISITED THE BRITISH STEEL-MAKING CENTER OF SMETHWICK, WHERE RACIAL TENSIONS HAVE RUN HIGH BECAUSE OF AN INFLUX OF NEGROES FROM BRITISH COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES.

FORMER BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY PATRICK GORDON WALKER WAS DEFEATED IN HIS BID TO WIN A SEAT IN COMMONS IN A SMETHWICK CONSTITUENCY LAST OCTOBER. WALKER'S LOSS TO PETER GRIFFITHS HAD RACIAL OVERTONES AND THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CO. (BBC) CAME IN FOR CRITICISM WHEN IT TRIED TO ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN MALCOLM AND GRIFFITHS.

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## B.B.C. Assailed for Conducting Malcolm X on Smethwick Tour

APRIL 12, 1965

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 by 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. Wil-

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.

A spokesman for the Government-chartered broadcasting corporation said a date has not yet been set for using the Smethwick film material.

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
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 New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times pg 27  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
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*Little*

# Malcolm X Story: Muslim 'Prophet' Ordered Bombing



Malcolm (left) Accuses Elijah Muhammed

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By RICHARD BARR

"I believe that it was done on orders of Elijah Muhammed."

Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X hurled this charge at the head of the Black Muslim Movement today as he headed back for New York "to tell everyone what is going on and who is responsible" for the fire-bombing of his Queens home early yesterday.

The controversial leader said his statements would come at a meeting of his Organization of Afro-American Unity at 8 o'clock tonight in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th st. and Broadway.

#### FLEES WITH FAMILY

"It doesn't frighten me; it doesn't quiet me down in any way or shut me up," said Malcolm of the wrecking of his small brick home at 23-11 97th st., Elmhurst.

"I will not move. My family understands what is involved and they feel the same way I do. I am not afraid of them and will not run from them."

Malcolm, 39, his wife, Betty, 37, and his daughters—Attilah, 6, Qubilah, 4, Ilyasah, 2, and Gamillah, 5 months—fled the house unharmed about 2:45

a.m. when at least two, and possibly three Molotov cocktails reportedly crashed through the living room windows and burst into flames.

Malcolm, who was asked to vacate the Muslim-owned house after breaking with the Muslims last year to set up his own rival militant anti-white movement, spoke by telephone before heading home from Detroit where he'd gone to keep a speaking engagement shortly after the blaze.

"They fear I might create an organization that will be better than theirs and detract from theirs. But I'm not afraid."

A decision was due today on Malcolm's appeal for a stay of a civil court ruling which gave him until Jan. 31 to vacate the house.

"We own this place, man," Joseph X, self-described Muslim business manager said shortly after the fire.

"He was going to be evicted. We have money tied up here. We have to hear about it on the radio. He didn't even give us a courtesy of a phone call."

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# Malcolm X, Family Bombed Out of Home

By JOHN MALLON

Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader who charges that Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims have been plotting against his life since he defected from their movement about a year ago, was bombed out of his home in East Elmhurst, Queens, early yesterday.

Malcolm X, 39, whose surname is Little; his wife, Betty, 37, and their four daughters fled to safety at 2:35 A.M. from their blazing one-family brick and shingle house at 23-11 97th St.

The house was severely damaged by a Molotov cocktail thrown through a living room window. Fragments of a second bottle bomb were found in the rear of the house.

Apparently the two Molotov cocktails were tossed at the same time, but the one at the rear merely smashed against the back door and failed to ignite.

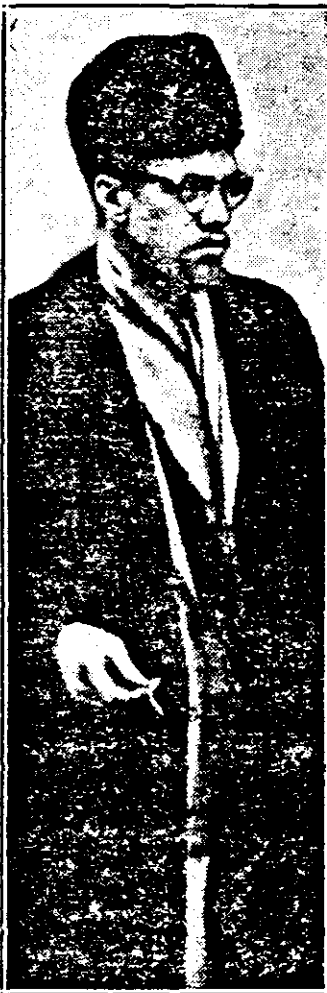
The family was asleep in three rear bedrooms when, according to Mrs. Little, "there was a conglomeration of strange sounds that woke us up."

Malcolm X and his wife raced from their bedroom to an adjoining one occupied by Attilah, 6, Qubilah, 4, and Illyash, 2. Gathering the girls, they then went into a small bedroom and picked up Gamilan, 7 months. Still in their night clothes, the six escaped through the rear door. They spent the night with friends in Manhattan.

The living room was ruined by smoke, flames and water. The five other rooms were damaged in varying degrees. A taxi driver turned in the fire alarm. The blaze was out by 3:05 A.M.

## Jug Found in Bedroom

A gallon jug with some unidentifiable liquid still in it was found on a dresser in the order



(UPI foto)  
 Malcolm X outside his Queens home yesterday.

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girls' bedroom. No one seemed to know how it got there.

#### He's Not Surprised

Later, Malcolm X said, "I didn't see anyone but I sensed there was someone out there. It could have been done by any one of many. I'm not surprised that it was done. It doesn't frighten me. It doesn't quiet me down in any way or shut me up.

"I intend to point out to the people of New York who I think is behind this and what will develop from it, if something is not done about it."

#### Attempts on His Life

Asked if he knew any reason why his home should be bombed, he laughed. For the last year, ever since he left the Black Muslims to head his own black nationalist movement, he has been insisting Muhammad's group has been conducting a reign of terror against all those who either have left the movement or who are threatening to do so.

Not long ago, he told a NEWS



(NEWS photo by George Lockhart)  
Policeman inspects damage in home of Malcolm X.

reporter of several recent attempts on his life.

"They almost got me in front of my house on July 5," he said. "They didn't try to use guns. They had blades. There were four of them and when I got into my car, they rushed the car. I drove away, came back and got my rifle. By that time, they were gone."

Last December, he said, 20 Muslims burst into a Haryou meeting in Harlem. The Haryou

officials locked him in an office until police could be called.

He asserted the "reign of terror" has been sparked by the Black Muslims' dwindling membership—from a high of 100,000 in 1960 to less than 10,000 at present.

He said that in an effort to maintain the group's strength, Elijah has been using a special enforcement unit of the Fruit of Islam movement to coerce all

those threatening to disassociate themselves from the organization.

#### Flies to Detroit

Yesterday morning Malcolm X flew to Detroit to address an Afro-American rally. At night he was slated to address one of a series of rallies at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway.

Police were alerted for possible trouble at the meeting between the opposing black nationalist groups.

Ownership of the bombed-out Queens house—in a mixed neighborhood—has been a cause of dispute between the groups for some time. The Muslims said it was bought for one of their leaders and Malcolm X is no longer a leader. He has refused to move out. The case is in the courts.

## Fighting Black Muslim Eviction

# Molotov Bombs Fire Home of Malcolm X

The home of Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader, was seriously damaged early yesterday by a fire that apparently was started by two Molotov cocktails.

Malcolm, his wife and his four young daughters all were in the house at the time of the fire but escaped uninjured. The house is at 23-11 97th St. in East Elmhurst, Queens.

Police and Fire Department investigators thought that the fire was started in the living room by Molotov cocktails—bottles of burning gasoline—that were thrown through a front window. Along with other glass fragments, they found an intact bottle neck containing a rag and bearing drops of a liquid thought to be gasoline.

### AWAKENED

Malcolm told the police he was awakened by a noise, probably shattering glass, at about 2:30 a. m. He awakened his wife and children and led them to safety, out the back of the house, he said.

Neither Malcolm nor the police would speculate yesterday about who threw the fire bombs, but Malcolm said: "I intend to point out to the people of New York who I think is behind this and what will develop from it, if something is not done about it," he said.

Malcolm is a defector from the Black Muslims, and has been at odds with them for months. Aside from their doctrinal differences, the Muslims claim that they

own the house in which Malcolm is living, and they want him to get out of it. He has refused to move, so far.

When the Muslims secured a court evictions order, Malcolm claimed that the house had been given to him, and began litigation that postponed the carrying out of the order.

Joseph X, who described himself as a business manager for the Muslims, appeared at the house after the fire yesterday and told reporters:

"We own this place, man. He was going to be evicted tomorrow. We have money tied up here. We have to hear about it on the radio. He didn't even give us the courtesy of a phone call."

### THE DAMAGE

The house is a one-story brick. The damage to the exterior of the building appeared to be slight, but several rooms were charred inside, and there was extensive fire, smoke and water damage to the furnishings. The fire was thought to have started about 2:30 a. m. It was out by 3:05. The alarm was turned in at 2:45 by a cab driver who noticed the flames as he passed by.

The house is located in a middle-class neighborhood that has both white and Negro residents.

Malcolm had returned from a trip to England just hours before the fire, and he left again yesterday morning for a speaking engagement in Detroit. He was to return to New York last night.

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Herald Tribune—UPI

**TARGET FOR VIOLENCE**—Malcolm X surveys the damage outside his East Elmhurst, Queens house yesterday following the Molotov cocktail attack. The Negro leader and his family were not injured.

# MALCOLM X FLEES FIREBOMB ATTACK

Wife and 4 Daughters Also  
Escape as Flames Sweep  
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 Jackson Heights, Queens.

Two, or possibly three, bottles of gasoline with fuses were hurled through the windows of the living room. They exploded and set fire to the house, at 23-11 97th Street.

Malcolm X had returned from a visit to France and England at 3 P.M. Saturday. He and his wife and four daughters were sleeping in bedrooms down a hall about 10 feet from the living room. The Molotov Cocktails 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 area-way 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 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's wife, Betty, and his daughters—Attilah, 6; Qubilah, 4; Ilyasah, 2, and 5-month-old Gamillah—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.

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 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.

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.

Malcolm X had been urging American Negroes to invoke the right of self-defense if attacked by white racists.

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United Press International

**OUTSIDE DAMAGED HOME:** Malcolm X, the controversial black nationalist leader, getting out of car at house in Jackson Heights, Queens. He and his family escaped from blazing house after firebomb attack early yesterday morning. They were not hurt in fire.

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## Malcolm X's Home Fire-Bombed

NEW YORK, Feb. 14 (AP) — Three gasoline bombs hurled through a living room window early today extensively damaged the home of Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader. Malcolm X and his wife and two children fled through a rear door of the house to escape injury.

"It could have been done

by any one of many," the Negro leader said of the bombing.

The blaze turned two rooms into charred shells and also damaged three others.

The 9-room brick house is in a mixed Negro and white neighborhood in the Elmhurst section of Queens. It originally was owned by the Black Muslims.

Malcolm X began occupying it while he was a leader in the organization and refused to leave after he broke with the Muslims last year.

A judge finally ordered him evicted, but Malcolm X contended the dwelling was given to him. Litigation postponed the carrying out of the eviction order.

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# A New Bomb Hits Malcolm: Eviction Writ

By JACK MALLON and GERALD KESSLER

Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X who was fire-bombed out of his East Elmhurst, Queens, home early Sunday, was the victim of a legal bomb yesterday. He was ordered evicted immediately from the one-family brick and shingle house at 23-11 97th St.

The eviction ruling came in the midst of suggestions by his rivals, the Black Muslims, that if anybody bombed the neat little home, it was Malcolm.

Malcolm, who defected from the Chicago-based sect of Elijah Muhammad about a year ago, has been saying ever since that the Black Muslims were out to get him.

## Suspects the Muslims

After he and his family were forced to flee the blazing house Sunday, he intimated that the Black Muslims were the instigators of this, the latest, of his troubles.

The chief Black Muslim spokesman yesterday was Jimmy X, head of Temple of Islam Mosque No. 7 at 102 E. 116th St. He said he believed Malcolm was the perpetrator of the bombing.

"I believe he got his desired effect," Jimmy X said. "He loves a crowd; he loves publicity. He is obsessed with the idea that we're after him."

## Denies a Muslim Plot

He denied that the Black Muslims had plotted against Malcolm's life, a charge that Malcolm has repeatedly made.

Jimmy X said it was ridiculous to think that the Black Muslims would damage the East Elmhurst house when they were about to gain possession.

Malcolm had been ordered to move out by Jan. 31 by Civil Court Justice Maurice Wahl.



Malcolm X  
Troubles pile up

## No Further Stays

Wahl held a hearing a week ago on a petition by Malcolm's attorneys to vacate the decision. The Black Nationalist leader, his wife and four daughters continued to live in the house pending Wahl's new ruling, which he made yesterday.

Wahl denied any further stays, refused to vacate his original eviction notice and wrote: "Malcolm X can be moved forthwith by action of a city marshal."

Black Muslim attorney Joseph

B. Williams of Brooklyn said that the Muslims believed Malcolm did the bombing.

Williams said that as soon as the papers could be filed in the new eviction decision, a marshal would move to remove Malcolm's possessions from the house.

## Malcolm at Hotel

Malcolm himself was reported at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem. His family was believed to be staying with friends.

The bombed-out house has been the center of contention between Malcolm and the Black Muslims since he decided to leave the organization. They said the residence was bought for a Black Muslim leader and that Malcolm was no longer a Black Muslim leader.

Malcolm said the house was given to him by his supporters.

## Police Probe Goes On

Queens police continued their probe yesterday into the bombing. A lab test showed that the liquid in a glass jug found on a dresser in one of the bedrooms was gasoline. Police were baffled about how it came to rest upright atop a dresser since, it was believed, it had been tossed into the house through a window.

At a late hour yesterday, not one Black Muslim had officially transmitted to police the organization's apparent belief that Malcolm arranged his exit from the Queens' home.

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# **Malcolm X Asserts He'll Name Persons Who Bombed House**

By MARTIN ARNOLD

Malcolm X said yesterday he would name the persons who bombed his house last Sunday.

This immediately brought a statement from a leader of the Black Muslims, from which Malcolm X defected last year. The Muslim, James X, indicated that he believed Malcolm had set off the firebombs himself "to get publicity."

The Black Muslims and Malcolm X have been feuding since Malcolm left the movement last year. One of the issues in the feud has been the house that was bombed, a small brick one at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens.

The Black Muslims, a Chicago-based organization, hold t

tle to the house. Malcolm X used to be one of the organization's New York leaders, and when he broke with the organization, it demanded that he vacate the house.

Yesterday Justice Maurice Wahl in Civil Court dismissed a move by Malcolm for a further stay on his eviction from the house. Malcolm had been ordered by the judge to surrender the house last June, but he had obtained a stay pending a new hearing.

Justice Wahl said that the new hearing was held before him Feb. 8 and that it was "full of acrimony." He ruled that since Malcolm X had appealed his original eviction decision to the Appellate Division, the division had jurisdiction and Justice Wahl was "thus powerless" to stay it any further.

Malcolm X broke with the Black Muslim movement to form his own group, the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Two or three bottles of gasoline with fuses were tossed into the house at about 2:45 A.M. Sunday and set it afire.

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(MALCOLM X) *Little*

NEW YORK--BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X WAS HOMELESS TODAY FOLLOWING A PIPE-BOMB ATTACK ON HIS HOUSE EARLY SUNDAY AND AN EVICTION ORDER YESTERDAY.

MALCOLM AND THE BLACK MUSLIMS BLAME EACH OTHER FOR THE BOMBING. "MY HOUSE WAS BOMBED BY THE MUSLIMS UNDER THE DIRECT ORDERS OF ELIJAH MUHAMMED", MALCOLM SAID.

A MUSLIM SPOKESMAN, JIMMY X, CLAIMED MALCOLM BOMBED THE HOUSE HIMSELF BECAUSE "HE LOVES A CROWD...HE LOVES PUBLICITY."

MALCOLM LOST A PLEA TO JUSTICE MAURICE WAHL IN CIVIL COURT YESTERDAY ASKING THAT AN EVICTION ORDERED BY THE COURT BE VACATED. THE BLACK MUSLIMS SAID THE HOUSE BELONGED TO THEM AND THEY WANTED TO EVICT MALCOLM. MALCOLM CLAIMED IT HAD BEEN GIVEN HIM BY SUPPORTERS.

LONDON--THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE ASKED THURSDAY TO DECLARE MALCOLM X AN UNDESIRABLE ALIEN TO MAKE CERTAIN HE IS REFUSED FUTURE ENTRY TO BRITAIN. IT WAS ANNOUNCED TODAY.

PETER GRIFFITHS, OPPOSITION CONSERVATIVE PARTY MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE TOWN OF SMETHWICK, GAVE NOTICE HE WILL PUT THIS QUESTION TO HOME SECRETARY SIR FRANK SOSKICE IN COMMONS. HE WILL ALSO ASK WHY MALCOLM X WAS ALLOWED TO VISIT ENGLAND.

MALCOLM X WAS RECENTLY BANNED FROM VISITING FRANCE.

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## Malcolm X Awaits Step In Eviction

*Little*  
Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X and his former colleagues in the Black Muslim cult today awaited the next move in a legal battle to evict Malcolm from his Muslim-owned home at 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst.

The battle sounded like full-scale war early Sunday when someone lobbed two or three Molotov cocktails through the windows of the small, one-story house. The fire bombs exploded and burned out the living room but Malcolm X, his wife and their four small daughters escaped without injury.

Malcolm X charged last night that his home "was bombed by the Black Muslim movement on the orders of Elijah Muhammed," head of the sect and Malcolm's former boss. The Muslims, on the other hand, blamed the bombing on Malcolm.

Muslim spokesman James X said the cult owns the house. It was given to Malcolm while he was leader of Temple of Islam Mosque No. 7, 102 E. 116th St., a position now held by James X.

After leaving the Muslim fold to form his own Negro nationalist group about a year ago, Malcolm X continued to live in the house with his family. He contended the house was his property, but the Muslims retained title to it and applied for an eviction order.

Civil Court Justice Maurice Wahl decided yesterday that Malcolm X "can be moved forthwith by action of a city marshal." Muslim attorney Joseph B. Williams said furniture and other possessions will be moved from the house as soon as the necessary papers are filed. Malcolm X has appealed to the Appellate Division of State Supreme Court to halt the eviction. Meanwhile, he and his family are living with friends.

NEW YORK WORLD  
TELEGRAPH AND THE SUN

Date: 2/16/65  
Edition: METRO  
Author:  
Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS  
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE  
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## Eviction Server Finds Malcolm X Moved Out

NEW YORK (AP)—A city marshal armed with a court furnishings during the night, order and a strong foot showed leaving all the doors locked and up at a fire-bombed Queens no key under the doormat. residence today to evict Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X.

As it turned out, he didn't need the court order—only his foot to kick in a window and gain entrance.

Malcolm X, police said, had the organization and set up one

of his own, the Black Muslims began court proceedings to evict him. Malcolm X refused to leave. A court order for his eviction finally was obtained recently.

Last Sunday, three gasoline-bottle fire bombs were thrown into the living room through a window and caused extensive damage. Neither Malcolm X nor his wife and four daughters were hurt.

Malcolm X termed the bombing the work of Black Muslims. The Black Muslims retorted that Malcolm X did it himself because of a love for publicity.

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## Muslims Take Blasted Home

A city marshal, armed with a court order and accompanied by a Black Muslim representative named Joseph X, arrived yesterday at fire-bombed 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst, Queens, to evict Malcolm X, Black Nationalist leader.

The marshal, Plittie, locked, no key under the mat, and nobody home. He kicked in a window to enter and take possession.

Malcolm, it developed, had moved during the night to a new home at 84-50 110th St., East Elmhurst. Some of his followers did the moving with two station wagons.

His ouster was ordered following a suit by the Black Muslims, who said their organization, from which Malcolm had withdrawn, owned the 97th St. house. Last Sunday, three gasoline bottle fire bombs were thrown through a living room window, damaging the house but leaving Malcolm, his wife and four daughters uninjured.

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UPI A32N

BULLETIN  
2ND LEAD MALCOLM X (A26N)  
BY STANLEY SCOTT

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL  
NEW YORK, FEB. 21 (UPI)--MALCOLM X, WHO WAS OUSTED BY THE  
BLACK MUSLIMS AND FORMED THE RIVAL BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION,  
WAS SHOT AND KILLED TODAY WHILE ADDRESSING A MEETING OF HIS  
FOLLOWERS. TWO UNIDENTIFIED GUNMEN WERE IMMEDIATELY SEIZED.  
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Malcolm X is taken on a stretcher from the Audubon Ballroom in New York where he was fatally shot yesterday while he was addressing a meeting of his followers.

Other Pictures on Page A3

United Press International

A second man was also held for questioning.

[Accounts of the murder differed. The Herald Tribune News Service reported that two men in the back of the hall started a fight and that Malcolm X's bodyguards moved toward them to restore order. It was then, according to this account, that the two Negroes moved up the aisle and shot Malcolm X. Another account had five men taking part in the shooting.]

The murder created fresh tensions in Harlem.

Tonight more than 100 of See MALCOLM, A3, Col. 4

The life of Malcolm X was marked by irony.

Page A3.

## Wounded Suspect Is Charged

Ex-Black Muslim  
Leader Shot Down  
Speaking to 500

By Stanley Scott  
 NEW YORK, Feb. 21  
 (UPI)—Malcolm X, bearded  
 Negro advocate of violence  
 against the whites in the  
 civil rights struggle, was  
 shot to death today while  
 speaking to his  
 followers.

Police blamed the killing on the Black Muslims, a militant Negro organization which ousted Malcolm X recently only to have him set up his Black Nationalist organization and open a recruiting drive to woo Black Muslims as members.

As 500 persons watched in horror, Malcolm X fell in a bloodied heap on the rostrum at the Audubon Ballroom, located on the fringes of Harlem's Negro district. At least seven bullets ripped into his body.

[Police charged a 22-year-old Negro, Thomas Hagan, with firing some of the fatal shots, the Associated Press reported. Hagan, shot in the leg in the melee that followed the slaying, was held in the prison ward of Bellevue Hospital. Police Capt. Paul Glaser said Hagan killed Malcolm with a sawed-off double-barreled shotgun, and was himself wounded by one of Malcolm's followers.]

The Washington Post and Times Herald

The Washington Daily News

The Evening Star

New York Herald Tribune

New York Journal-American

New York Mirror

New York Daily News

New York Post

The New York Times

The Worker

The New Leader

The Wall Street Journal

The National Observer

People's World

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MALCOLM—From Page A1

# Malcolm X Shot to Death While

E WASHINGTON POST Monday, Feb. 22, 1965

A3

## Speaking at Rally



Associated Press

MALCOLM X

... shot to death

Malcolm X's followers gathered across the street from his Hotel Theresa headquarters and the police detail in the area was doubled.

Police also called on the Black Muslims to close their "The Shabazz" Temple No. 7 restaurant in Harlem. The Muslims complied.

Police also told them to cancel a meeting slated for late today at the Muhammed Temple of Islam. Again the Muslims complied.

A police informant told United Press International that detectives were investigating a report that six of Malcolm's followers had left New York by various routes to seek revenge on Elijah Muhammad, Chicago-based leader of the Black Muslims.

Top police, embarrassed by the slaying while Malcolm X was regularly making statements that the Black Muslims were "out to get him," were closed-mouthed about the investigation, even denying that any suspects had been picked up.

But Sgt. Alvin Aronoff, who apprehended Hagan, described it this way:

"I just got to the entrance of the Audubon Ballroom. I got out of the car with Patrolman Louis Angelos and there was a mob coming toward us out of the door. They all piled on this fellow Hagan. He had been shot in the leg. They were kicking and pummeling him and shouting, 'Kill him. Kill him.' I thought the man would be lynched.

"I fired a shot in the air and we grabbed Hagan and pulled him into the car. I found four unused .45-caliber cartridges in Hagan's pocket."

Two other persons were hit by stray bullets. A semi-automatic rifle was found in the auditorium.

Sanford Garelick, Assistant Police Inspector, said:

"This is the result, it would seem, of a long-standing feud between the followers of Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, and the people who broke away from him, headed by Malcolm X."

Malcolm X had uttered only three words — "Brothers and Sisters —" when the bullets ripped into him.

At the nearby Vanderbilt Clinic where a team of doctors tried to save Malcolm's life, a spokesman said, "There was no response at all. He was dead on arrival. There was no response from the time he was brought in."

Malcolm X, his wife and four children had been fire-

bombed out of their Queens home just a week ago in an attack he attributed to the Black Muslims.

Negro leaders, many strongly opposed to the racism preached by Malcolm X, expressed themselves as aghast at the slaying. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. said tonight in Atlanta that he was

"deeply saddened and appalled" by the slaying.

"This evil act must be strongly condemned by all people of goodwill," he said.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the slaying showed the "futility of violence."

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# Malcolm's Life— Marked by Irony

By Dick Schaap  
Herald Tribune News Service

NEW YORK, Feb. 21—He was the son of a minister and he became a dope addict. He was the brightest student in his grammar school classes and he never got through high school. He hated white people and he fixed them up with Negro prostitutes. He was a saint and a former pimp, and even in the last five years of his life, when he had settled firmly into the fiery Black Nationalist image he had created for himself, Malcolm X never escaped the contradictions.

His killing today, at 39, was the ultimate irony. Malcolm X was shot to death by Negroes.

He hated whites. He insisted he hated whites. But somehow, it was hard to believe him. Always on his face there was the slight smile, the ironic smile that mocked his words even when he was making the most outrageous statements. It was his pitch, his hatred for the white man, but it never seemed to be his conviction.

## Shows Courtesy

I never saw Malcolm X treat a white man unkindly. In the balcony of the Assembly chamber in Albany, he was soft and gentle to the white police guards who surrounded him. In a loft above a theater in Harlem, he was courteous to a white man who considered renting him space. In his office, among his aides, he invariably had time for a visiting white man. He did not offer solutions. He offered slogans and shouts of violence and calls to the street, and, mostly, he offered words.

He could talk. He was obsessed with language, obsessed with words, and he spilled them out, in rallies, in conversations, in interviews. He trapped himself in words. He contradicted himself with predictable regularity. He was always on the point of asking questions.

He loved Elijah Muhammad with a fierce love that no one other Black Muslim could match when he was still working in the Black Muslim organization. "Elijah Muhammad has seen Allah," he used to say. Then, when Malcolm split with Muhammad, he hated with unequalled passion.

## Background of Violence

Malcolm X came out of a background of violence. He was born in Omaha, Neb., one of 10 children of the Rev. Earl Little, a Baptist minister whose main faith was in Marcus Garvey, the fierce Black Nationalist.

The Ku Klux Klan marched on Mr. Little's home shortly before Malcolm was born, and years later, sitting in the Hotel Theresa in Harlem, Malcolm liked to say that he met the white devils while he was still in the womb.

"My father was the color of this," he once said, pointing to his black shoes, "and my mother, whose mother was raped by a white man, was light enough to pass for white. I hate every drop of white blood in me because it is the blood of a rapist."

The Little family moved to Milwaukee shortly after Malcolm was born, and then to Lansing, Mich. Malcolm grew up there, the only Negro in

his class, and when he was six, his home was burned down. A year later, his father was killed, found dead under a streetcar. Malcolm always insisted that his father had been lynched.

He was separated from his mother, sent to a school in Michigan where he, again, was the lone Negro. He did well, but by the age of 16, he had fled to Harlem, and there he became "Big Red." He was always tall, and his hair had a red tinge, and the nickname grew naturally out of his physical appearance. But there was more. He was bad.

He smoked marijuana and then he sold it. He ran numbers. He sold bootleg whiskey. He conducted tours of Harlem brothels for visiting whites.

He was only a teen-ager, but he moved fast. He was making perhaps \$2000 a week before he was 20. Then he planned a big robbery, a robbery in Boston, and he was caught. He was sent to a maximum security prison in Concord, Mass., and it was there, in 1947, when he was 22 years old, that he was converted to the Black Muslim doctrine.

He worked in Detroit for two years after being released from prison in 1952, then came to New York to head Muslim Mosque No. 7 in 1954.

## Acquires Power

Malcolm acquired power, but it was a strange power. He never directly led an incident of violence. He preached violence, but no one ever saw him in a fight.

By the end of the 1950s, Malcolm X was, beyond question, the No. 2 man in the Black Muslim movement, Elijah Muhammad's most valuable lieutenant. He preached his hatred for the whites strongest then, in the early 1960s and there were rumors that his followers and Elijah

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United Press International

Malcolm X's widow, right, weeps outside the Audubon Ballroom after her husband was shot to death yesterday.

Muhammad's followers might number 100,000 or more.

But the reports always seemed exaggerated, and the Black Muslims never mustered any great national revolt. They called for a separate black state within the United States, but they did not openly fight for it.

Malcolm's power grew, and more and more he became the spokesman for the Black Muslim movement. Elijah Muhammad would grant interviews only rarely; Malcolm was almost always available.

#### Friction Seen

By the middle of 1963, it was obvious to anyone who followed the Black Muslim movement that Malcolm X was a threat to Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm always denied it. He always deferred to Elijah Muhammad. But still there was an undertone of friction.

And then when President Kennedy was assassinated and Malcolm made his remark about "chickens coming home to roost," Elijah Muhammad pounced. He suspended Malcolm. He silenced Malcolm. That was in December, 1963.

Three months later, stifled by the suspension, Malcolm X quit Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslim movement. He went off to Mecca to study Islam, and he sent word back to friends that he was now discovering the true religion. He said that Elijah Muham-

mad's teachings had been false, that separatism was not necessarily the answer, that perhaps white men did not have to be hated. He talked of brotherhood and hinted of conciliation.

He returned to New York in the summer of 1964, and he set up the Muslim Mosque Inc. in the Hotel Theresa, then changed his organization's name to the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

He fluctuated between conciliation and outright racism, contradicting himself over and over. He made overtures to the accepted civil rights organizations. He said he was working for human rights. He had perhaps 100 parttime followers. And then, only two months ago, he said, "we need a Mau Mau in the United States."

He never did seem able to decide whom he hated most. His speeches were most eloquent to whites, and his fury seemed contained. He had a potential for leading people that he never really used. And then, today, after all his sermons of hatred for the white man, he died at the hands of Negroes. He might have smiled at the irony.

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Associated Press

Sgt. Alvin Aronoff grips the arms of Thomas Hagan, 22, one of the men held for questioning after the fatal shooting of Malcolm X. Hagan was hospitalized with a bullet wound in the leg. He and another man were taken to a patrol car after they were attacked by followers of the slain Black Nationalist leader.

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# Victim Known As Articulate Negro Leader

By *Little* **Ramon Geromia**  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Malcolm X, shot to death in a New York hotel yesterday, ranked high on the list of the Nation's Negro leaders.

The 38-year-old Black Nationalist leader was known as an articulate, able and dynamic orator who broke away from the Black Muslim cult last March 8 to form his own group, The Muslim Mosque, Inc.

A short time later, he also set up an Afro-American organization saying that "the main emphasis of the new movement will be black nationalism as a political concept and form of social action against the oppressors."

Once recognized as the chief spokesman for the anti-white Black Muslim group, Malcolm X rejected the organization saying that "for 12 long years I lived within the narrow-minded confines of the 'strait-jacket world' of Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the Black Muslim cult."

Malcolm X was born in Omaha, Neb., one of 10 children of the Rev. and Mrs. Earl Little. His father was active in the back-to-Africa movement of black nationalist Marcus Garvey.

As a young boy, he moved with his family to Lansing, Mich., where they lived in a previously all-white neighborhood. Within three years, Malcolm later said, the home was burned to the ground and his father was found bludgeoned to death under a street car.

He ran away from home at the age of 11 and ended up in Boston at the home of a half-sister. At 15 he was living in Harlem, but by 1945 was back in Boston where he was arrested, convicted of burglary and was sentenced to 8 to 10 years in the Charlestown State Prison, where he served 77 months before being paroled.

His ideas did not change and he continued his work as a Black Nationalist evangelist with unremitting vigor.

His attitude toward the Negro movement is perhaps best summarized in a 1960 comment quoted by Wallace Terry, then a staff writer for The Washington Post:

"We want to get behind leaders who will fight for us," Malcolm said, "... leaders who are not afraid to demand freedom, justice and equality. We do not want leaders who are handpicked for us by the white man. We don't want any more Uncle Tom's."

In 1952 he joined the Black Muslims, the unofficial name of the organization known formally as the Nation of Islam. Then, like all practicing members of the cult, he substituted X for his last name to symbolize the last name his ancestors lost when brought here from Africa as slaves.

He also practiced the stringent moral code of the Black Muslims and gradually became the spokesman and in effect the number two man for Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad.

Malcolm X also became the heir-apparent to the spiritual leader of the Black Muslims, but it is believed that he lost out in a power struggle to guarantee his succession to Elijah who for some time has been in ill health.

Then, 14 months ago, the feud exploded. Ironically, it was touched off by Malcolm X's comment on the assassination of President Kennedy, which he characterized as an instance of "the chickens coming home to roost."

Speaking in New York, Malcolm X said that "being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad."

A week later, Elijah Muhammad publicly reprimanded Malcolm X for the remarks and suspended him indefinitely from the Black Muslims. "We, with the world, are very shocked at the assassination of our president," said Elijah Muhammad.

Later, when rejecting the Black Muslims, Malcolm X wrote to a New York friend from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, that "I shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in (Elijah Muhammad) even more fanatically and more blindly than I did."

But although Malcolm X split from the Black Muslims,

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By Harry Nalichayan, Staff Photographer

On Feb. 4, Malcom X readied his camera to photograph the church where he spoke briefly to Negroes in Selma, Ala., during the voter registration drive held there.

On June 14, 1963, he spoke into a reporter's microphone as he observed a civil rights demonstration of about 3000 marchers proceeding down Pennsylvania Avenue.



United Press International

A week ago Sunday, Malcolm X arrived at his New York home after a fire bomb was thrown into the house during the

night. Neither he nor his wife and four children were injured but the home, in Queens, suffered heavy damage.

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ADD MALCOLM X, NEW YORK (UPI-44)  
 CITY MEDICAL EXAMINER DR. MILTON HALPERN SAID THAT MALCOLM DIED  
 OF MULTIPLE WOUNDS OF THE HEART AND AORTA BY BULLETS OF DIFFERENT  
 CALIBERS AND SHOTGUN BELLETS, INDICATING THAT AT LEAST THREE ASSASSINS  
 KILLED HIM DOWN. HALPERN SAID THE NEGRO LEADER WAS HIT MANY TIMES  
 IN THE CHEST AND LOWER EXTREMITIES AND ONCE IN THE FACE.

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## Widow Under Police Guard

By CY EGAN

Journal-American Staff Writer

In fear of her own life and those of her four small daughters, the widow of assassinated Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X was in seclusion under heavy police guard today.

"I knew Malcolm would be home for the fire-bombing of our killed some day," said the sobbing widow, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, 37, who is one month pregnant. But she shook her head and then stared blankly in silence when asked who the killers were.

"I believe Malcolm named the killers to police last Friday as the men who were responsible for the fire-bombing of our home," she finally ventured.

Malcolm, his wife and their children—Attilah, 6, Qubilah, 4, Ilyasah, 2, and Gamillah, 5, were forced to flee the small brick house at 29-11 97th st., Elmhurst, Queens, early last Feb. 14 when several mobsters

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cocktails were hurled through living room windows.

"When this happened, he didn't fold up his arms and cry," she said. "He felt it was a tragic thing but that the struggle for the Negro must go on."

Mrs. Shabazz said her husband had received a telephone call at the New York Hilton Hotel on Saturday and a second yesterday morning from a person who warned "you better wape up before it's too late."

She said a policeman escorted Malcolm to the hotel room and about 15 more were on duty around the hotel. But she claimed police had denied her husband's request for a pistol permit.

Her attorney, Manhattan Democratic Assemblyman Percy Sutton, said, however that Malcolm either owned or carried a .25 caliber pistol or a rifle,

but "he was unarmed when he was killed."

Mrs. Shabazz said she and some of her children were present when her husband was assassinated, but did not actually witness the shooting.

"I heard noise," she said. "My husband said, 'Everything is all right.' Some in the third row stood up. I heard shots. I just fell to the floor. I looked out. I saw people crawling. I just knew they had shot him."

Mrs. Shabazz held a press conference last night at George's Supper Club, a Negro nightspot at 103-02 Astoria blvd., East Elmhurst.

Police raised the hood of the car in which she left the conference with Mr. Sutton and otherwise inspected the vehicle for bombs. They then tailed the auto as it sped off to an undisclosed destination.

Mr. Sutton said Malcolm X "died broke."

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1—Trouble for Malcolm X born Malcolm Little 39 years ago, really began last March when he split with Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslim sect over the issue of "non-violence." Malcolm X formed his own Black Nationalist group and proclaimed among other things that the blacks should arm themselves against the whites to combat racial discrimination . . .

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**2**—After the break with Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm sought recognition with leaders of other Negro factions in New York. Here he joined in a four-way handshake with Congressman Powell, Rev. Galamison, leader of the school boycotts, and Gray, a left-winger and organizer of the Harlem rent strikes . . .



**3**—A few months after Malcolm quit the Muslims, their 'Prophet' Elijah came to Harlem and drew a capacity crowd. But a place of honor on the speaker's

platform that once had been Malcolm's was now occupied by the verbose heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay (at left)...



**A**—During Elijah's address, calling for non-violent separation of white and black Americans, his followers spotted David Whetstone, whom they believed a follower of Malcolm. The angry crowd dragged Mr. Whetstone (arrow) out into the street at 5th ave. and 143d st. and beat him unmercifully . . .



**5**—Then, only a week ago yesterday, the differences between Negro extremists exploded into violence. Fire bombs were thrown into the windows of Malcolm's East Elmhurst, Queens, home. No one was hurt, but Malcolm X was grim and angry as he stepped from

his auto to survey damage. Malcolm said he realized he was a marked man and he planned to identify the killers. He charged Elijah Muhammad with giving orders for his murder. Malcolm said when your time comes, your time comes . . .



**6**—And someone did murder Malcolm yesterday afternoon as he spoke to a rally in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th st. and Broadway. Dying he is carried away on a stretcher. Two gunmen pumped more than twelve bullets and four shotgun pellets into him as he was about to speak—and so the violent end of the quick, stormy Malcolm X, the racial extremist.



**ELIJAH MUHAMMAD AND CASSIUS CLAY**  
*Stood Together After Break with Malcolm X*

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 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Vengeful Blow For Malcolm X? 5 Firemen Hurt

By DONALD R. FLYNN, RICHARD BARR  
 and GUS ENGELMAN  
*Journal-American Staff Writers*

Multiple explosions shattered and set aflame the Harlem Mosque of the Black Muslims early today.

The three-alarm fire reduced the building to smoking rubble in an apparent stroke of quick and violent revenge for the assassination of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X.

The widely-feared retaliation came at 2:15 a.m. when a series of blasts ripped Elijah Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 at 102 W. 116th st., where the Black Muslim "prophet" maintained New York headquarters on the fourth floor.

## AVALANCHE OF BRICKS

A roaring fire swept the building almost at the instant of the blasts. Tons of bricks crashed onto two fire trucks in a roaring avalanche when the wall along W. 116th st. collapsed shortly after 3 a.m.

Apparently, fire bombs were thrown through an open fourth floor window from the roof of an adjoining building.

Six persons were injured—five firemen and one civilian. One fireman was in critical condition.

Fire Chief John T. O'Hagan and Chief of Detectives Lawrence W. McKearney both immediately labeled the fire and explosions "suspicious."

Asked if it appeared to be re-

taliation for the brutal murder of Negro Leader Malcolm X, Chief O'Hagan replied:

"I wouldn't be surprised. It seems logical. All our top investigators are here."

A shopping bag containing kerosene rags was found on the roof of an adjoining building at 113-15 Lenox ave., by two patrolmen.

## 8 INTERROGATED

Eight Negroes were rounded up in the area, which is a gathering place of Black Muslims, and were being interrogated in a temporary police headquarters set up in the Hollywood Bar & Grill across from the mosque at W. 116th st.

The explosions ripped the mosque "like a shot," one witness said.

"We heard this terrific

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"boom!" said Ptl. Robert DeKlader, who was one of the four policemen guarding the mosque in fears that this very thing might happen.

"We looked up," he said, "and saw flames at the top of the building. Then the windows blew out and flames came shooting out of the empty windows."

#### OUT OF CONTROL

The flames roared three stories high from the roof within minutes. It roared out of control until 4.20 a.m., gradually gutting all four floors, which collapsed in a charred jumble.

The blast came less than two days after Malcolm X, who once was a minister of the mosque but defected to set up his own religious group, was shot to death during a public gathering in the Audubon Ballroom at 166th st. and Broadway.

Only yesterday, his sister Ella vowed in Boston that: "He will be avenged!"

This threat was echoed by Leon 4X Ameer, 31, of Boston, heir-apparent to leadership of Malcolm X's movement.

"We are going to repay them for what they did to a Malcolm," he declared here last night before the bombing.

"There will be maximum retaliation."

He blamed Elijah Muham-



**BLAST VICTIM . . . Fireman Siegfried Newman injured by falling debris at the Muslim Mosque blast and fire, is aided by two companions while awaiting an ambulance.** Journal-American Photo by Len Morgan

ammad for the killing of Malcolm and said of Elijah:

"I don't know if he'll live out the month."

Ameer also casually said

that he, himself, does not expect to live too long. The Black Muslims, he said, "are gonna kill me."

The mosque was blasted des-

pite three policemen stationed inside the locked entrance, and another patrolman walking beat outside.

The mosque explosion prompted police immediately to double the security guard at the second-floor offices of Malcolm X's Muslim Mosque Inc. at the Hotel Theresa, 125th st and 7th Ave.

James Shabazz, Malcolm's secretary and now acting head of his movement, arrived at the office early today. Evidencing neither shock nor sorrow, nor any concern over the incident, he calmly stated:

"I just read about it. I have not statement to make."

Asked if he was concerned by the possibility that the late Malcolm's followers might be accused in the incident, he replied:

"That's all. I have no statement to make about it."

#### PLOT IS SEEN

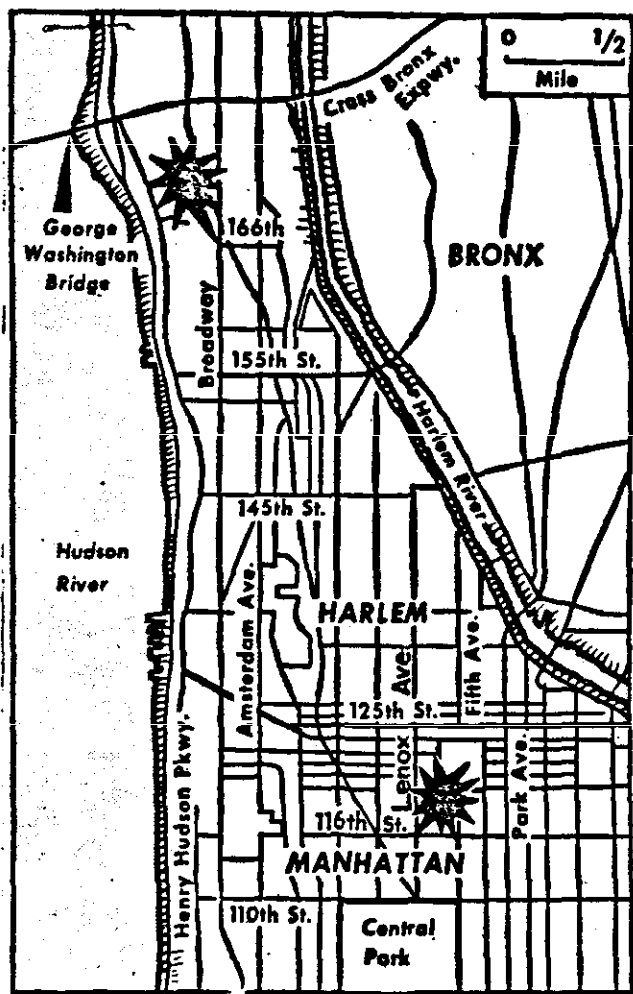
James Lawson, president of the United African Nationalist Movement and a veteran black nationalist, called the mosque burning part of "a well calculated and diabolical plan" that "would benefit the Communists more than anyone else."

Calling on "all people to cease and desist from all acts of violence," Mr. Lawson said:

"The police and investigative authorities should not rule out that this may be the beginning of a series of acts unleashed by Peking-oriented Communists. It does not have to be the result of a feud between followers of Muhammad and the late Malcolm X."

"I believe the police should have protected the Muslim property with more thoroughness."





**VIOLENCE...** Blast symbols on map show where Malcolm X was assassinated, at 166th st. and Broadway, and where the Black Muslim Mosque was blown up, at 116th st. and Lenox ave. AP Map

Mr. Lawson also criticized police in the protection of Malcolm X, stating: "The fact Malcolm refused protection should not have been used as an excuse by police. The fact is a man can express intent to commit suicide in this town

and police don't just let him die."

By the time firemen reached the scene, the fire was beyond control, quickly destroying the fourth-floor. It tumbled through into the vacant third floor, and finally the whole thing crashed to the ground.

The second floor was also vacant, and there was a store on the ground floor.

A Black Muslim meeting was held in the mosque last night, but broke up at midnight. After that, said police, no one was seen entering or leaving the building.

But Chief McKearney said it was possible for some one to enter unseen from the building next door on Lenox ave., where the kerosene-staked rags were found.

None of the eight men being questioned were labeled "suspects" as such.

"Everybody is to be questioned," declared Chief McKearney.

#### RAGING INFERNO

More than 100 firemen battled the raging inferno in 15-degree weather, becoming gradually coated with ice. Two firemen were aloft in an aerial basket, pouring water down into the shell of the building.

There were no indications whether anyone was strapped inside since there was no chance to search it before the fire roared out of control.

The blaze attracted a throng of spectators who heard the blast or saw the flames. But they didn't stay long in the frigid night air.

"I heard the explosion," said one elderly Negro woman. "I thought, 'Oh, my God, this is it!' and I threw myself down on the floor."

Another man, a member of the Muhammed Temple of Islam, the official name of the mosque, said the headquarters had been jammed earlier for the meeting and scores would have been killed if a bomb had exploded then.

"Man, the place was packed," he said.

The mosque was established here by Malcolm X upon orders from Elijah Muhammad, the self-anointed "prophet" of the Nation of Islam.

Malcolm broke with Elijah a year and a half ago and established the Muslim Mosque, Inc., in the Hotel Theresa. He had long predicted that he would be murdered by the Black Muslims because of the defection.

The bloody killing of Malcolm and the fire-bombing of Mosque No. 7 compounded fears of bloody internecine strife among Negro nationalists here and in Chicago, home base for Elijah Muhammad.

#### MOSQUES GUARDED

Immediately after the explosion, two Elijah Muhammad mosques in Queens were put under heavy police surveillance.

Uniformed police on foot patrol covered the mosque at 105-05 Northern Blvd., Corona, and another at 119-09 Sutphin Blvd., in Jamaica.

A radio alert also was broadcast, ordering cruising police "to be on the alert for possible acts of vandalism." The mosque in Corona is near the former home of Malcolm at 23-11 97th St.

#### HEAD INJURIES

The most seriously injured in the Harlem explosion was Fireman Siegfried Newmann, 27, of Hook and Ladder Co. 43, who suffered severe head injuries when he was caught in the rain of bricks when the wall collapsed. He was admitted to Harlem Hospital in serious condition.

A civilian, Melvin Shelton, 34, of 349 W. 85th St., also was



Heavy police guard stands watch outside the Unity Funeral Home, 2352 Eighth ave., where the body of the slain Malcolm X reposes.

UPI Photo

admitted to the hospital for treatment for cuts of the right hand caused by flying glass.

Fire Lieut. John Fedjack, 50, also of Co. 43, was treated at the hospital for a sprained right wrist. Three other firemen were treated at the scene for minor injuries.

#### PROBE CONTINUES

The new outbreak of violence came as police continue their intense investigation into the execution of Malcolm, and as the Negro leader's grieving wife completed plans for his funeral.

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, hurt and bitter over her husband's murder, made official identification of the body yesterday, cradling weeping.

But she walked from the chief medical examiner's office at 520 1st ave. and quickly composed herself.

The body is at the Unity Funeral Home, 2352 8th ave., and friends may call from 2:30 p.m. until 11 p.m. today through Friday. The body is under a glass shield, dressed in a business suit.

Services will be at 10 a.m. Saturday in a church still to be selected, but probably in Adam Clayton Powell's Abyssinian Baptist Church at 132 W. 138th st., the largest in Harlem.

Burial will be in Ferncliff Cemetery in Hartsdale, Westchester County.

Mrs. Shabazz said she put off the services until Saturday, swerving a Muslim tradition that the sun should never set twice on the body of a believer, so that dignitaries from Africa may have enough time to get here. She expects several, she indicated.

Mrs. Shabazz, meanwhile,

was under police guard in the home of friends at an undisclosed location.

"Malcolm's wife has refused our offer of protection," said Insp. Thomas C. Renaghan. "She feels she is not in any danger."

But it was reported she is under guard nevertheless.

"She is still quite upset, and has not been able to tell us much," said Insp. Renaghan. "We have no knowledge of any names or any pieces of paper with the names of the killers on it that she or Malcolm may have had."

#### ASK COOPERATION

"If any person has any such list of names," he added, "we would be very happy to cooperate with him. It would be a great help if we could get such information."

The only suspect in custody

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thus far is Talmadge Hayer, 22, who remains in the Bellevue Hospital prison ward, his shattered left leg in traction and a bullet still lodged in the same leg.

A second man in custody is Malcolm X's "bodyguard," Reuben Francis, 33, of 871 E. 179th St., Bronx. He was charged with felonious assault and Sullivan law violation after police said he fired the bullet into Hayer's leg during the riotous pandemonium that erupted when Malcolm was killed.

#### HIGH BAIL SET

Francis was held in lieu of \$10,000 bail yesterday by Criminal Court Judge Walter Gladwin. An affidavit signed by Det. Ferdinand Cavallaro alleged Francis fired at Hayer from the second-floor landing of the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, moments after Malcolm was slain Sunday afternoon.

Hayer suffered a broken ankle before he was rescued and dragged to safety by police after Malcolm's followers pounced on him in a furious attack.

Of Hayer, Insp. Renaghan said:

"He has not told us anything significant yet. It is possible

that we may charge him with first-degree murder. If this happens, we may be able to get him to tell us something about the others who were with him."

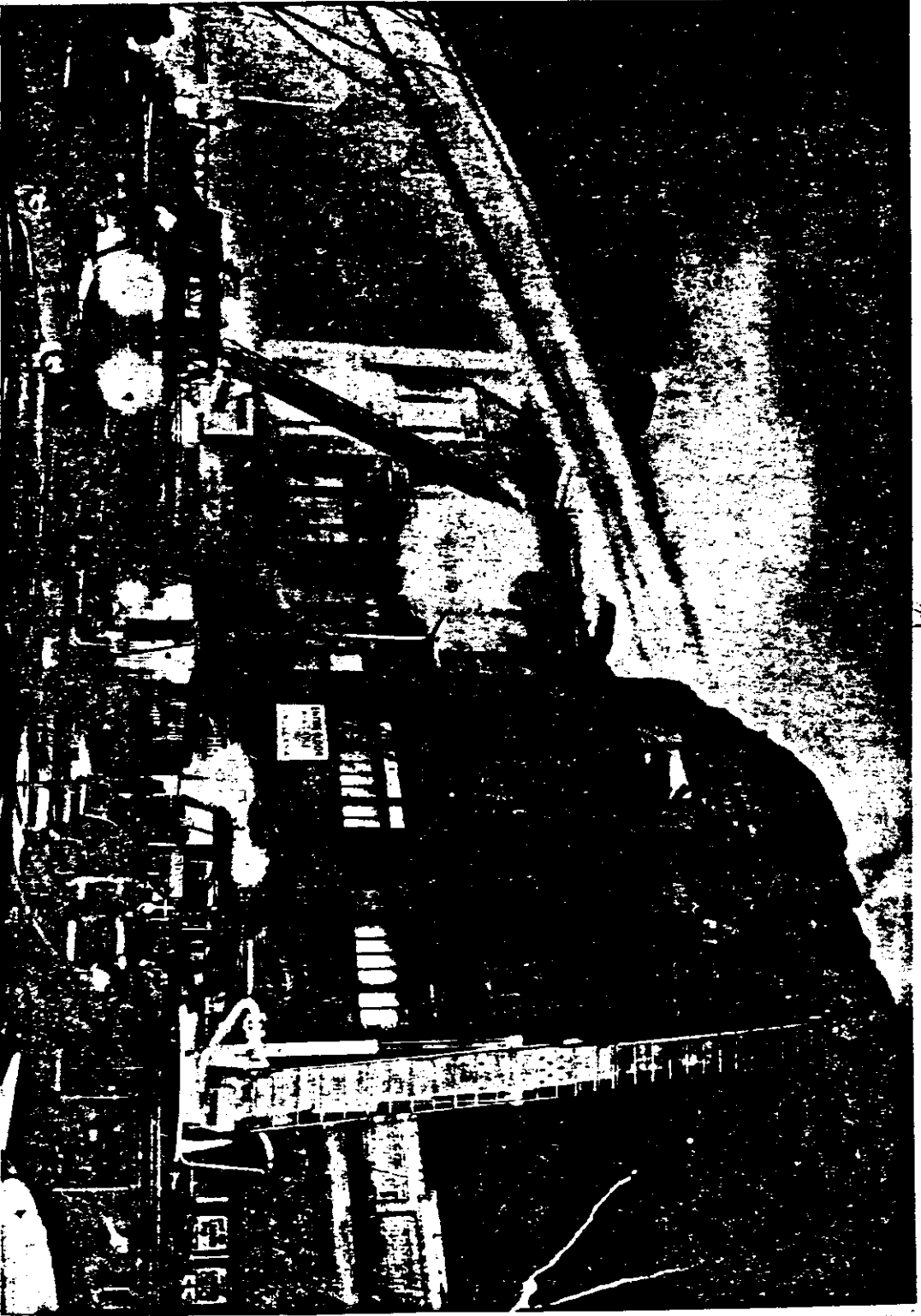
Hayer, alias Thomas Hagan and Thomas Hayer, lives at 347 Marshal St. in Paterson, N.J., where the door was slammed in the face of a reporter who went there to inquire about him.

According to New Jersey authorities, Hayer was arrested on Nov. 8, 1963, on a charge of possession of stolen property



**BLACK MUSLIM MOSQUE ABLAZE:** Uncontrollable flames pour from the Harlem headquarters of the sect after Malcolm X avengers apparently had hurled fire bombs through windows. Here, the roof gives way while firemen fight to contain the flames. (Full Page of Photos on Page 21. Another Photo and Map on Page 4.) ... Photo by Lee Morgan, Copyright 1965, The Journal-American

# A Avengers at Work? Muslim Mosque Blaze



BLACK MUSLIM MOSQUE—THE CAVE-IN: Firemen battle the flames early today pouring from the building, at 116th st. and Lenox ave., in which the roof has caved in, bringing with it part of the wall, after an explosion and fire . . .



**BLACK MUSLIM MOSQUE—THE RUBBLE:** And the huge pile of bricks and mortar from the caved-in wall has toppled onto the fire engines, injuring five firemen, and covers the fire hoses as it is strewn all over the street. (Other Photos on Pages 1, 4 and 5.)

Journal-American Photos by Sam Morgan. Copyright 1965.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Malcolm Jailed as Hub Thief

Malcolm X was a member of a burglary gang that operated in Greater Boston until he was arrested and sentenced to 8-10 years in Charlestown State Prison in 1945.

Born in Omaha, Neb., as Malcolm Little, the son of a Baptist minister, Malcolm X first arrived in Boston to live with a half-sister when he was 11 years old, after running away from a detention home in Michigan.

Malcolm's half-sister now resides with her daughter in a South Shore community and is on welfare. She last saw the Black Nationalist leader three years ago when their aunt died in Boston. It's also reported he has a sister living in Boston.

Authorities said he obtained a railroad job when he was 15 and eventually wound up in Harlem, selling and smoking marijuana and leading a life of crime.

It was after his training in Harlem that he returned to Boston as a member of the burglary gang which resulted in his being arrested.

## LIFE IN DANGER

In stories concerning his youth, Malcolm X once said that he continued smoking marijuana and drinking alcohol in prison for several years until he met another inmate who reformed him.

He then started to read serious works and his language became an obsession with him. He was converted to the Black Muslim cult in 1952 after serving in Charlestown State Prison.

Leon Ameer, former secretary to Heavyweight Boxing Champ Cassius Clay, said Malcolm X predicted last week that he would be shot and killed in the near future.

Ameer, presently living in a Boston hotel, said he met Malcolm X last Monday to discuss the future of their Black Nationalist organization.

Ameer said Malcolm X told him to be cautious because his (Ameer's) life also was in danger, since he was a top aide in the group.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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BOSTON HERALD  
Boston, Mass.

BOSTON TRAVELER  
Boston, Mass.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
MONITOR  
Boston, Mass.

RECORD AMERICAN  
Boston, Mass.

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Edition: Complete  
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Editor: C. Edw. Holland  
Title: Malcolm X LITTLE

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# THE MALCOLM X MURDER: *Expected* *Death, Not By His Own*

## Preached Hatred Of the 'White Devil'

By DONALD R. FLYNN and STANLEY ROBERTS

*Journal-American Staff Writers*

Malcolm Little of Omaha, Neb., who became Malcolm X of the world, knew he would one day be killed violently, and accepted this fate as the price of leading Negroes against the "white devils."

He sounded like a man courting martyrdom, and found it ironically enough in Harlem, the Negro capital of America, delivered by his own kind.

"I know that any day, any night, I could die at the hands of some white devil racists," he wrote in his memoirs, "The Autobiography of Malcolm X."

"I dream that one day history will look upon me as having been one of the voices that perhaps helped to save America from a grave, even possibly fatal catastrophe."

That might be what Malcolm X meant to be his epitaph. What the world will really think of him cannot yet be told. The fact that he will be remembered at all is remarkable, considering his background and the road he was once traveling.

### Boasts of Demand as Speaker

From a "zoot-suiter," a cocaine addict and a jailbird, he rose to become a leading spokesman for "separatism," the creation of a separate nation for American Negroes.

From an ignorant "hipster," he transformed himself into an articulate leader, and was able to boast that he was the second most sought after speaker in the United States. Barry Goldwater was first at that time.

He often said he became a racist from the womb, because his grandmother was raped by a white man. That was how he got his red hair and light complexion that he prided himself on as a youth but came eventually to hate as a stain.

"I hate every drop of that white rapist's blood that is in me," he declared.

He was born in Omaha on May 19, 1925, the son of the Rev. and Mrs. Earl Little. The Rev. Little was a follower of Marcus Garvey, who preached a "Back to Africa" message to Negroes. And thus, Ku Klux Klan riders smashed the Little home and forced them to move to Lansing, Mich. There, the Little home was burned down by racists, Malcolm wrote.

The Rev. Little died in 1931, bludgeoned and thrown under a street car, according to Malcolm. These shocks, and the desertion of a common-law husband after that, eventually broke the mind and spirit of Mrs. Little. Malcolm related, and she has been in a state mental hospital since the early 1930s.

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### 'Like a Pink Poodle'

Malcolm attended Mason High School in Lansing, got good grades and was stunned as the only Negro in the school to be elected class president.

"I was unique in my class, like a pink poodle," he observed later.

Fate sent him to live with a sister in Boston's Roxbury section, the Harlem of the Hub City, and into a life of a shoe-shine boy in a dance hall.

He soon learned that the real job was selling marijuana cigarettes. Malcolm took it up himself, and moved into the "cool world."

A job on the Yankee Clipper train between Boston and New York brought him finally to "The Big Apple" and his

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own dream world—Harlem. He became a waiter in Small's Paradise on 7th ave., but was fired when he arranged for a soldier to meet a prostitute. The soldier was a "spy"—a "black tool of the white man."

Malcolm became a full-scale "hustler," selling "reefers"—marijuana. He faked a crazy act to be classified 4-F. Then he slid into robbery to feed his \$20-a-day cocaine habit, and wound up with a 10-year sentence after being caught in Boston.

But the Massachusetts state prison at Charlestown became, for Malcolm Little, a strange sort of monastery. First, he kicked the dope habit, "but even this was only part of the total transformation that was to come over me."

### A Book Changes Him

His brothers and sisters began writing to him about a "new" religion and about its leader, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who was once himself in prison as a draft-dodger. Malcolm wrote to Elijah and was sent the book which completed the transformation, a tract called "Yacub's History."

This "history" is the "demonology" of the "new religion," and told of how an evil scientist, Mr. Yacub, created the white race from the world's original inhabitants—the black race.

Mr. Yacub was cast out of the holy city of Mecca by Allah as a rebel and "decided, as revenge, to create upon the earth a 'devil' race—a bleached-out white race of people."

This weird "history" was given to Elijah Muhammad in Detroit, Mich., by one "Master W. D. Fard," who is accepted as a god who appeared on earth. He later "vanished," leaving Elijah to carry on.

In his cell, Malcolm Little swallowed this "history" completely. He began trying to convert his hustler friends through letters, and this led him to read the dictionary—from A to Z.

And then came the final touch, a "vision," when he awakened in his cell and saw a man sitting beside me in

my chair." Then the vision vanished.

"Later, of course, I learned that my prevision was of Master W. D. Fard, the Messiah . . ."

### Changes His Name to X

In 1952, Malcolm was released and plunged into the work of Allah in Detroit, where he was paroled in the custody of his brother, Wilfred.

Malcolm joined Mosque No. 1 in Detroit, visited Chicago to meet Elijah, and was awarded his "X," becoming thereafter Malcolm X.

"The X for the Muslim was a symbol for the true African family name that he would never know," Malcolm explained. "It would replace the white-slave-master name which had been imposed upon my paternal forebears by some blue-eyed devil."

Malcolm X rose swiftly, recruiting enough converts to triple the membership of Mosque No. 1 in a few months. He was named assistant minister in 1953, and then moved to Chicago to be trained by Elijah. Once trained, Malcolm X was sent to Philadelphia to establish Mosque No. 12, which also flourished.

And thus, after only a month in Philadelphia, Malcolm X was sent on to establish Mosque No. 7 in New York City. By 1956, it was well-established, but Malcolm never would say what its membership was.

### 'All Witnesses Were Devils'

In January, 1958, Malcolm married "Sister Betty X," driving to his relatives home in Lansing, Mich., for the event.

"An old hunch-backed white devil performed the wedding," he wrote. "And all of the witnesses were devils."

The Littles—or Xs—had four children—Attilah, a daughter named after Attila the Hun ("He sacked Rome," Malcolm explained; Quiblah, a daughter named after Kubla Khan; Ilyasah, a son whose name is Arabic for Elijah, and another daughter, Lamurphah, after the slain Congolese premier Patrice Lumumba.

"I guess by now I will say I love Betty," Malcolm wrote laconically in 1964. By this time the family was living in a home at 23-11 97th st., in Elmhurst, Queens. Over the next several years Malcolm X's reputation spread as the Muslim movement became known in America.

By the early 1960s, rumors spread through Muslim circles of trouble between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm declared in his autobiography that the trouble was Elijah's breaking of the Muslim commandments.

### Hails Kennedy's Assassination

Malcolm's account of what developed was that Elijah was afraid of being denounced for his misdeeds, and so looked for an excuse to expell Malcolm. The chance came when President Kennedy was assassinated on Nov. 22, 1963, and Malcolm told a Manhattan Center rally of 7,000 persons that it was a case of "chickens coming home to roost."

*"Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they always made me glad."*

For this, Elijah Muhammad suspended Malcolm X and "silenced him for 90 days." The ban was never lifted, however, and Malcolm went his own way. He called a press conference to announce the creation of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., with headquarters in Harlem's Hotel Theresa.

Then, Malcolm realized a dream of many years. He made a pilgrimage to Mecca, also visiting Cairo, Dakar, Ghana, Nigeria and other African nations. He returned home in triumph, overwhelmed with offers to speak all over the nation.

He spoke at Harvard, Yale, Queens College and at many other schools.

### Message of Bullets and Blood

On his own, Malcolm spread the message of blood and violence.

"The price of freedom is blood, and if blood frightens you, then freedom frightens you," was a typical comment.

He set down 1964 as a year of turmoil—bullets and blood.

"There will be more violence than ever this year," he proclaimed in March of 1964. "White people will be shocked when they discover that the passive little Negro they had known turns out to be a roaring lion."

"If it's necessary to form a Black Nationalist party—or a Black Nationalist army—we'll form it," he thundered. "It's going to be a year of ballots or bullets. And if ballots won't work, bullets will."

Again: "We should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency . . . When our people are bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs."

One of his last major statements came in October of last year when he denounced Elijah Muhammad as a "religious faker," and officially broke with him.

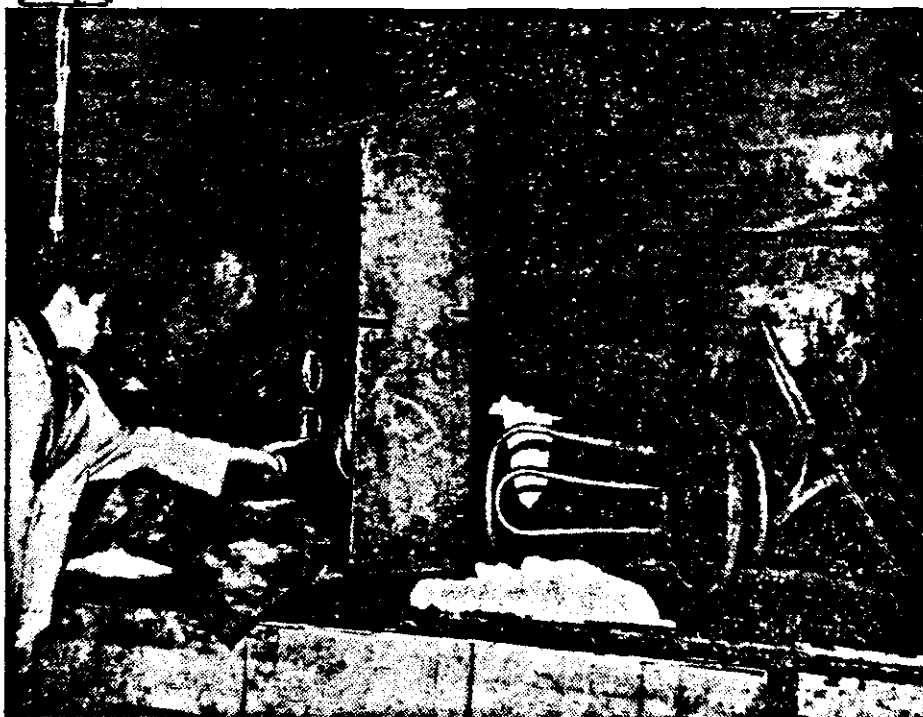
Malcolm also rejected black racism as a doctrine, declaring that he "recognized all men as brothers." Thus, he was moving into the mainstream of liberalism in race relations.

"The well-meaning whites must become less vocal and more active against racism of their fellow whites . . . and Negro leaders must make their own people see that with equal rights also go equal responsibilities."



**STRUGGLING** with policemen is Talmadge Hayer of Paterson, N. J., one of alleged gunmen who slew Malcolm X.

WCSB-TV Photo via AP



**BULLET HOLES** in the podium behind which Malcolm X stood are pointed out by a detective.

AP Photo

## BLUFFED HIS WAY OUT

# Driver Tells How Malcolm X Escaped Death in Chase

This story, never before told, sheds new light on the bloody underground war being fought by rival factions of America's extremist Negro community. Bradley revealed his story to Louis Lomax, Negro reporter and author.

By EDWARD BRADLEY

(As Told to Louis L. Lomax)

LOS ANGELES (NANA)—I am convinced that members of the Black Muslim sect planned to assassinate Malcolm X when he was here in Los Angeles three weeks ago. I know—because I drove the “death car” during a hair-raising, 70-mile-an-hour chase that climaxed Malcolm's terror-ridden 22-hour stay here.

There is no question in my mind that only quick thinking and a brazen bluff by Malcolm X saved both him and me from being gunned down on a Los Angeles freeway.

I know the Los Angeles Black Muslims and they know me. Some of my best friends are top men in the Los Angeles Mosque. They know every word I say here is true. The Los Angeles police also know it is true. In fact, several members of the Los Angeles plainclothes detail lived through some of the

experience with Malcolm X and me. I cannot say the Black Muslims killed Malcolm in New York last Sunday. I can say they were out to get him.

It all started late in the afternoon of January 26. I received a phone call from Allen Jamal, a close personal friend and a former member of the Los Angeles Black Muslim temple. Jamal told me that Malcolm was coming to Los Angeles on the 28th; Jamal's car was in the repair shop and he asked me if I would act as Malcolm's driver while he was here. I have known Malcolm for almost ten years; I considered him a personal friend, and so I agreed.

Jamal and I arrived at the Los Angeles Airport just in time to meet TWA flight No. 9 from New York at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 28th. However Malcolm's flight was late and while Jamal and I were waiting

we saw a Negro man whom we later discovered was John Ali, national secretary of the Black Muslims, sitting in the terminal lounge. Malcolm's plane was diverted to another gate and this is the only thing that prevented a dramatic confrontation between Malcolm and Ali, Malcolm's one-time close friend and convert.

Jamal and I drove Malcolm immediately to the Statler Hilton Hotel. Jamal and Malcolm got out of the car and entered the hotel to register. I gave my car to a hotel attendant for parking and then followed Jamal and Malcolm in

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to the hotel. But as I was entering the hotel a car bearing six Black Muslims, including Ali, drove up to the hotel. I know they were Muslims because two of the men are longtime acquaintances of mine. They are John Shadazz, the minister of the Los Angeles mosque, and Captain Edward 2X (Sherrill), head of the Fruit of Islam of the local mosque. They spoke to me and asked why I was at the hotel. I told them I was there to meet a friend. After another pleasantry, the Muslims entered the hotel, leaving one member standing guard at the hotel entrance.

By this time Malcolm had checked into Room 1129. Malcolm and Jamal came down on the elevator and walked across the hotel lobby just as the Muslim entourage entered the lobby. I was just behind the Muslims and they and Malcolm

came within ten feet of each other. The Muslims were stunned; Malcolm's face froze but he never broke his gait. It was clear that the Muslims did not know Malcolm was in town until that moment. Later events proved that the entire scene was but a dramatic coincidence. Ali had flown in from Chicago on temple business and just happened to have landed within minutes of Malcolm and they both just happened to be registered at the same hotel.

We rushed Malcolm to my car and drove to the two ex-secretaries to the honorable Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, who have filed suits saying the Muhammad is the father of their four children. Malcolm's main purpose in visiting the women was to warn them that they had been marked for assassination by the Black Muslims. Now that the

Muslims knew he was in town, Malcolm became apprehensive. He repeatedly told Jamal and me that the Muslims were determined to kill him.

He was so concerned, in fact, that he would not enter the home of the two women, as he was certain they, too, were being watched. Instead, he sent Jamal ahead on foot and had the two women and their children meet us several blocks away from the house.

#### Visited Attorney's Office

Malcolm and the two women visited the office of attorney Gladys Root. I was not in on the conference but Malcolm later told me that he warned both Attorney Root and the two ex-Muslim women that they were in grave danger.

Malcolm, Jamal, the two women and I had dinner together that evening. I took Malcolm back to his hotel about midnight. Black Muslims were all over the place. They were parked in cars on all sides of the streets. Some were on foot. They had the Statler completely surrounded. Malcolm sized up the situation and told me that he was going directly to his room and that he would stay there until I contacted him the following morning. Before getting out of the car, Malcolm warned me that I, too, was now in danger and that I should exercise extreme caution. Then Malcolm bounded from the car and dashed into the hotel.

Meanwhile, the two ex-Muslim women were taken home under police guard. Muslims were staked out at their home and two of them were arrested on the spot.

Early the next morning I received word from contacts I have inside the Los Angeles Black Muslim movement that once Malcolm's presence here was discovered the Muslims had called an emergency meeting of the Fruit of Islam.

#### Believed to Be Musclemen

The Fruit are the strong men of the temple and are believed to be musclemen. My contact told me that the Fruit were given orders to get Malcolm, Jamal and me.

I called Malcolm at 9 the next morning to say that I was on the way to pick him up for a round of appointments. Malcolm told me that Muslims had the hotel surrounded and that I should watch my step. He also said that he had received several threatening calls during the night. I arrived at the hotel a half hour later and saw Muslims standing on street corners pretending to be looking into store windows, and selling newspapers. Parking regulations prevented them from stopping near the hotel, but I saw at least two carloads of Muslims patrolling the area.

Shortly after I entered Malcolm's room the phone rang.

"Yes?" Malcolm answered.

"Nigger," the voice said, "You are dead; you are a dead Nigger."

Malcolm hung up the phone and put his head in his hands for a moment of silent thought.

"It's too dangerous," he said to me finally. "I'm not going to make any further visits on this trip. Let's stay in the room and call whom we can by phone and then get out of town."

#### Talked in Phone

For the next two hours Malcolm and I telephoned—and received calls from—warring members of the Los Angeles Black Muslim mosque. Some of the top men in the mosque talked with Malcolm at length

and I am convinced that he was on the verge of capturing a substantial following from the local temple.

Malcolm made a reservation to leave for Chicago on TWA Flight 26 at 12:30.

"This is all that I have to protect myself," Malcolm said to me as he brandished a zip gun disguised as a decorated fountain pen. "It only shoots one bullet," Malcolm continued, "but at least I'll take one of them with me."

I then called the police. I talked with Lt. Phillips of the intelligence department and informed him that Malcolm and I were headed to the airport and asked for protection. Phillips promised to have his men waiting for us at the TWA terminal.

"I never thought there would be a day when I would call Parker (the Los Angeles police chief) for protection," Malcolm said after I hung up the phone. "The last time I was in Los Angeles, Parker's men had gunned down some of our brothers and I gave Parker hell. The irony is that I now must call upon him to protect me from my former brothers."

#### Trailed by Two Cars

As Malcolm and I left the hotel we were trailed by two cars, both loaded with Black Muslims. By zig zagging and executing several U-turns, I was able to elude one of the cars but the second car followed us onto the freeway. As we fled down the freeway at 70 miles an hour, Malcolm talked of the Black Muslims and of his own aspirations:

He was determined to set up a true Moslem organization among American Negroes.

He was determined to strengthen the tie between the American Negro and the nonwhite people of the world.

He said he had evidence that the Black Muslims' movement was being financed by a very wealthy white Texan.

But most of all he talked of himself; that he was a man marked for death.

We watched through the rearview mirror. The carload of Muslims was gaining on us. I took the far, left lane of the freeway and the Muslims inched alongside to our right. Fear struck my heart; I knew they meant business. I expected any moment to see their car window lower and a volley of shots blaze toward us. I drove like a madman but the Muslims kept pace.

#### Used Cane as "Gun"

Then Malcolm acted. He reached on the floor of my car and picked up a walking cane I had been carrying since a back injury several months ago. Malcolm then lowered the back window of my car and lifted the cane as if it were a shotgun and aimed it at the Muslims who were then almost directly alongside us. The Muslim driver suddenly reduced his speed and fell into traffic behind us.

I swerved across the freeway and headed for the nearest exit. The Muslims became tangled in traffic and could not follow us up the exit ramp. We were then about five minutes from the airport and our rendezvous with the police detail was still a half hour away. The Muslims had seen Malcolm check out of the hotel; they saw him put his bag in my car; they had followed us down the freeway toward the airport. We were certain they knew where we were going. We were determined not to enter the airport terminal without police protection.

We stopped at a roadside cafe

to while away the minutes before the scheduled meeting with the police. Malcolm, though tense, chatted with the white waitress who recognized him immediately. Meanwhile, I called Lt. Phillips and discovered that the police detail was already at the airport waiting for us.

Malcolm and I were ushered into the terminal by eight plainclothesmen. The TWA security men were also on hand. As Malcolm was purchasing his ticket, two Black Muslims came into the terminal marching in lock step. As if in military cadence. "Those are Muslims," one of the policemen said excitedly. "I recognize one of them. They call him Jingles."

"Watch them," Malcolm said quickly. "They are decoys. They were sent here to divert attention while the real killers do their work. Look for black men dressed like laborers or something like that. That is the way the killers will be dressed. Those two men there are decoys."

It was this precise use of decoys that accomplished Malcolm's death last Sunday.

#### Outflanked Officers

The two Muslims marched directly toward us. The police moved forward to intercept them. The Muslims executed a half right, then a half left, thereby outflanking the officers. The two Muslims then took up observation posts some 50 feet from us as the police formed a protective cover. TWA officials rushed Malcolm and me into a small office and then led us to his plane through the underground cabbage chute. I saw Malcolm onto the plane and said goodbye.

"I am a marked man," Malcolm said to me. "I'm ready to die. I just don't want them to hurt my family."

Malcolm and I had missed death by inches and we knew it.

Now Malcolm is dead. As I write this, unrest convulses the Negro community from coast to coast. Fear and panic have invaded the Black Muslim organization here, and I am certain there will be trouble when the Muslims meet in Chicago for their annual convention this weekend. Whatever happens, I am further convinced that the Black Muslims are doomed. In death, Malcolm X has accomplished what he could not do in life.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## Muslims Enraged by 'Sneak Attack'

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

"It was a vicious sneak attack," said Joseph X.

"That's right," said the dozen Black Muslims clustered around him.

"The worst thing a man can do is tamper with your religious sanctuary," said Joseph. "That's right," said the men in the hot, crowded storefront office.

"We are Muslims," said Joseph. "We all know we have to go sometime. We just want to go like Muslims."

"That's right."

Two blocks farther down Lenox Avenue, at 116th Street, a hose fixed to a fire truck's aerial ladder was throwing water on the smoking, ice-festooned ruin of Muhammad's Mosque No. 7, the Black Muslim headquarters in New York.

At 2:15 A.M. yesterday fire had raced through the fourth-floor meeting hall, destroying its interior and that of the Gethsemane Church of God in Christ on the floor below. Police later found a five-gallon gasoline can, a brown shopping bag stained with gasoline and some oily rags on the roof of an adjacent building.

The fire, termed "definitely suspicious," came a day and a half after Malcolm X, who had left the Black Muslim movement to form his own black nationalist movement, was shot to death in the Audubon Ballroom, in upper Manhattan.

"I would say we expected something like this," a Harlem resident said yesterday as he leaned on a police barrier and looked with little interest at the ruined mosque. "I would say these cats are going to be scratching until there's not but one of them left."

Joseph X, a Black Muslim spokesman, said that the followers of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, had alternative meeting places in mosques at 120 Madison Street, Brooklyn, and 105-05 Northern Boulevard, Queens.

As Joseph was talking in the office of Muhammad Speaks, the movement's newspaper, at 153 Lenox Avenue, the news came over the radio of a bomb threat at the Unity Funeral Home, where Malcolm's body is on view. "Now they'll be accusing us of that, too," Joseph said.

Throughout the day barricades were set up at 115th

Street on both sides of the avenue. Buses were rerouted and the 116th Street IRT subway station was closed until 3:40 P.M. There were about 60 policemen in the area directing traffic and the small crowds that gathered at the barricades.

Eyewitnesses differed about the fire's beginning. Some, including several policemen guarding the mosque entrance, said they had heard an explosion or explosions. But Mrs. Louise Washington, who lives on the top floor at 111 Lenox Avenue, one door down from the mosque, said she had heard nothing.

She said she and her husband did not know there was a fire until a policeman knocked on their door.

A man in a bar, who did not wish to be identified, gave this account:

"Man, I've seen some fires but this one was like no fire I ever saw. First there's this little crash, you know, but real quiet. Then it say VOOOOM! The flames came straight up in the air and straight out over the street. Then the smoke—like this oil smoke, you dig?—it rolls out slow and then drops down slow, like it was falling. Man, I just stood there hypnotized."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

31 NEW YORK TIMES

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Date: 2/24/65  
Edition: LATE CITY  
Author: PAUL L. MONTGOMERY  
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL  
Title: MALCOLM X LITTLE

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# RAM Hand Seen in Muslim Ravage

By WILLIAM FEDERICI, EDWARD KIRKMAN and HENRY LEE

The assassination of Malcolm X, dissident Black Muslim leader, and the fire-bombing of an orthodox Muslim temple in Harlem less than 36 hours later, probably were the work of a third, even more fanatic Negro hate group, top police and federal investigators told THE NEWS last night.

As more violence threatened in Negro communities across the country, these sources disclosed that the Revolutionary Action Movement, dedicated to organized violence, had long plotted to pit the aging Prophet Elijah Muhammad against the fiery Malcolm X and thus focus world attention on the problems of the American Negro.

Organization, known as RAM, includes hard-core young Negroes, from both the prophet's and Malcolm's organizations, who dream of a global black revolution. RAM is masterminded by Robert F. Williams, turncoat North Carolina Negro now working for Communist Cuba and China, who conceived the plot to bomb the Statue of Liberty, the Liberty Bell and Washington Monument.

## Financed by Crime

RAM, headquartered in Philadelphia and strong in Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland, became active here only about six months ago.

Since then, police have found that guns and ammunition have been pouring into Harlem. According to an FBI report which THE NEWS had access to, RAM has apparently completed its first phase of recruitment and education for ideological warfare. Now the outfit is believed concentrating on financing—through street, ruggings and other means—and "direct action" against the American system through acts of violence.

Support for this explanation of the assassination and bombing came indirectly from James Earl Ray, director. He said the murder of Malcolm X was a political killing with implications.

Most people are jumping to the conclusion that Muslims were re-

Farmer said Malcolm had come to believe the whites could make a significant contribution to the Negro drive for equality and be their allies and supporters.

## International Plot Seen

"It is significant that he was struck down as his views were changing," Farmer said.

Farmer, who called for a White House investigation, expressed his conviction that Malcolm X's death "was an international plot, although the executioners themselves weren't foreign agents."

Similarly, James Lawson, president of the United African Nationalist Movement, called the Harlem mosque bombing a "well-calculated and diabolical plan" that "will benefit the Communists more than anyone else."

## Witnesses Reluctant

The investigation "should not rule out that this may be the beginning of a series of acts unleashed by Peking-orientated Communists," he said. "It does not have to be the result of a feud between the followers of Muhammad and the late Malcolm X."

Although Malcolm X was assassinated Sunday afternoon in front of 100 of his supporters,

What are the facts?

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Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph Coyle said witnesses have not been helping the police.

"When the heat is off, we expect some of these people will come forward," Coyle said at the Wadsworth Ave. station, where the investigation is concentrated. "As of now, I don't think they feel secure."

Coyle said that Talmadge Hayer, 22, the one suspect captured, has refused to talk to police. He is in the Bellevue Hospital prison ward. He was assertedly shot by Malcolm's bodyguard Reuben Francis, 33, who is being held in \$10,000 bail on charges of felonious assault and Sullivan Law violation.

Coyle refused to say whether police knew the identities of two other assailants who sprayed Malcolm X with some 16 bullets and shotgun pellets, two of which pierced his heart.

#### Bomb Threats Phoned

"We've never gotten much cooperation from the Black Muslims the Black Nationalists," he

"But we're making some progress. We're seeing a little of the dawn."

As hundreds of police reinforcements, both uniformed men and detectives, poured into Harlem from Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx, there were threats of further violence.

Several bomb threats were received at the Unity funeral home, 2352 Eighth Ave., at 126th St., where Malcolm's body will be on display daily until Friday in a

\$2,000 burnished copper coffin with a full-length glass cover. The funeral is scheduled tentatively for 10 A.M. Saturday.

Police searched all persons entering the funeral home and inspected floral wreaths delivered there. Dozens of uniformed cops were posted near the two-story building, some of them on the roof.

According to Joseph E. Hall, director of the parlor, a man he knows said he had overheard talk that a bomb would be tossed. Armsted Barrett, assistant manager, got a phone call from a woman who said: "I overheard three men say they are going to blow up the funeral home." A third caller said:

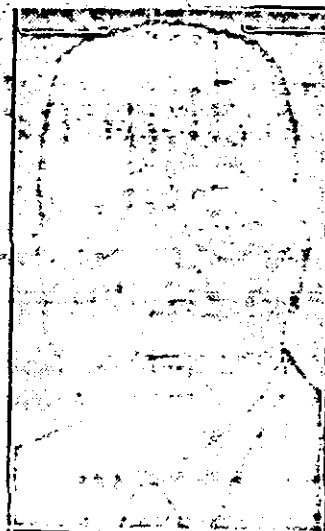
"Malcolm X's body will never be buried. It will be cremated by fire bombs."

#### Tossed From Roof

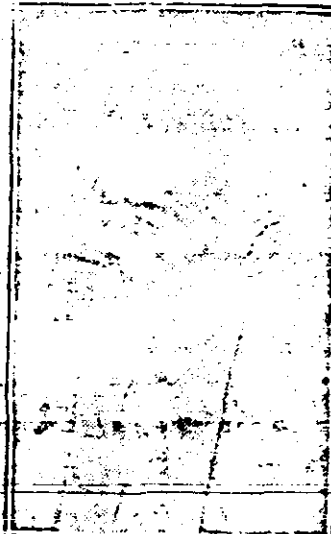
Investigation of the blast which destroyed Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 7, 102 W. 116th St., early yesterday, disclosed that a Molotov cocktail had been tossed into the fourth-floor from the roof the building. Police said they recovered an empty five-gallon can on the roof next door at 113 Lenox Ave., there were traces of gasoline in it, but they could recover no fingerprints.

Hereafter, police said, members of the Tactical Patrol Force will be posted on the roofs of two other mosques in Corona, Queens, and one each in Brooklyn and the Bronx.

Five firemen and a bystander were hurt in the three-alarm fire and blast that occurred at 2:15 A. M. The mosque had been Malcolm X's headquarters when he was still a follower of the Elijah



Robert F. Williams  
Dedicated to violence



James Farmer  
Suspects international plot

**Sharpshooters Guard Harlem Mortuary**

# CORE Chief: Malcolm's Death Plotted Abroad

NEW YORK, Feb. 24 (UPI) — Police sharpshooters lined surrounding rooftops today in a vigil against threatened violence at the Harlem funeral home where the body of slain Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X is on public view.

The investigation of Malcolm's assassination and yesterday's fire-bombing of the Black Muslim headquarters mosque in Harlem took on new overtones with the claim by civil rights leader James Farmer that the killing was "political" and masterminded overseas.

## NOT THE MUSLIMS?

Mr. Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said:

"I doubt seriously if the Black Muslims murdered Malcolm. There is something far greater than the Black Muslims involved." He called for a White House investigation.

"I am convinced the killing was an international plot, altho the executioners themselves weren't foreign agents," he said.

Mr. Farmer said it did not seem "accidental that his death came at a time when his views were changing" toward "the mainstream of the civil rights movement."

## THOUSANDS

In less than four hours last night, more than 2000 persons filed past the glass-covered, bronze coffin of the tall, bearded militant Negro leader whose fiery voice was silenced Sunday as he addressed a Harlem rally.

All visitors and floral tributes were carefully searched by police before being allowed inside the mortuary. Several telephoned threats that the mortuary would be bombed

received. The funeral was scheduled for Saturday.

New York police pressed their investigation amid mounting



—UPI Telephoto  
The entrance to the Black Muslim mosque offices in Harlem is a shambles yesterday after fire and explosion rocked the building.

fear of a nationwide vendetta between Malcolm's Black Nationalists and the rival Black Muslims, whom the Nationalists blame for Malcolm's death.

Following the destruction of the Muslim Mosque in Harlem, Chicago police increased their guard on heavyweight champion Cassius Clay, a prominent Muslim, and Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad.

Mr. Clay said he would not go into hiding for fear of his life and if he is the intended target of assassins "I am here — they can come and get me."

He said he would fight a scheduled eight-round exhibition at the Muslims' national convention Saturday.

Security forces were also built in San Francisco, where a Muslim Mosque was slightly damaged by flaming kerosene.

Paterson, N. J., which has a large concentration of Muslims, also increased police details. Paterson is the home of Talmadge Hayer, 22, arrested as a suspected member of the three-to-five member team which killed Malcolm.

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UPI-155

(MALCOLM X)

NEW YORK--POLICE INDICATED TODAY THEY HAVE PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE FIVE-MAN ASSASSIN TEAM THAT MURDERED NEGRO EXTREMIST MALCOLM X IN FRONT OF 400 WITNESSES SETTING THE STAGE FOR A POSSIBLE VENDETTA BETWEEN HIS RENEGADE FOLLOWERS AND THE BLACK MUSLIM CULT.

ONE OF THE SUSPECTED ASSASSINS WAS SHOT AND CAPTURED AT THE SCENE OF THE SLAYING. POLICE PRESSED TO FIND THE OTHER FOUR BEFORE NEGRO COMMUNITIES FROM COAST-TO-COAST EXPLODE INTO MORE VIOLENCE.

OMINOUSLY ABSENT FROM THEIR FAMILIAR HAUNTS IN NEW YORK'S HARLEM WERE MALCOLM'S TOP LIEUTENANTS AND HIS TRUSTED BODYGUARDS, SOME OF WHOM PERSONALLY VOWED TO AVENGE HIS DEATH.

THERE WERE REPORTS THAT "HUNDREDS" OF THE BLACK NATIONALIST EXTREMISTS WERE CONVERGING ON CHICAGO TO INFILTRATE THE BLACK MUSLIM CONVENTION THAT GETS UNDERWAY FRIDAY. LEON AMER, THEIR APPARENT NO MALCOLM'S ORGANIZATION, SAID HE WOULD BE SURPRISED IF MUSLIM LEADER ELIJAH MUHAMMAD LIVED OUT THE MONTH.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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# Malcolm X

## Slaying Called Tragedy for All

The assassination of Malcolm X in New York Sunday was a "great tragedy" for all free-thinking Americans, according to Roy E. Wilkins, a Negro civil rights leader.

Speaking last night to about 500 Georgetown University students, Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) said that, although most Negroes disagree with the philosophy of the Black Nationalist leader, "assassination was not the answer."

Wilkins said he did not consider Malcolm X a friend of the civil rights movement but respected his right as an American to express his own philosophy as to the future of the Negro race.

"The Black Muslim organization turns its back on the American way of life... they are not tied to the American dream of freedom and equality," Wilkins said. "But when Malcolm X broke away from the Muslims and headed the Black Nationalists, he began to learn something about white people."

"We will never know if this changed his way of thinking and if he eventually would have come into the civil rights camp," Wilkins said.

When asked by a reporter later if he thought the assassination would start a bloody feud between the two Negro extremist groups, Wilkins said no.

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Little  
(MALCOLM X)

*Substant*

WASHINGTON--CARL T. ROWAN, HEAD OF THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, SAID TODAY THAT THERE HAVE BEEN "A HOST OF AFRICAN REACTIONS" TO THE KILLING OF MALCOLM X THAT HAVE BEEN BASED ON "MISINFORMATION AND MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED."

AS ONE EXAMPLE, HE CITED THE COMMENT OF THE DAILY GRAPHIC, ACCRA, CAPITAL OF GHANA. THE PAPER SAID "THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X WILL GO DOWN IN HISTORY BOOKS AS THE GREATEST BLOW THE AMERICAN INTEGRATIONIST MOVEMENT HAS SUFFERED SINCE THE SHOCKING ASSASSINATIONS OF (MURDER) EVERS AND JOHN F. KENNEDY."

ROWAN DECLARED THAT "THIS WILL COME AS RATHER STARTLING NEWS TO THOSE NEGRO LEADERS WHO KNOW THAT MALCOLM X AND HIS FOLLOWERS PREACH NOT INTEGRATION, BUT BLACK SUPREMACY AND THE SEPARATION OF THE NEGROES FROM THE WHITES."

THE USIA DIRECTOR, A NEGRO HIMSELF, DISCUSSED THE EFFORTS OF HIS AGENCY TO PRESENT THE FACTS SURROUNDING SUNDAY'S KILLING OF THE 39-YEAR-OLD MILITANT BLACK NATIONALIST. HE SPOKE BEFORE THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION HERE.

ROWAN SAID "WHEN FIRST I HEARD OF MALCOLM X'S DEATH, I KNEW THAT THERE WAS REAL DANGER OF IT BEING GROSSLY MISCONSTRUED IN COUNTRIES WHERE THERE WAS A LACK OF INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT ACTUALLY HAD TAKEN PLACE, WHAT MALCOLM X WAS, WHAT HE STOOD FOR, OR WHAT WAS BEING ESPOUSED BY THOSE NEGROES WITH WHOM MALCOLM X WAS IN CONFLICT."

"THUS I ASKED MY COLLEAGUES IN THE AGENCY TO DO AN EXTRA-ZEALOUS JOB OF GETTING OUT THE FACTS, OF INFORMING THE WORLD IN ORDER THAT WE MIGHT MINIMIZE DAMAGING REACTIONS BASED ON EMOTION, PREJUDICE AND MISINFORMATION."

HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH A ZEALOUS JOB WAS DONE "IT HAS NOT BEEN ENOUGH TO PREVENT A HOST OF AFRICAN REACTIONS BASED ON MISINFORMATION AND MISREPRESENTATIONS OF ISSUES INVOLVED."

"MIND YOU," HE SAID, "HERE WAS A NEGRO WHO PREACHED SEGREGATION AND RACE HATRED, KILLED BY ANOTHER NEGRO, PRESUMABLY FROM ANOTHER ORGANIZATION THAT PREACHES SEGREGATION AND RACE HATRED--AND NEITHER OF THEM REPRESENTATIVE OF MORE THAN A TINY MINORITY OF THE NEGRO POPULATION OF AMERICA."

HE QUOTED THE DAILY TIMES OF LAGOS, NIGERIA, AS SAYING "MALCOLM X HAS FOUGHT AND DIED FOR WHAT HE BELIEVED TO BE RIGHT. HE WILL HAVE A PLACE IN THE PALACE OF THE MARTYRED."  
THE GHANAIAN TIMES DESCRIBED HIM

THE GHANAIAN TIMES DESCRIBED HIM AS "THE MILITANT AND MOST POPULAR OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN ANTI-SEGREGATIONIST LEADERS."

OUTSIDE OF AFRICA, IN PAKISTAN, THE KARACHI NEWSPAPER HURRIYET CALLED MALCOLM X "A GREAT NEGRO LEADER" AND THE PAKISTAN TIMES SAID "HIS DEATH IS A DEFINITE SETBACK TO THE NEGRO MOVEMENT FOR EMANCIPATION."

ROWAN ADDED: "ALL THIS ABOUT AN EX-CONVICT, A EX-DOPE PEDDLER, WHO BECAME A RACIAL FANATIC."

"I CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT WE AMERICANS KNOW LESS ABOUT WHAT GOES ON IN THE MINDS OF OTHER PEOPLE THAN WE THOUGHT, OR THE NEED TO INFORM IS EVEN GREATER THAN WE IN USIA THOUGHT IT TO BE."

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# MALCOLM'S SLAYER IS HUNTED

By Maurice C. Carroll  
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

The man who heads the massive investigation into the murder of Malcolm X said yesterday police were "on the right track" toward solving the case.

Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle said there was "no break imminent" but he added, "I hope to have a break in the very near future."

There were rumors that police knew the names of five men who murdered the dissident Black Muslim leader at a Harlem meeting Sunday. Inspector Coyle would not comment on the stories.

There were rumors that pictures had been taken outside the meeting, pictures perhaps of the assassins. Inspector Coyle again declined comment.

A brief anxious flurry began in Chicago when a truck drove up with a large crate addressed to Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad. The driver said it was a grandfather's clock. The police bomb squad investigated. They found the crate contained a grandfather's clock.

In New York it was announced that Muslim rites would be held for Malcolm X at 9:30 a. m. Saturday in the Faith Temple Church of Christ, 1764 Amsterdam Ave., conducted by the pastor, Bishop Alvin A. Childs, and there was soon another of the threats that have come to seem inevitable in the angry days since the murder. Some-



Herald Tribune photo by NAT FEIN

**EMBITTERED MOURNER** leaves funeral home where Malcolm X was on view in Harlem yesterday.

one telephoned the pastor's wife and said, "If Malcolm's funeral is held there we will bomb the place."

Police were stationed to forestall escalation of the violence in the world of Negro fringe groups that began with the murder and was followed by the burning of Black Muslim Mosque No. 7 at 102 W. 116th St., set afire Tuesday in apparent reprisal.

Fearful that the next blow might be struck against Malcolm's mourners, police posted a heavy guard around the Unity Funeral Home, 2352 Eighth Ave., where his body lay on public view beneath a glass shield in a bronze coffin.

Sharpshooters were stationed on rooftops, plainclothes law-

men mingled with the crowd, barricades were set up across the street as well as in front of the two-story building. Walkie-talkie communication linked the security forces.

This was the most obvious police concentration in a Harlem area that was flooded with police, and will remain so at least until the funeral on Saturday.

The mourners who filed past the casket in a second-floor room were silent. The body was clad in a charcoal gray suit, white shirt, red tinted brown tie. White cotton gloves covered the hands. The dark-rimmed glasses that Malcolm had worn in recent years were absent.

The first of the day's bomb

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threats there came from a male telephone caller at 1:05 p. m. The mourners were cleared out briefly for a search.

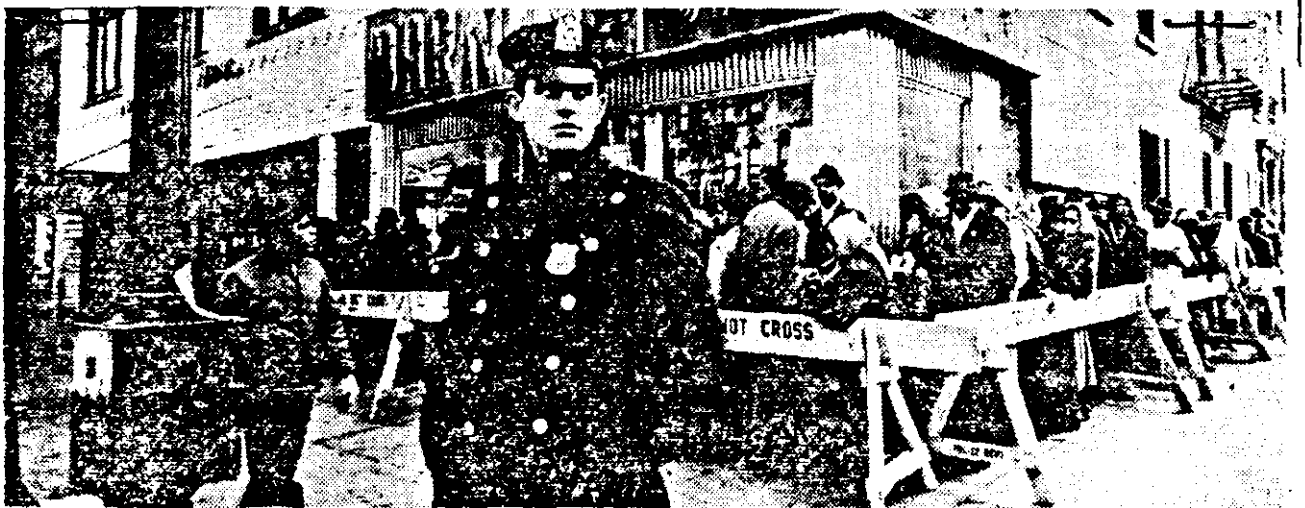
In Chicago, too, headquarters of the Black Muslim organization from which Malcolm split early last year, there were extraordinary police precautions. The mansion of Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad was watched. Police searched the Coliseum, where some 6,000 Muslims are to gather for a week end convention at which Elijah Muhammad is to speak twice.

Telephone callers warned that bombs had been planted there and one said 100 men were headed to Chicago to avenge Malcolm's murder by killing Elijah. "We have arrived. Muhammad will have a lively convention," one caller threatened.

Wherever the secretive Muslim sect had sites across the nation police were alert to halt a spread of the violence that started last Sunday when Malcolm rose to address some 400 persons in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, and was murdered by a shotgun and pistol fusillade.

Early Tuesday in apparent retaliation for the murder, the main Muslim mosque in Harlem, the mosque that Malcolm had headed when he was Elijah Muhammad's top assistant, before their split, was fire-bombed into rubble by someone who appeared to know his business.





Herald Tribune photo by NAT FEIN  
**WATCHFUL POLICEMAN** stands outside the Unity Funeral Home, where the body of Malcolm X lies, on guard.  
against violence as mourners file past near Eighth Ave. and 126th St.

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## U.S. Probers Report No Red Links Or World Politics in Malcolm Case

Communists are not involved in the Malcolm X case, nor is there any evidence that the murder of the Negro nationalist has international complications, Federal investigators said yesterday.

• That Communists were behind the killing and subsequent burning of the Harlem mosque of the Black Muslims, from which Malcolm had defected.

• That an extremist group called the Revolutionary Action Movement instigated the murder and arson to focus world attention on American Negroes.

• That Robert F. Williams, an American Negro who went to Cuba and Communist China and recently was reported to launch a Federal investigation in Canada, was directing extremist tactics in Negro communities in America.

The spokesman said the all to substantiate the following widely circulated reports:

police in the investigation of the Malcolm case. It is known that the FBI has voluminous information about the Black Muslims and the rival organization that was headed by Malcolm, as well as about other, smaller extremist groups.

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**Comment:**

# Lesson Cited in Malcolm X Violence

By VIRGINIA PREWETT

NEW YORK — Afro-Cubans with a ringside seat at the U. S. Negro movement's civil war warn white Americans not to take too much comfort because the black extremists are fighting each other.

"This is just a dress rehearsal — good practice for your black terrorists," says an anti-Castro Afro-Cuban exile. "Once they decide the battle for control of the black extremists' multi-million dollar racket, they'll be ready for the real action."

These experienced observers are also convinced there are many more terrorist cells in the U. S. similar to the mixed group arrested recently by the New York City police for plotting to blow up the Statue of Liberty.

**BACK IN 1960**

"All this began in the autumn of 1960 when Fidel Castro came to the UN and took up residence in Harlem," say the exiles. "Today there is a terrorist network made up of the wild hotheads of several organizations — the Fair Play for Cuba group, especially in Canada, the American black extremists and those students who visited Cuba."

This network has an underground railroad in and out of the U. S. via Canada to Cuba and communist centers of Europe and Asia. It has "safe houses" along the way like the official spy organizations, and training camps with equipment worthy of James Bond.

The Afro-Cubans close to the situation comment bitterly on the U. S. press treatment of the situation. Reports that Malcolm

X was gunned down because he was not violent enough to suit Castro's American Negro handy-man, Robert Williams, draw wry laughs.

"Malcolm X called for an American Mau-Mau and he never recanted," says a dark-skinned Cuban. "He was getting to be too much of a world figure. He'd soon have had all the extremist black mafia's racket in his control. He had to die."

These savvy veterans of the world's ideological struggle deplore the way the New York press treats the situation.

**MALCOLM X**

"Since Malcolm X got killed," commented one, "New York's press and radio have brought on a very different picture of him from the one they had built up before."

"Imagine how the black people feel to see Malcolm X, the hate leader, described as 'winsome' in the press, a cheerful, joke-cracking fellow who probably didn't believe in violence after all. We get the idea that he was really cheerful, loyal and true — just another American Boy Scout, and the highly respected friend of some of your leading commentators."

The Afro-Cubans whose lives have been crushed in the big machine on which Malcolm was beginning to be a big wheel see American whites as living in a dream, with reality coming thru only as kind of TV drama.

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## Malcolm Image Hit by Rowan

By the Associated Press

Carl Rowan, U.S. Information Agency director, says some African newspapers are portraying Malcolm X as a martyred integrationist hero instead of as "an ex-convict, ex-dope peddler, who became a racial fanatic."

Said Rowan, a Negro, "Mind you: Here was a Negro who preached segregation and race hatred, killed by another Negro, presumably from another organization that preaches segregation and race hatred—and neither of them representative of more than a tiny minority of the Negro population of America."

Rowan told a Foreign Service Association meeting yesterday that the Malcolm X case is an example of why the information agency is needed.

*Little*

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(MALCOLM X) Little

WASHINGTON--PRESIDENT KWAME NKRUMAH OF GHANA HAS TOLD THE WIDOW OF MALCOLM X THAT THE WORK OF THE SLAIN BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER "IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM SHALL NOT BE IN VAIN."

THE NKRUMAH MESSAGE, RELEASED TODAY BY THE GHANAIAN EMBASSY, EXPRESSED "PROFOUND SHOCK" AND "DEEPEST CONDOLENCES" AND SAID:

"YOUR HUSBAND LEFT A LIFE OF DEDICATION FOR HUMAN EQUALITY AND DIGNITY SO THAT THE AFRO-AMERICAN AND PEOPLE OF COLOR EVERYWHERE MAY LIVE AS FREE MEN."

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# Misshapen Flowers

*LITTLE*



MALCOLM X, the man, is dead.

But he is survived by his Harlem, the ghetto which created him and shaped him. The fact that he has been murdered solves nothing. It will not make life easier in America for anyone — white or black.

Others preaching the identical or similar doctrines are certain to rise out of the poverty and misery that is Harlem, that is Atlanta, that is Chicago, that is Houston. Somewhere, at this very moment, in a dozen angry minds, the idea of becoming the next Malcolm X is taking form.

Who it will be, and where it will be, I leave to historians to record. Take 15,000,000 seeds, cultivate them with the calloused hand of indifference, nurture them with despair, water them with injustice, and another misshapen human flower is certain to bloom.

I have never been concerned about Malcolm X in particular as much as the frustration, hopelessness, bitterness and despair which he exemplified.

He belonged to the past. His dream was for a separate black state, for two nations within one — an issue which was resolved at Appomattox Courthouse a century ago.

As such, like the Back-to-Africa Movement sponsored by whites in the 1850's, or of Marcus Garvey's in the '30's, his "answer" came a century late. America's Negro citizens, the first of whom arrived here as slaves the year before the Mayflower, are here

By Whitney M. Young Jr.

to stay and to claim their twin birthright — liberty and freedom from the country to which they have given so much in blood, sweat and tears. To do otherwise would be to make a hollow empty mockery of all their forefathers fought and sometimes died for.

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In central Harlem, where Black Nationalism is probably strongest, 232,000 persons, nearly all of them Negro, are packed into 3 and one-half of New York City's 319 square miles.

The population density is more than 100 persons per acre; narcotics addiction is nearly 8 times as high as the rate for the entire city; murders occur 6 times as frequently; and 40 per cent of the people are housed in tenements built before 1900.

The median family income is only \$3480 a year, compared to \$5103 for the city. Training opportunities are few. Family instability is high. Half the children under 18 years of age do not live with both parents; by the time a child has reached the eighth grade his scholastic level lags about 2 and one-half years behind the city average.

These figures must cry out to America. The nation must reorient itself not to punishment for crimes committed, but to ways of crime prevention.

In the broader sense, Malcolm X is our victim. We are as guilty and responsible for his death as we are for the death of a president. It will not do to condemn the violence which killed him, or the violence he espoused, until we have wiped out the misery and ignorance which produces violence.

Malcolm X is dead. But he is survived by his Harlem, the same today as yesterday, the way white America created it.

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# Harlem Stores Threatened: Close Down for Malcolm

By Albin Krebs

Of The Herald Tribune Staff

A militant Negro group yesterday threatened Harlem merchants with boycotts unless they close their businesses at 3 p. m. today and remain closed over the week end "in respect for" slain Black Nationalist Malcolm X.

Muslim funeral services for Malcolm will be held at 9:30 a. m. tomorrow in the Church of God in Christ, a one-story structure at the northeast corner of Amsterdam Ave. and 147th St. that was converted from a movie theater 15 years ago.

The body of the one-time member of the Black Muslim sect remained in Unity Funeral Home, in a glass-shielded bronze casket, and by late afternoon yesterday, more than 2,000 persons had viewed it. Heavy morning rains did not deter the mourners.

The funeral home received another anonymous bomb threat. "You had better get that body out of there by tomorrow or we'll blow up the place," said a telephone caller.

Police continued a heavy guard around the funeral home, at 2352 Eighth Ave., and around the Church of God in Christ, also the subject of bomb threats yesterday.

Bishop Alvin A. Childs, pastor of the church, which is Pentecostal, said he offered use of the worship house "as a humanitarian gesture." As a result, he said, there had been anonymous bomb threats against him, his family and his home, as well as the church.

Thousands of handbills were distributed in Harlem yesterday threatening reprisals against merchants who failed to bolt their doors beginning at 3 p. m. today.

Police said some store owners had received oral warnings that "if you don't close down by 3 p. m. you won't be in business at 3:30." There were also reports some merchants had been approached for involuntary "donations" of cash and merchandise for the family of the 39-year-old Malcolm, shot down by five gunmen in the Audubon Ballroom last Sunday.

The mimeographed handbills were put out over the signature of something called the Federation for Independent Political Action, 139 W. 125th St. Jesse Gray, the Harlem rent strike leader, makes his headquarters at that address and he was an organizer of the FIPA.

The handbill warned that stores that do not close will be "showing contempt for our community and especially our bereavement over our beloved Malcolm."

The handbill said the stores along 125th St. "river to river" should close from 3 p. m. today and not reopen until Monday "in respect for Malcolm and

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in observance of what he meant to our community and all oppressed people."

A spokesman for the Uptown Chamber of Commerce said the Chamber has asked the police for protection for 125th St. merchants and were promised that 150 extra men would be assigned to the street beginning today.

A spot check of stores on the street, Harlem's main crosstown thoroughfare, revealed most chain stores planned to remain open. Several merchants said they "don't know" whether they will heed the handbill warning.

The police, hopeful Wednesday that a break would come soon in their search for the assassination team that cut Malcolm down, were having difficulty yesterday locating persons who witnessed the shooting. Police said they had even been unable to arrange an interview with Malcolm's wife, although they believe she may have important information.

Deputy Chief Inspector Thomas Pendergast, overseeing police details in Harlem, said "we have to be ready for anything. It will be like this until after the funeral."

Malcolm's half-sister, Mrs. Ella May Collins, left her Boston home last night and was accompanied here for Malcolm's funeral by her son, Rodnell, 20.

She told a Boston press conference that she will serve as "caretaker head" of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity until a successor can be chosen. "No one can fill Malcolm's shoes," she said.

Malcolm X was a top leader of the Black Muslims, bearded by Elijah Muhammad, until his defection more than a year ago. His followers in the OAAU claim Muhammad's faithful killed Malcolm. Muhammad has denied it.

A national convention of 6,000 Black Muslims was to begin in Chicago today, with Muhammad scheduled to address at least two sessions in the Coliseum. A spokesman for him said yesterday "there's a conspiracy against the Black Muslim sect."

Police and the FBI in Chicago have received many anonymous tips that an attempt will be made on Muhammad's life during the convention. Yesterday they continued to check reports that at least 100 "Malcolm men" were on their way to Chicago to kill him.



Herald Tribune photo by JOSEPH GAZDAR

A CONVERT, Tommy X of Yonkers, said he broke with Elijah Muhammad after Malcolm X was shot. Here he displays his feelings outside the funeral home.

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UPI-124

(MALCOLM)

*OLITTLE*

NEW YORK--THE MORTAL REMAINS OF ASSASSINATED BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X WERE CONSIGNED TO EARTH TODAY IN A WEIRD MIXTURE OF QUIET ISLAMIC DIGNITY AND PARTING GESTURE OF HATE TOWARD THE WHITES BY SOME OF HIS FOLLOWERS.

AS MALCOLM WAS LOWERED INTO HIS GRAVE AT SUBURBAN FERNCLIFF CEMETERY, SOME OF HIS FOLLOWERS BANISHED THE WHITE GRAVE DIGGERS AND, TAKING SHOVELS IN HAND, TOSSED EARTH ATOP THE BURNISHED COPPER CASSET.

"WE WON'T LET WHITE MEN BURY HIM," ONE OF THE FOLLOWERS SAID.

"WE'LL BURY HIM FIRST, MAN."

MALCOLM, A NEGRO WHO LED A VIOLENT AND SEEDY LIFE TO BECOME A MILITANT HATER OF WHITE PERSONS, WOULD HAVE LIKED THE GESTURE.

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FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. HQ 100-399321-A

Section 4

February 2, 1965---

125 Pages

# HARLEM IS QUIET AS CROWDS WATCH MALCOLM X RITES

Murdered Leader of Cult Is  
Eulogized as Believer in  
Brotherhood of Man

POLICE GUARD IS HEAVY

600 Pack Church—Throngs  
Outside Hear the Moslem  
Service Broadcast

By MARTIN ARNOLD  
Malcolm X, a black national-  
ist who had told Negroes they  
must meet violence with violence,  
went to his grave yesterday eulogized as a man who  
died believing in the brother-  
hood of man.

Several thousand people  
jammed the sidewalks in the  
bitter cold and about 600  
packed the Christian church  
where the Moslem services  
were held.

Hundreds of policemen stood  
guard during the services. There  
had been instances and threats  
of violence after Malcolm was  
murdered last Sunday, but there  
was no violence at the services  
in Harlem or at the graveside  
in Hartsdale.

Ossie Davis, the Negro actor  
and playwright, who delivered  
the eulogy, said: "Malcolm was  
our manhood, our living black  
manhood. In honoring him we  
honor the best in ourselves."

Crowds Line Sidewalk

The funeral service took place  
at Faith Temple, Church of God  
in Christ, at 147th Street and  
Amsterdam Avenue.

Mourners and the curious  
lined the sidewalks on both sides  
of Amsterdam Avenue behind  
police barricades to watch as  
the procession of friends and  
relatives filed into the church.  
Hundreds more pressed against  
the window panes of the red  
brick and wooden tenements  
across the street, or stood shiv-  
ering on their fire-escapes.

They were all over—on  
the street corners on Amster-  
dam Avenue, which had been  
blocked off for traffic from  
145th to 149th Streets, and on  
the rooftops.

The service was scheduled to  
start at 9:30 A.M., but lines  
began forming on the east side  
of Amsterdam Avenue three  
hours earlier as many tried to  
assure themselves seats inside.

One, John Davis, a 46-year-  
old laborer wearing a leopard  
skin pillbox hat, said: "I knew  
him as a wonderful man, a  
great man, a prince of peace, a  
nobleman. I just want to be  
here."

There were about 15 white  
persons in the crowd, and sev-  
eral described themselves as  
admirers of the slain man.

At 9:20 the doors of the  
church were opened, and the  
mourners filed past police  
guards and husky, dark-suited  
followers of Malcolm, 20 of  
whom served as ushers at the  
service. Large purses and hand-  
bags carried by women were  
searched by the police.

The body of Malcolm X had  
been taken to the church in a  
hearse at 1:35 A.M. yesterday—  
escorted by a dozen police cars  
—from the United Funeral  
Home at Eighth Avenue and  
128th Street. A total of 22,000  
persons had viewed it there  
since Tuesday.

The bronze coffin was  
wheeled into the converted  
movie theater and placed on a  
platform, draped in dark red  
velvet, in front of the altar.  
It was opened, and the first few  
mourners who got into the  
church later in the morning  
were able to view Malcolm's  
body in a white burial sheet,  
through a glass lid.

Symbols of Christianity

On the altar, even as the  
Moslem funeral service was  
taking place, there remained  
the bronze symbols of a Chris-  
tian church, the tithe box, the  
candelabra, but they were hid-  
den from the mourners by the  
coffin lid.

To the rear of the altar, 50  
newspaper reporters and photo-  
graphers and television camera-  
men were jammed beneath two  
side murals depicting scenes in  
the life of Christ. Many stood  
on chairs to get a better view  
of the service.

The church was lighted by  
eight ceiling fixtures, each one  
resembling a mosque, which had  
been there since it was a movie  
house.

Around the coffin stood eight  
uniformed policemen, and to the  
side were two uniformed po-  
licewomen. All were Negroes.  
Malcolm's widow, Mrs. Betty  
Shabazz, sat in the second row,  
a Negro police plainclothesman  
on either side of her.

## A Design of Carnations

There was one floral tribute,  
carried in by the ushers, a 2  
by 3 foot grouping of blood-red  
carnations, with the Star and  
Crescent of Islam embossed on  
it in white carnations.

It was from Mrs. Shabazz,  
and was addressed to El-Hajj  
Malik El-Hajj is the prefix  
given to any believer who visits  
Mecca, and Malik was Mal-  
colm's Islamic name.

There was little crying aloud  
and almost no sobbing through-  
out the services, which lasted  
slightly more than hour. Rather,  
the mourners seemed to be mak-  
ing a determined effort to show  
no emotion whatever—an effort  
that was shattered occasionally  
by applause during the eul-  
ogy and several short speeches.

The service was started by  
Mr. Davis and his wife, Ruby  
Dee, the actress, reading mes-  
sages of condolence.

They came from the African-  
Pakistan-West Indian Society  
of the London School of Eco-  
nomics, the Freedom Fighters  
of Ohio, Inc., which called Mal-  
colm the "most misinterpreted,  
misunderstood man in Amer-  
ica," the Michigan Committee  
for Freedom Now Party, the  
Los Angeles N.A.A.C.P. Youth  
Group, the government of  
Ghana, and the Pan-African  
Congress of Southern Africa,  
which hailed Malcolm as "anti-  
imperialist, anti-colonist and  
anti-racist."

## Speaker Is Applauded

Then Omar Osman, of the  
Islam Center of Switzerland and  
the United States, who had said  
he was one of Malcolm's teach-  
ers, told the mourners: "We  
knew brother Malcolm as a  
blood brother, particularly after  
his pilgrimage to Mecca last  
year."

"The highest thing that a  
Moslem can aspire to is to die  
on the battlefield and not die at  
his bedside," he said to loud ap-  
plause.

"Those who die on the battle-  
field are not dead, but are alive."  
There was more applause and  
shouts of "right," "right" from  
the mourners.

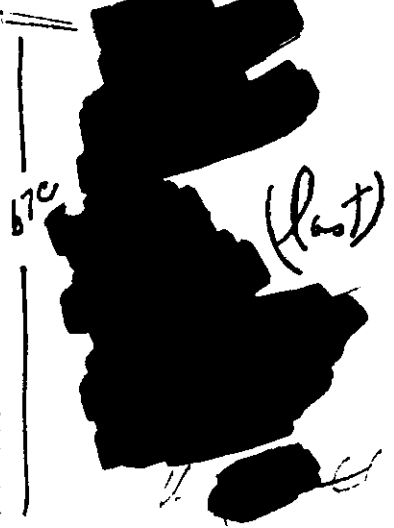
While the rite was proceed-  
ing inside, the crowd continued  
to grow outside. "I can't see  
any of this," said a woman in  
a black coat. She was standing  
on the west side of Amsterdam  
Avenue. Her view blocked by  
several large trucks from the  
National Broadcasting Com-  
pany.

One car, parked in front of  
the truck, also belonged to a  
television network. Inside, were  
several steel helmets, an a Ne-  
gro woman asked the driver,  
laughing, "You getting ready  
for next summer?"

A white girl in her mid-  
twenties, speaking with a Brit-  
ish accent, said of Malcolm:  
"He was a fascinating man—a  
remarkably fascinating man.  
That's why I'm here."

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The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
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And Mrs. Lucille Levvy, a Negro, of 282 Lenox Avenue, said: "I'm paying my respects to the greatest black man in this century. He's a black man, don't say colored."

Next to her, standing in the cold, another Negro woman said: "Our heart is broken for the genius we loved. That man was a genius, a true genius. He died for what he believed in."

#### Called Uniting Force

Inside, Mr. Davis was starting his eulogy.

"Malcolm could unite many diverse elements. Those who disagreed with him the most nevertheless followed him," he said.

His voice cracking, Mr. Davis said, "Harlem has come to bid fond farewell to one of its brightest hopes, gone forever."

"Malcolm had stopped being a Negro years ago," Mr. Davis said. An observer could almost feel the audience draw itself in as if to shout before he added: "Malcolm was too big for that. Malcolm had become an Afro-American, and that's what he wanted all of us to be."

"A prince—our own black, shining prince who did not hesitate to die because he loved us so," Mr. Davis said.

At one point Mr. Davis said that an organization calling itself Concerned Mothers was raising money for Malcolm's

widow and ~~four~~ children. "Those who want to continue what you so generously began," he said, should send contributions to the group at Post Office Box 1024, Church Street Station, New York City.

There were about 15 white mourners, although most of them were Negro women.

Among others attending the services were James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Bayard Rustin, who organized the civil rights march on Washington in 1963; Wally Dukes, the basketball player; Dick Gregory, the Negro comedian who has been active in civil rights demonstrations, and James Foreman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Many of the mourners had opposed Malcolm.

# Malcolm's Funeral Is Heavily Guarded

NEW YORK, Feb. 27 (UPI)—Farmer, director of the Congress of Racial Equality; John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Bayard Rustin, who helped organize the civil rights march in Washington; and comedian Dick Gregory, long associated with the civil rights movement in the South.

Their was no violence either at the funeral in Harlem—televised live nationally by NBC network—or at the cemetery. Anonymous threats to "fire bomb" the corpse failed to materialize.

The Negro militant whose slaying last Sunday touched off warfare among his followers and the Black Muslims of Elijah Muhammad, was eulogized as a symbol of hope for America's frustrated Negro millions.

Hundreds of police guarded the Faith Temple, Church of Christ, where 600 persons heard Negro actor and playwright Ossie Davis praise Malcolm as "a prince, our own black, shiny prince who did not hesitate to die because he loved us so."

Several prominent civil rights leaders, earlier opponents of Malcolm when he was a lieutenant to hate-preaching Muhammad, showed up to pay their respects. They characterized him as a former racist who became convinced that men of all races could live together after making a trip to the Islamic shrine at Mecca last year.

Among them were James

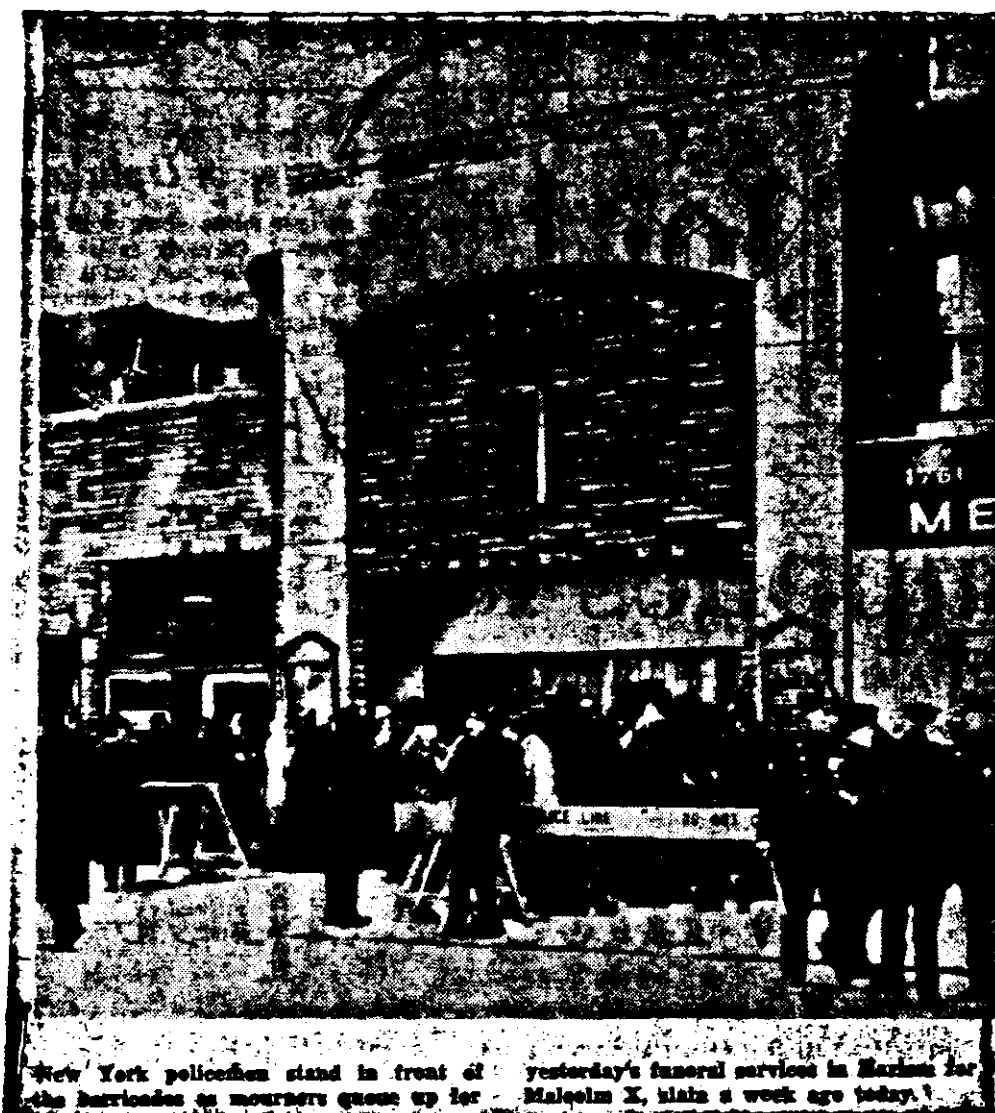
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New York policemen stand in front of yesterday's funeral services in Harlem for the barriadees as mourners queue up for Malcolm X, slain a week ago today.





Associated Press

Cassius Clay applauds the arrival of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad at sect's convention Friday.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

17 NEW YORK TIMES

### MALCOLM X TERMED STIMULUS TO ACTION

Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, Manhattan's new Borough President, declared yesterday that Malcolm X's death offered New Yorkers "a brand-new opportunity to move in now and lead the people that he attempted to lead into constructive channels of activity."

In broadcasts and interviews assessing the effects of the black nationalist leader's murder, just one week after the killing and the day after his funeral, Negro leaders expressed hope that the interest evoked would focus new attention to continuing Negro frustrations.

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, charged on radio station WHN that neither Mayor Wagner nor Governor Rockefeller had "done enough" for civil rights.

Bayard Rustin, major organizer of the 1963 civil-rights March on Washington, contended that a decade after the United States Supreme Court outlawed segregated schools, "there are more Negro school children in segregated classes than before," that Negro youths had triple the unemployment rate of whites, that slums had more people, more rats and more violations. Mr. Rustin appeared with Mrs. Motley on WABC-TV.

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6 MAR 11 1965

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### 3 Quizzed on Malcolm

NEW YORK, March 2 (UPD) — Police early today charged two former Black Muslims and a third man with illegal possession of a double barreled sawed-off shotgun. They questioned them about their affiliations with slain Negro extremist leader Malcolm X.

Arrested were John 57X Grey, 29, Cyril 2X James, 18, and Willie Hilton, 18, all Harlem residents.

Police said Messrs. Grey and James admitted being former members of the firebombed Black Muslim headquarters Mosque Seven in Harlem. They said Mr. Grey admitted allegiance to Malcolm, but Mr. James did not.

Mr. Hilton, police said, admitted being an admirer of Malcolm but denied membership in either the Black Muslims of Malcolm's rival group, the Organization for Afro-American Unity.

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 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_

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 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Widow of Malcolm X Speaks With Police About His Slaying

By PETER KIHSS

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, met yesterday with detectives investigating the militant black nationalist leader. The meeting was at an unannounced place away from any police office, according to her lawyer, Oliver Sutton.

"She will cooperate fully in giving any information she has," Mr. Sutton said before the meeting. "It is my understanding that she was not herself deeply involved in his movement, but was a typical Muslim housewife without great awareness of her husband's activity. However, she is anxious that the true assassin of her husband be known."

Three fund-raising efforts are going on meanwhile for the widow and her four daughters. Assemblyman Percy Sutton, a Harlem Democrat and Oliver Sutton's brother, said a Malcolm X Family Fund had been set up at the Freedom National Bank, 271 West 125th Street. He called it a long-range effort to support the family until the children have "gained maturity" and to provide them with orthodox Islamic teaching.

A Committee of Concerned Mothers has been formed by Mrs. Sidney Poitier, Ruby Dee, Abbey Lincoln and Mrs. Michael Olatunji to receive contributions here at Box 1024, Church Street Station, or Mrs. Poitier's home in Pleasantville, N. Y.

Assemblyman Sutton said the immediate aim was to bury a home for the family. He said the fund had already received \$1,100, delivered by station WMCA after a radio announcement.

Harlem Protestant leaders have sponsored an Educational Fund for the Children of Malcolm X. Its account is also at the Freedom National Bank. The Rev. W. Sterling Cary, of

Grace Congregational Church, said that the 250 member churches in the Harlem-Upper Manhattan Church Association had been asked to appeal to their congregations for support.

Although Malcolm professed the Muslim faith, Mr. Cary said, the Protestant leaders' effort was justified by his "emphasis on what constitutes manhood," including "the importance of self-defense by Negroes, a pride in their racial heritage and responsibility for self-help."

Mr. Cary held "all of us are responsible for his death inasmuch as we are all involved in perpetuating this kind of culture" in which Malcolm offered solutions unacceptable to many.

Assemblyman Sutton, a Protestant layman, noted yesterday that he had represented Malcolm and his family only in private affairs and never represented his Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Police here and in Chicago continued guarding headquarters of both Malcolm's movement and Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, the Black Muslims from whom Malcolm broke off a year ago.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had urged both Muslim groups to meet with him "at the peace table" in an expression of concern over threats of further violence. Dr. King, a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, made his proposal Sunday in preaching to more than 2,000 persons at Victory Baptist Church in Los Angeles.

In Chicago, Donald R. Gray, 19 years old, was placed under Boys Court supervision for six months. He had been accused of attempting to pick a fight Sunday night with heavyweight champion Cassius Clay.

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MALCOLM X. Little

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The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
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 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times pg 19  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date 3-2-65

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 176 MAR 26 1965

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Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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LITTLE

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Assemblyman Sutton, a Protestant layman, noted yesterday that he had represented Malcolm and his family only in private affairs and never represented his Organization of Afro-American Unity.

The police officers in charge of the investigation of Malcolm's slaying Feb. 21, Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle and Inspector Thomas Renna, questioned three men last night at the Bathgate Avenue station house in the Bronx. Detectives seized the three in a basement apartment at 597 East 164th Street where an empty 12-gauge double-barreled shotgun was found.

After being questioned for nearly four hours, the three were booked early today and charged with violation of the weapons law.

They were identified as Willie Hilton, 18 years old, of 65 West 127th Street; Cyril 2X James, 18, of 14 East 118th Street, and John X57 Grey, 29, of 2300 Fifth Avenue. The police said that Mr. James and Mr. Grey are former Black Muslims and that Mr. Grey had been a close associate of Malcolm.

Police here and in Chicago continued guarding headquarters of both Malcolm's movement and Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, the Black Muslims from whom Malcolm broke off a year ago.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

19 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 3/2/65  
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Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL  
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or  
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Tolson ✓  
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Tele Room ✓  
Holmes ✓  
Gandy ✓

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UPI-146

(MALCOLM X)

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NEW YORK--POLICE SEIZED A THIRD NEGRO SUSPECT TODAY IN THE SLAYING OF EXTREME BLACK NATIONALIST MALCOLM X.

THE SUSPECT IDENTIFIED HIMSELF AS THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, A NAME WHICH INDICATES MEMBERSHIP IN THE BLACK MUSLIM SECT. JOHNSON, A RESIDENT OF THE BRONX, WAS CHARGED WITH HOMICIDE.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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## Muslims Deny Role in Slaying; 3rd Negro Held

NEW YORK (AP)—The Black Muslims have denied anew any role in the murder of Malcolm X in the wake of the arrest here of a third Negro accused of the assassination.

Police said the latest defendant, Thomas [redacted] Johnson,

30, of the Bronx, is a strong-arm member of the Black Muslims. He was charged Wednesday with homicide.

Johnson is the second Black Muslim to be accused in the assassination of Malcolm X, 39, the Black Nationalist leader who bolted from the Black Muslims last year and formed his own sect.

Also charged was Norman Butler, 26, described by police as a Black Muslim "enforcer."

The first man charged, Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N.J., has refused to say whether he had any Black Muslim connections.

In Chicago, only a few hours after Johnson's arrest, the eldest son of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad reiterated denial of any Black Muslim blame for the assassination. He said he had never heard of Johnson.

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MALCOLM X. Little

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star AKA FINAL \_\_\_\_\_  
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# 3d Man Jailed In the Slaying Of Malcolm X

By EDWARD DILLON and SIDNEY KLINE

A husky, thin-mustached Black Muslim already under indictment in the shooting of a defector from the movement was arrested late yesterday in the slaying of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

With his arrest, police sources said they had the three men who pumped 13 slugs into Malcolm X from two pistols and a shotgun on Feb. 21 as he addressed a rally of his followers at the Audubon Ballroom.

The newest prisoner was Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of 932 Bronx Park South, Bronx, married, a father and a jobless painter.

Said Assistant District Attorney Herbert J. Stern at the W. 100th St. station: "I have ordered him booked for the homicide of Malcolm X, which he perpetrated with others."

"Not for Nothing"

And from Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle, head of the murder probe, came this comment: "We didn't book him for nothing."

Johnson — tall, personable, dressed neatly in a checked suit, white shirt, black tie and black shoes — was calm during the brief proceedings.

"Do you use drugs?" demanded

desk Lt. Ludwig Maché. "No sir," Johnson replied steadily.

He had been interrogated earlier by Assistant District Attorney Stern in the presence of defense counsel Charles Beavers. Johnson was put behind bars

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The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
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(NEWS foto by Leonard Detrick)  
Thomas 15X Johnson at police station yesterday.

pending arraignment today in Manhattan Criminal Court.

Coyle disclosed that Johnson was taken into custody at his home.

"What was his reaction?" a newsman asked.

"He was surprised," said Coyle, smiling.

When arrested on another charge two months ago, Johnson said he lived on Bryant Ave. in the Bronx.

Already held without bail were Norman 3X Butler, 26, an enforcer and a member of the Fruit of Islam, the elite bodyguard of Elijah Muhammed, the Chicago-based prophet of the movement, and Talmadge Hayer, 22.

#### Counsel Protests Delay

Hayer was shot in the leg by a bodyguard of Malcolm X as he fled the ballroom, and is in the Bellevue Hospital prison ward. Butler, held without bail, went before Criminal Court Judge Reuben Levy yesterday for pleading, but the case was put over until tomorrow at Stern's request.

Joseph B. Williams, counsel to Butler, protested heatedly at the delay and later went before Supreme Court Justice John A. Mullen. Mullen agreed to hear argument this morning on a petition for a writ of habeas corpus. Williams had claimed that Butler

had been held too long without bail or hearing.

Charges against Butler and Johnson made them co-defendants in crimes of violence for the second time in less than two months.

On Jan. 6, Benjamin 13X Brown, 31, of 635 Castle Hill Ave., Bronx, a guard at Rikers Island who had left Fruits of Islam Mosque 7 in Harlem to open his own mosque in a store at 1478 Boston Road, Bronx, was shot in the shoulder as he talked with friends outside the mosque.

#### Had Been Warned

He had been warned by former associates in the Harlem mosque not to go off on his own, but had done so anyhow.

Brown told authorities after the attack upon him that he had pulled away from the Harlem group because they were "inclined to violence" and he, personally, was a man of peace.

Much of his recruiting was among young Negro prisoners on Rikers Island.

#### Had Been Out on Bail

Butler and Johnson were arrested and indicted on felonious assault charges in the shooting of Brown and were free in bail when Malcolm X was gunned down. Butler and Johnson, in fact, were scheduled to plead to the felonious assault charge yesterday in Bronx Supreme Court, but that proceeding was adjourned until March because of the more serious charges stemming from the killing of Malcolm X.

THE NEWS established yesterday that Butler, because of the Brown assault, faced possible eviction from his home at 661 Rosedale Ave., Bronx, in Soundview Houses, a City Housing Authority development.

#### File Sent to CHA

Some days ago, Leon Malinowitz, 43, manager of the development, advised Butler that his file had been sent to CHA offices at 250 Broadway for examination.

Last Friday, Malinowitz received an anonymous phone threat that he would be killed because of the pending housing proceedings against Butler. Malinowitz advised police of the Benedict Ave., Bronx, station of the threat and he since has been under police guard. He was too upset to report for work this week and remained in seclusion at his own home.

A CHA spokesman said that housing authority proceedings against Butler would be held in abeyance until court charges against him were resolved.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## 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, 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 Butler. Butler is also a suspect in the killing of Malcolm X.

Cary Thomas Jr., a Negro in his early 20s, 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.

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."



The New York Times

**SEIZED FOR MURDER:**  
Thomas 15X Johnson after  
his arrest yesterday in the  
shooting of Malcolm X.

### Charges Called Hearsay

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.

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.

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.

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Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
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Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1/1 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 3/1/65  
Edition: LATE CITY  
Author: PETER KIHSS  
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL  
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: S-C  
or  
Classification: RU 100-399321  
Submitting Office: NYO  
☒ Being Investigated

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## 3d Suspect in Malcolm X Slaying: Police 'Didn't Book Him for Nothing'

By Newton H. Fulbright  
 Of The Herald Tribune Staff

A third suspect, a 30-year-old unemployed Negro house painter, was booked by police yesterday on charges of homicide in the slaying last month of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

The suspect, picked up after he had made an appearance in Bronx Criminal Court on an assault charge, was identified as Thomas Johnson, 30, of 932 Bronx Park South.

Booked by Lt. Ludvik Macho at the W. 100th St. station, the suspect identified himself as Thomas 15 X.

A tall, slender man with a slight mustache, the suspect spoke without emotion, giving his address and answering that he was not a user of drugs. He declined to make any of the three free telephone calls he was advised he could make, and was returned to a station house cell to await arraignment this morning in Criminal Court.

Assistant District Attorney Herbert J. Stern, who interviewed Johnson in the presence of the suspect's attorney, Charles Beavers, would say merely:

"I have ordered him booked for the homicide of Malcolm X which he perpetrated with others."

Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle said, "We didn't book him for nothing."

Beyond that, the authorities refused to say how Johnson was involved in the slaying of the controversial 39-year-old Negro leader, a defector from the Chicago-based Muslim sect headed by Elijah Muhammad.

Muhammad has denied any complicity in the Feb. 21 shooting of Malcolm X, gunned down as he arose to address a rally of his followers in the Audubon Ballroom on the upper West Side.

Immediately after the assassination, Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N.J., was arrested and charged with homicide. He was wounded in the leg by a bullet fired by one of Malcolm's bodyguards and remains in the prison ward at Bellevue Hospital.

The second suspect arrested was Norman 3X Butler, who has been described by police as a Black Muslim "enforcer."

Johnson and Butler were arrested after the shooting last Jan. 6 of Benjamin Brown, 31, a Negro corrections officer employed by the Department of Correction. Mr. Brown had broken with the Black Muslims and set up his own mosque. Struck in the shoulder, he is recovering.

Johnson and Butler were scheduled to appear in Bronx



Associated Press  
 Thomas 15X Johnson at his booking yesterday

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"As a matter of fact," the Inspector said, "we didn't know it was his home. Our detectives had been tailing him and when his wife came out they took him."

At the time Johnson was arrested for shooting the corrections officer, he gave his address at 1041 Bryant Ave., the Bronx.

When Malcolm X was slain, police suspected five persons might be involved in the assassination.

In another development, Assistant District Attorney Robert W. McKeever asked Supreme Court Justice Abraham N. Gellinoff to hold Cary Thomas jr., a Negro in his early 30s, as a material witness in the assassination. Bail was set at \$650,000. Mr. McKeever said Thomas had "vital information concerning the identity of the perpetrators." He said Thomas "was actually present in the hall."

Butler won a round in another development when Supreme Court Justice John A. Mullen signed a writ of habeas corpus calling on the District Attorney to show cause at 11 a. m. today why the suspect should not be freed. Butler, through his attorney, John B. Williams, argued that he was held on "hearsay evidence" in connection with Malcolm X's slaying.

Criminal court to plead to an indictment charging them with felonious assault in the attack on the corrections officer. Their appearance was adjourned by Bronx Supreme Court Justice William Lyman when he learned that Butler was appearing at the same time in Manhattan Supreme Court on homicide charges.

Johnson apparently went home because later Inspector Coyle told reporters Johnson was taken into custody at his home, 632 Bronx Park South.

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# Killer Accused, Muslim Overlords Here Named

## He Knew Him...

By WILLIAM McFADDEN  
 Journal-American Staff Writer

"Norman 3X is capable of shooting Malcolm X—or of doing anything else."

That was the reaction of Benjamin Brown, 31-year-old correction officer, today as he learned of the arrest of Norman 3X Butler as a suspect in the murder last Sunday of Black Nationalist leader, Malcolm X.

## ASSAULTED BY TRIO

Mr. Brown has a personal reason to believe that Norman 3X believes and practices a code of violence.

He was attacked last Jan. 6 as a defector from the Black Muslims, shot in the left shoulder and still is not back at his job on Riker's Island.

Norman 3X is one of three men charged with felonious assault in that case.

## CRITICIZED MALCOLM

Asked if he ever heard Norman 3X talk harshly of Malcolm X, Mr. Brown said:

"Most people talked harshly about Malcolm X. He and I both did."

Mr. Brown added cryptically:

"Now this is beginning to fall into place. The pieces

are beginning to come into light."

But he would not explain that further.

## BELLIGERENT TYPE

He did say, however, that he had known Norman 3X for a year, while they both were members of Fruit of Islam Mosque No. 7, the Black Muslim hall which was fire-bombed Monday.

"He was not a nice fellow to get along with," Mr. Brown said.

"He's the belligerent type. He's the type which knows all the answers. He always had to have the last say."

"As far as I knew, he was a member of the inside group at the mosque. He got outside training and he was the instructor in the art of self-defense."

"I used to go there an average of once a week. He went there all the time."

"I got him a job once, in a factory. That was last Winter. He stayed one week. Then he told me he left because the work was too hard. He's been on relief since then, I think."

After the Jan. 6 attack, Mr. Brown was admitted to Jacob Hospital, Bronx, for treatment. He now is convalescing at his home, 635 Castle Hill ave., Bronx.

The assault case, he said, has not yet come to trial.

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**Norman 3X Butler Stands Between Detectives As He's Booked**  
Journal-American Photo by  
Sheldon Gellerman

## The Accusation—and the 'Strongmen'

By DONALD R. FLYNN and GUS ENGELMAN

*Journal-American Staff Writers*

Norman 3X Butler, a Black Muslim "enforcer," was booked on a murder charge early today by police as one of the assassins of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X.

The 26-year-old Butler, of 661 Rosedale ave., Bronx, was charged at 4 a.m. today with "acting in concert" with 22-year-old Talmadge Hayer in the public murder of Malcolm X last Sunday in the Audubon Ballroom.

Butler was identified by a Black Muslim defector, Leon 4X Ameer, as one of the six top enforcers for the Black Muslims in the Metropolitan Area, and a lieutenant of Capt. Joseph X, the leader of Harlem's Muhammed Mosque No. 7 at 102 W. 116th st.

"From this list of enforcers," Leon 4X predicted, police will most likely find the other three men they want in Malcolm's killing."

The arrest of Butler came only 36 hours after Mosque No. 7 was fire-bombed to rubble in an apparent stroke of retaliation by the followers of Malcolm X.

### **Picked Up at Home**

Butler, who is unemployed and free on \$10,000 bail in another shooting case, was picked up early today at his home and questioned at the Wadsworth ave. station from 1 a.m. until 4 a.m., when he was accused of murder.

"I have ordered him booked for the homicide of Malcolm X," said Asst. Dist. Atty. Herbert Stern at that time.

Mr. Stern and Asst. Chief Insp. Joseph L. Coyle, commander of Manhattan North Detectives, refused to allow Butler to be questioned by reporters.

"This is a very important arrest," Chief Coyle said. "The case is still under investigation. If our investi-

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ration discloses that any more people are involved, we will make every effort to apprehend them."

Witnesses to the slaying at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th st. and Broadway, said there were five men in on the murder, and so three are still at-large if that report is true.

Chief Coyle said Butler "seemed surprised" when picked up at his home. The arrest was "the result of intensive investigation and of questioning many witnesses," the Inspector said.

At Butler's home, his wife, Theresa, said, "Please—I'm too upset—I have no statement to make."

Butler was free in \$10,000 bail on charges of felonious assault and Sullivan Law violation for the shooting of Correction Officer Benjamin Brown, 31, another Black Muslim defector.

Mr. Brown was shot in the right chest with a .22-caliber bullet at 11 p.m., Jan. 6, while walking on Boston rd., Bronx. Butler and two other men, both Black Muslims, were accused of the shooting.

Mr. Brown admitted that he had been a member of Black Muslim Mosque No. 7, and had tried to convert prisoners in his care on Rikers Island to the cult.

But he defected, like Malcolm X, and set up a mosque of his own at 1473 Boston rd., Bronx.

#### SHOT OVER PICTURE

He was shot, he said, both because he had defected and because he refused to take down a picture of the "prophet," Elijah Muhammad, the Chicago-based self ordained leader of the Black Muslims.

Arrested with Butler in that shooting was Thomas Johnson, 36, of 1041 Bryant ave., known as Thomas 15X in the Black Muslims. A third suspect, William Gaines, 27, of 158 N. Elliot st., Brooklyn, known as Willie 4X, is still being sought.

The Black Muslim leader of Muhammad Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, Capt. Joseph X, has insisted that his followers had nothing to do with the murder of Malcolm X or of any other beatings of defectors.

#### BEATEN IN BOSTON

But defector Leon 4X, a top lieutenant in Mosque No. 7 when Malcolm X was in command, and afterward told The Journal-American early today that Butler is one of Capt. Joseph X's lieutenants.

"He is one of the main en-

forcers," said Leon 4X. "He is a lieutenant under Capt. Joseph X, leader of New York Mosque No. 7."

Leon 4X was a Black Muslim until only two months ago when he was viciously beaten by Black Muslims enforcers on Christmas Day in Boston, and decided to defect.

Leon 4X was sent by Malcolm X to form a Black Muslim mosque in New Haven when he was still in the fold, and:

"Norman 3X (Butler) was the one I assigned to take over the teaching of karate at Mosque No. 7 when I left for New Haven," he said. "He's very skilled in karate. I know—I taught him."

Leon 4X also said that Thomas 15X, one of the men accused of shooting officer Brown, is also a lieutenant under Capt. Joseph X.

Thomas 15X, Norman 3X and another Black Muslim "enforcer," Edward 15X, are all lieutenants under Capt. Joseph X, and together they command the Black Muslims in the Bronx, said Leon 4X.

Other "top lieutenants" are Clarence X in Brooklyn, the "top enforcer" and next in-line to Capt. Joseph X; Alvin X in Queens, Robert 19X in Manhattan, and Louis 11X in New Rochelle, he said.

All but Louis X are enforcers.

He also asked how Butler, who has no job and no money, could have gone free in \$10,000 bail.

"Now where did he get that money?" Leon 4X asked. "The Black Muslims gave it to him. They have unlimited money."

Butler was jailed in the W. 54th st. station overnight, and was to be arraigned today in Criminal Court.

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REC 20

## Suspects' Wives Yield & Talk to Mal X Jury

The wives of two Black Muslims accused of assassinating Malcolm X complied with a judge's order yesterday and testified briefly before a grand jury investigating the killing.

On Thursday, they refused to testify, claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment. Supreme Court Justice Abraham J. Gellinoff then ordered them to talk or have "severe consequences."

### Told to Keep Available

The women were Mrs. Etta X Johnson, whose husband, Thomas 15X, was arrested Wednesday, and Mrs. Theresa X Butler, whose husband, Norman 3X, was seized Feb. 26.

The wives were told to keep themselves available for further jury appearances.

The case against the men was adjourned yesterday in Criminal Court until Monday. A third defendant, Talmadge Hayer, is in Bellevue Hospital's prison ward. He was shot during the slaying of Malcolm X.

MRS Thomas X Johnson

MRS Norman X Butler

ALL N.Y.

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### WIVES OF SUSPECTS TESTIFY IN SLAYING

The wives of two suspects in the murder of Malcolm X bowed to the orders of Supreme Court Justice Abraham J. Gellinoff yesterday and testified before the grand jury.

On Thursday the two women, Mrs. Etta 2X Johnson and Mrs. Theresa 7X Butler, declined to answer all questions although they had been granted immunity from prosecution. The two invoked the confidentiality of communications between husbands and wives.

They were returned to the courtroom later, however, where Justice Gellinoff told them this referred only to certain private conversations and acts.

The justice directed the women to answer the questions of Assistant District Attorney Herbert Stern as to the times their husbands left home and returned on Feb. 21, when Malcolm X was fatally shot.

Earlier, the hearing for the two suspects, Thomas 15X Johnson, 30 years old, and Norman 3X Butler, 26, reputedly a muscleman for the Black Muslim sect with which Malcolm X had broken, was adjourned until Monday in Criminal Court.

A third suspect, Talmadge Hayer, 22, was shot during the assassination and is in the Bellevue Hospital prison ward.

Black Muslim guards told the police in Phoenix, Ariz., in another development yesterday, that two shots had been fired at the home of Elijah Muhammad, the sect's leader, who was in Chicago.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

10 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 3/6/65  
Edition: LATE CITY  
Author:  
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL  
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE, aka SM-NOI  
Character: BU#100-399321  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: NYO  
☒ Being Investigated

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ENCLOSURE

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## Mal's Widow Before Jury

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, widow of murdered black nationalist leader Malcolm X, appeared for 20 minutes yesterday before the New York County grand jury investigating the slaying.

She refused comment afterward, but an attorney accompanying her said she had been asked "only technical questions."

"She's very much upset," he added. "She's mostly concerned, as regards the future, about her four children, and she's expecting another. She is seeking a home and trying to plan for their education."

MALCOLM X. LITTLE

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 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
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UPI-217

(MALCOLM X)

NEW YORK--A NEW YORK COUNTY GRAND JURY TODAY INDICTED THREE MEN ON FIRST-DEGREE MURDER CHARGES IN THE FEB. 21 ASSASSINATION OF BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X. APPROX.

TWO OF THOSE INDICTED--NORMAN ~~IX~~ BUTLER, 26, AND THOMAS ~~IX~~ JOHNSON, 30--HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED BY POLICE AS "ENFORCERS" FOR THE BLACK MUSLIM MOVEMENT, WHICH CUSTED MALCOLM BEFORE HE SET UP HIS OWN ORGANIZATION. APPROX.

THE THIRD PERSON NAMED IN THE INDICTMENT WAS TALMADGE HAYER, ALIAS THOMAS HAGEN, 22. HAYER WAS WOUNDED AT THE ASSASSINATION SCENE, THE AUDUBON BALLROOM IN UPPER MANHATTAN, AND POLICE ATTRIBUTED THE SHOOTING TO ONE OF MALCOLM'S BODYGUARDS, REUBEN FRANCIS, THE BODYGUARD HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH FELONIOUS ASSAULT.

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UPI-33

(MUSLIMS)

NEW YORK--THREE NEGROES WERE INDICTED YESTERDAY BY A GRAND JURY FOR THE SLAYING OF BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X AND A FOURTH, MALCOLM'S BODYGUARD, FOR SHOOTING AND WOUNDING ONE OF THE ALLEGED ASSASSINS.

NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 26, AND THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 30--WHO HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED BY POLICE AS BLACK MUSLIM "ENFORCES"--AND TALMADGE THAYER, ALIAS THOMAS HAGEN, 22, WERE CHARGED WITH FIRST DEGREE MURDER FOR ALLEGEDLY KILLING MALCOLM X. LITTLE

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## Minneapolis, Bay Area Hold Memorial Meetings

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 27 — A memorial meeting for Malcolm X was held here last night, sponsored by the Friday Night Socialist Forum. Mike Garza reviewed the development of Malcolm X into one of the world's outstanding revolutionary leaders. The meeting was well attended in spite of the worst snowstorm of the year.

At the end of the meeting, the audience contributed more than \$40 to Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabazz, and sent her a message of sympathy.

SAN FRANCISCO — The Militant Labor Forum held a memorial meeting for Malcolm X here March 5. A deeply moved audience of about 70 heard a tape-recording of a speech Malcolm X gave at the New York Militant Labor Forum last January.

At the conclusion of the tape, Asher Harer, chairman of the meeting, called for a minute of silence and the people present stood to honor the memory of Malcolm X. Clyde Carter and Aaron Chapman of the Freedom Now Party paid special tribute to Malcolm X.

Because of the interest in this program, the San Francisco Militant Labor Forum decided to play other tapes of Malcolm X the following two Friday evenings.

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**THE MILITANT**  
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## **3 Indicted** **Slaying of** **Malcolm X**

NEW YORK, March 11 (UPI) —  
 A New York county grand jury  
 yesterday indicted three men of  
 first-degree murder charges in  
 the Feb. 21 assassination of  
 black nationalist leader Malcolm  
 X.

Two of those indicted —  
 Norman Butler, 26, and  
 Thomas Johnson, 30 — have  
 been described by police as  
 "enforcers" for the Black  
 Muslim movement, which  
 ousted Malcolm before he set up  
 his own organization.

The third person named in the  
 indictment was Talmadge  
 Hayer, Alias Thomas Hagen, 22.  
 Mr. Hayer was wounded at the  
 assassination scene, the the  
 Audubon ballroom in Upper  
 Manhattan, and police attrib-  
 uted the shooting to one of  
 Malcolm's bodyguards, Reuben  
 Francis. The bodyguard has  
 been charged with felonious  
 assault.

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# MALCOLM

By George Breitman

On the second of two installments of the text of a speech delivered at the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit on March 5, 1964.]

Next is the question of race. Here Malcolm made a very pronounced change in his thinking. Partly through the influence of Islam, a religion which views and treats all races alike, and partly through his contact with revolutionaries in many countries, he threw overboard the whole Black Muslim mythology about superior and inferior races and its doctrine about inherent evil and degeneracy in a white skin.

Repudiating racism in all forms, he resolved to judge men and movements on the basis of their deeds, not their color or race. Deeds, not words; and he was pretty shrewd about distinguishing between the two, as in the case of white liberals (or black liberals, for that matter). He developed an historical approach to racism. He knew American whites had been conditioned, miseducated and infected on race worse than most European whites, for example, and he remained more on guard with Americans. He distinguished in similar way between the older and younger white generations in America.

When Young Socialist Alliance leaders interviewed him and asked what he considered to be the cause of race prejudice, he didn't give anything resembling the Black Muslim position. "Ignorance and greed," he replied. A scientific socialist of any race might turn the three words around, saying "Greed and ignorance," and might expand on the theme at greater length, but would not say anything essentially different. "You can't have capitalism without racism," he said on an earlier occasion.

Malcolm had been abroad before his break with Muhammad, but only briefly, carrying out assignments for Muhammad, not on his own. But after the break in 1964 he traveled to and through Africa and the Middle East twice, spending almost half of his remaining life abroad — studying, searching, discussing, learning, seeking help and giving it. And when he returned he was not just a sympathizer of the colonial revolution, but a staunch internationalist, on the side of the oppressed and exploited masses of the world against their oppressors and exploiters, whose central fountainhead he recognized to be U.S. imperialism, the dominant force in what he called the international power structure. No one in the world denounced the U.S. role in the Congo more forcefully and effectively.

One purpose of his trip was, of course, to mobilize African support behind the project to put the U.S. government on trial in the United Nations for the con-

tinued oppression of American Negroes, with which he had limited success. But the State Department credited him, or rather blamed him, for a good part of the strong stand against U.S. imperialism taken by African nations in the UN at the time of the latest atrocities in the Congo. As he knew, the CIA and similar agencies take an interest in what the State Department doesn't like. Those who heard him in Detroit the week before his murder knew about his hope to unite the many millions of the oppressed in Latin America and the Caribbean together with their Afro-American brothers and sisters against their common exploiter.

So he was simultaneously broadening his horizons and serving in on American imperialism — this product of the segregated, locked-in ghetto who broke through and over the walls of national boundary and race to become an internationalist, this internationalist who admired John Kilgore's definition of a patriot: "Dignity was his country, Manhood was his government, and Freedom was his land."

In the area of political action Malcolm was also far ahead of the Black Muslims. That didn't take much doing, since they abstain from politics. He favored Negroes organizing politically and running and electing their own candidates, and driving out of office black stooges of the major parties. He participated in a Harlem conference on independent political action two months before his death.

But his position on politics was largely general. He said he found some good in what the Freedom Now Party was doing, and while he was in Africa last summer he briefly gave consideration to an offer that he run on the Michigan FNP ticket for the U.S. Senate; he decided instead to remain in Africa longer. However, he never affiliated with the FNP, for reasons not discussed publicly; maybe he thought the FNP was premature or launched without sufficient groundwork on too narrow a base.

But while his thinking on politics was still in a process of development, and uncompleted, there was nothing general or tentative about his attitude to the capitalist parties and the two-party system. To him they were both enemies of the Negro people, currently as well as historically, and neither merited an iota of support from Negroes. He had nothing but contempt for the Communist Party's support of Johnson in 1964.

While he did not endorse Clinton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, he did attack both of DeBerry's major opponents; and in his own way made it easier for DeBerry to get a hearing from Harlem audiences, thus indicating a necessary

of sympathy. He said he would be willing under certain conditions to consider running as an independent candidate for mayor of New York against the Democratic and Republican candidates in 1968. In terms of the political spectrum he stood on the radical side, although he had not reached strong conclusions about how to organize independent black political power.

The speech Malcolm had started to make when he was shot down was to deal with the program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, and of the militant black movement generally. We know that he had been thinking about the question of "alliances," the question of the independent Negro movement's relations with other forces in the country, and that he had circulated among other OAAU leaders literature dealing with some aspects of this subject.

Even if we did not know that, it would be logical to assume that he would touch on this question, because no organization defines itself and justifies its own program and perspectives without simultaneously defining its relations to its own allies and its friends, present or potential. Now we may never know where his thinking had led him on this point, and can only speculate. But even speculation can be oriented by some definite facts.

At his first press conference last March, Malcolm had this to say on the question of alliances:

Made for Unity

"Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers' solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We cannot talk of uniting with others, until we have first united among ourselves."

Then, pointing out at that time, is not the statement of a man claiming that black and white working-class solidarity is unnecessary, or that it is impossible. On the contrary, it is the statement of a man explaining one of the conditions through which workers' solidarity may be achieved on a broad and durable basis. And if I may quote myself for one more sentence, I noted:

"Revolutionary socialists will certainly agree [with Malcolm] that a meaningful and mutually beneficial labor-Negro alliance will not be forged until the Negro people are organized independently and strongly enough, numerically and ideologically, to assure that their interests cannot be subordinated or sold out by the other partners or partners in any alliance."

The subject must have come up often during his subsequent travels abroad, where his ideas were strongly influenced during his last year. But he stuck to his position. When he spoke at a Militant Labor Forum panel in New York last May, he said:

"In my recent travels into the African countries and others, it was impressed upon me the importance of having a working unity among all peoples, black as well as white. But the only way this is going to be brought about is the Negroes have to be in unity first."

So far as I have been able to learn, that remained Malcolm's position to the end. He was not opposed to alliances with other forces, including labor, provided they were the right kinds of alliances and provided, the Negro part of the alliance was independently organized, so that it could guard against betrayal by being able to pull out of any alliance that went bad.

There is no doubt whatever in my mind that Malcolm would have favored an independent mass

# X: THE MAN

black movement making alliances with a radicalized mass labor movement when conditions produced two such components for an alliance. I have no doubt about it because he was willing, even now, in the absence of two such mass movements, to collaborate with radical whites under certain conditions. A man willing to collaborate with numerically weak radical forces, as I will try to show. Malcolm was, would have to be out of his mind not to collaborate with mass radical forces. And whatever the N.Y. Times and Muhammad Speaks say, Malcolm was not out of his mind.

Next let us consider briefly Malcolm's attitudes to capitalism and socialism. In the Young Socialist interview he stated:

"It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture... and can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves from capitalism has less and less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely."

Marxists might question whether capitalism will collapse, or have to be collapsed, but who can question that in his last months Malcolm was taking an unequivocally anti-capitalist position?

Malcolm did not learn about socialism by reading Marx, but he managed to learn about it anyway. He learned about it from the colonial revolution, especially its pro-socialist contingent. He had discussions with Castro and Che Guevara and Algerian socialists and socialists in Ghana, Guinea, Zanzibar, and elsewhere, including the United States. When he was asked last May at the Militant Labor Forum what kind of political system he wanted, he said: "I don't know. But I'm flexible. As was stated earlier, all of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning towards socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America and it's impossible for a white person today to believe in racism and not believe in capitalism without racism. And if you find a person without racism and you happen to get that person into conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism."

## DeBerry's View

Clifton DeBerry was sitting on the same platform, and took the floor to comment on when and where flexibility was correct: in tactics, yes, but not in relation to the principle that the capitalist system and capitalist parties are enemies of freedom, justice and equality. To which Malcolm replied: "And that's the most intelligent answer I've ever heard on that question."

So I think it fair to say that the legacy of Malcolm is not only plainly anti-capitalist but also pro-socialist. I do not say he was a Marxist — he wasn't — and we can only guess if in his further evolution he would have become one, as Castro did in his later development. But that clearly can be reckoned as a possibility.

A few words about Malcolm's relations with the revolutionary socialists, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The record is plain about our attitude to Malcolm. We regarded him as one of the most gifted and important leaders of the struggle



GREETINGS. Malcolm X (left) and Clifton DeBerry exchange greetings at opening of Militant Labor Forum symposium last May on police-inspired Harlem "hate-gang" hoax. In center is Quentin Rand of Harlem Action Group.

while he was still a Black Muslim. When he started his own movement, we called it a momentous development that might turn the struggle onto the road to victory, and publicly pledged our aid in the job he was undertaking. For this we got abuse and condemnation from so-called radicals and liberals; our white members were called "white black nationalists" and other names because we supported Malcolm's movement. All this was long before he had said a single word favorable to socialism, and when the image of him in most so-called radical minds was of a man who would rather die than have anything to do with whites, even revolutionary whites.

On the other side was Malcolm's attitude to us. As a Black Muslim he used to buy *The Militant* when it was sold outside his rallies. He later said that even then he urged Negroes to read it. Less than a month after his break with Muhammad, he spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in New York, and publicly praised *The Militant* for telling the truth and wished it success. He spoke for the Militant Labor Forum another two times during the next nine months, after each of his trips abroad. He wasn't even scheduled to speak the second time: His secretary, James Shabazz, was to be part of a panel, but Malcolm phoned and asked if he would be acceptable in James Shabazz's place; and of course he was.

At most of the OAAU rallies he would put in a plug for *The Militant*, without any solicitation on our part. He smoothed the way for it to be sold at Harlem stands and shops. In January, when he gave his interview to the Young Socialist, he discussed with the YSA leaders the probability of his making a tour of the nation's campuses in collaboration with the YSA later this year. He would almost surely have spoken here at Debs Hall for the Friday Night Socialist Forum while making that tour. Black SWP and YSA members were welcome to join his organization; whites associated with *The Militant* were welcome to attend OAAU rallies.

So our relations were friendly and mutually helpful. On our part, because we believed that he and we were on the same side in the struggle, had the same enemies and were traveling in the same direction. In our 1963 convention resolution, the Socialist Workers Party had stated that black nationalism and revolutionary socialism "are not only compatible but complementary forces, that should be welded close together in thought and action." We resented that would happen, and so far as Malcolm and we were con-

cerned, it was beginning to happen.

On his part, I think, collaboration was taking place because he felt that we, unlike the liberals, unlike the Communist Party, unlike the Socialist Party, unlike most white radicals, did not want to subordinate his movement or the Negro struggle generally to the government, to the Democratic Party to the American labor bureaucrats, to the privileged bureaucrats in non-capitalist countries, or to anyone else; and that we did and do want the Negro movement to attain full independence of program and action and to develop uninterruptedly in an uncompromisingly militant direction along the lines that best suit its needs.

Once Malcolm was convinced of that, and of our sincerity, as evidenced by our readiness to stick by our principles, however unpopular they might be, there was no bar to our collaboration. I want to stress that he would have taken this attitude to any militant group, even non-socialist, provided it was, in its own way, independent of the government and opposed to racism.

Let us now conclude this discussion of Malcolm's ideas during the last year of his life by examining his positions on black nationalism and separatism. This is important because some political opponents of Malcolm already are circulating distorted stories about him, alleging that he was on the verge of quitting his movement, going over to his opponents, etc. And important also because there may be some ambiguity about his relation to black nationalism as a result of a statement in his interview in the current issue of *Young Socialist*.

Black nationalism and separatism are not the same thing, though unfortunately they are often confused. Separatism is a tendency favoring the withdrawal of Negroes into a separate black nation, either in America or in Africa. Black nationalism is a tendency for Negroes to unite as a group, as a people, in organizations that are Negro-led and Negro-controlled, and sometimes allied, in order to fight for their freedom. Black nationalism, as it now exists, does not imply any position on the question of a separate nation in the future, for or against. So you can be a black nationalist without being a separatist, although all separatists are black nationalists.

You will find a much better and longer analysis of this greatly misunderstood distinction in the Socialist Workers Party's 1963 convention resolution, *Freedom Now: The New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation*, from the Publishers.

# AND HIS IDEAS

When Malcolm was a Black Muslim, he was of course a separatist. At his first press conference after leaving the Black Muslims last March, he said he was out to build a black nationalist movement, and the major stress was on black nationalism. But he also had a few words to say about separatism. He said he still thought separation was "the best solution"; previously he would have said the only solution. "But," he continued, "separation back to Africa is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs right now." (His emphasis.)

At the time I took this to be a declaration of his intention to build a black nationalist movement that would attempt to unite the Negro people in a fight for immediate needs, while at the same time continuing to hold up separation as a nation as an ultimate objective, and to make propaganda for it accordingly. But I was obviously wrong, because after that statement last March I cannot find any place where Malcolm advocated a separate nation. And on May 21, a few hours after returning from his first trip to Africa, when he was asked at a press conference if he thought Negroes should return to Africa, he said he thought they should stay and fight in the United States for what is rightfully theirs.

Perhaps he thought a separate nation, while desirable, was so far off there was no use talking about it. Perhaps he thought it was a divisive issue impeding black unity. Or perhaps he no longer thought it desirable. In any case, he stopped being a separatist at the time of his meeting with the Black Muslims, or soon after.

What about his position on black nationalism? Someone called him a nationalist, friend and foe, and there was no question about it until a few weeks ago. Then he was asked, in the Young Socialist interview, "How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?"

## Previous View

He began his answer by saying, "I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth." That is, he used to define it in the traditional way, as I tried to do a few minutes ago.

The second paragraph of Malcolm's reply, which you can read for yourselves in the Young Socialist, relates a discussion he had with a white Algerian revolutionary he met in Ghana last May who sought to convince Malcolm that his self-designation as a black nationalist tended to alienate people "who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary." His third and final paragraph was:

"So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country."

Please notice: He was reappraising his definition of black nationalism and wondering if it can be summed up as the solution; he had stopped using the term, but he had not yet been able to find another definition for the philosophy necessary for black liberation. Now let me offer what I think is the explanation for all this.

Malcolm had been a black nationalist — it was the starting point for all his thinking, the source of his strength and dynamism. And he remained a black nationalist to his last hour, however uncertain he was about what to call himself or the program he was trying to formulate. It would be a bad mistake to mix up what he was with what he thought might be a better name for what he was.

The most urgent need of the Negro people is still the mobilization and unification of the Negro masses into an independent movement to fight for their freedom. Black nationalism is still highly progressive because it contributes to that process by the creation of that kind of movement.

But black nationalism is a means, not the end; it is a means, but not the only means; it is probably an indispensable means toward the solution but it is not the whole solution. It helps to build an independent movement, but it does not necessarily provide the program that will lead such a movement to victory.

## Two types

In a series of articles last summer, now being collected in a Pioneer Publishers pamphlet called *Marxism and the Negro Struggle*, I tried to clarify some questions about black nationalism by noting that there are at least two types of black nationalist.

One is the put-and-simple black nationalist. He's concerned exclusively or primarily with the internal problems of the Negro community, with organizing it, helping it to control the economy of the community, the politics of the community. It is not so concerned with the problems of the total American society or with the nature of the total society within which the Negro community exists. He has no "big" or "small" program for changing that society; for him that's the white man's problem.

Now Malcolm was not that kind of black nationalist, or if he was a year ago, he did not remain that. As he discussed with people in Africa, in the Near East, at the United Nations and in the United States, as he studied and thought and learned, he began to become a black nationalist plus. Plus what? I have already given you many quotations from his speeches and interviews showing that as he studied the economy, the nature of the political and social system of American capitalism, as he developed greater and keener understanding of how this system functions and how the ruling class rules and how racism is a component and instrument of the rule, he came more and more to the conclusion that not only must the Negro control his own community, but that radical change has to be made in the society as a whole if the Negroes are to achieve their freedom.

Black nationalism, yes. But the solution cannot be summed up as only black nationalism. Needed is black nationalism plus fundamental social change; black nationalism plus the transformation of the entire society. Whatever difficulty Malcolm may have had in finding the right name, what he was becoming was black nationalism plus revolution. (The Young Socialist interview shows that he had great respect for that word.)

There are really only three ways in which it is possible to think of the Negro people getting freedom and equality.

One way (notice I said to get about getting freedom) is the gradualism; peaceful reform a little bit now and a little bit ten years from now. Freedom Now, but Freedom, as we which for purposes either is now alive, means free to choose. This is the program Johnson, Reuther, &

and Rustin. Malcolm, as we know, flatly rejected this approach.

The second way is through separation, through migration to Africa, or through obtaining part of what is now the United States. Malcolm, as I indicated, had turned away from this approach, whatever his reasons may have been for doing so.

The third way — and I repeat there are only these three ways, there are no other — is through the revolutionary reorganization of society, by basically changing the economy, political structure, laws and educational system, and by replacing the present capitalist ruling class with a new government instituted by the forces that are opposed to racism and determined to uproot it.

From the quotations I read you before about what Malcolm was saying about capitalism and socialism and racism, it is clear that Malcolm tended to favor this third approach, or at least had his eyes turned in that direction. He wasn't sure if it could be done, and he wasn't sure how it could be done, but he was thinking about it and how it fitted into the program and activity of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

This, I believe, correctly explains his uncertainty about what to call himself. He was a black nationalist plus, a black nationalist plus a social revolutionist, or in the process of becoming one.

Socialists should be the last to be surprised at such a development. We have for some time been stressing the tendency of nationalism to grow over into and become merged with socialism; we have seen just that transformation occur in Cuba with Castro and his movement, which began as nationalist. We have argued against many opponents that the logical outcome of black nationalism in a country like ours is

to reach the most advanced, most radical social and political conclusions. That is why we have advocated and predicted that black nationalists and revolutionary socialists can, should and will find ways of working together.

Malcolm's uncertainty about the right name arises from the fact that he was doing something new — he was on the road to a synthesis of black nationalism and socialism that would be fitting for the American scene and acceptable to the masses in the black ghetto. He did not complete the synthesis before he was murdered. It remains for others to complete what he was beginning.

Now he is dead, taken from us at what might have been the most important and fruitful year of his life.

Let us not deceive ourselves. It was a stunning blow, as Frank Lovell said at last week's memorial meeting of the Afro-American Broadcasting Co., it was a stunning blow to the Negro people and to those white Americans who want to eradicate the system that breeds racism. Men like Malcolm do not appear often, or in great numbers. The enemies of human progress benefit from his death; the fighters for human progress are weakened and hurt by it.

But a stunning blow to the struggle does not destroy the struggle. Malcolm will not easily be replaced. But he will be replaced. The capitalist system breeds not only racism, but rebels against racism, especially among the youth. Malcolm cannot be replaced overnight, but meanwhile we all can and should strive harder, work harder, fight harder, unite more closely to try to fill the gap left by the death of this man we loved, and give help and encouragement to those destined to replace him.

**Page Six**

## THE MILK

## REPORT FROM ALGERIA

# African Reactions to Malcolm X's

**By Henri Dumoulin**

**ALGIERS** — In the course of his recent visits to a number of African capitals, the American Black nationalist leader, Malcolm X, gained much sympathy in militant African circles. Two weeks before his assassination, for example, in its issue of Feb. 13, 1965, the Algerian weekly *Révolution Africaine* devoted a double-page center spread to an article entitled "Roads to Liberty: Rev. Martin Luther King or Malcolm X." The article reads, in part:

"Parallel with the intensification of the pacifist struggle for civil rights in the South, a militant spirit has, for some time now, animated the struggle of the black communities in the ghettos of the North. The unemployed youth are demanding their rights to justice and to jobs. In Harlem, the tenants of the overcrowded slums are conducting rent strikes. The traditional integrationist leaders, regarded as too moderate, are less and less followed by black workers who swell the ranks of nationalist organizations . . . and state their intention of using violence, if necessary, to defend themselves against the violence of the racists. The idea of a sustained struggle against the oppression of the rich whites — who completely dominate the economic life of the black ghettos and exploit its inhabitants — is spreading fast.

"Uneasy in the face of this upsurge of militant feeling, New York's officialdom has imposed a virtual police reign of terror on Harlem, while the press whips up a campaign of racist hate . . .

"Fearing above all that the oppressed black masses will be won to revolutionary socialist ideas, the municipal authorities reinforce their oppressive measures."

and *Revolution Africaine* concluded its article as follows: "The black people of the United States are descendants of the slaves brought from Africa in chains and they are still, today, a colonized and super-exploited people within the very bosom of American society. Objectively, the struggle against discrimination and racism is a struggle against the entire structure — the economic and political organization — of the



## Malcolm X

United States, and a struggle for  
a new social order.

"The struggle of American Negroes for equality and justice is thus part of the great world movement against imperialism and the exploitation of man by man. American Negroes have already begun to be aware of their kinship with all the world's oppressed and feel themselves more and more in solidarity with all peoples marching toward liberty and fulfillment of their potential as human beings."

In the light of such an article, one can imagine the feelings of the most clear-sighted and informed African militants at the news of the assassination of Malcolm X. They immediately recognized the hand of Yankee imperialism behind the hands of the assassins.

The Algerian daily, *Le Peuple*, headlined its issue of Feb. 27: "The weakness of the American authorities is at the root of the assassination of Malcolm X."

In a number of African capitals, there was a wave of protests over the assassination — from Accra, where it was declared that the black people of America would not be discouraged but would battle on to the end, to Cairo, where

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## REPORT FROM ALGERIA

## African Reactions to Malcolm X's Death

By Henri Dumezil

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In the light of such an article, one can imagine the feelings of the most clear-sighted and informed African militants at the news of the assassination of Malcolm X. They immediately recognized the hand of Yankee imperialism behind the hands of the assassins.

The Algerian daily, *Le Peuple*, headlined its issue of Feb. 27: "The weakness of the American authorities is at the root of the assassination of Malcolm X."

In a number of African capitals, there was a wave of protests over the assassination — from Accra, where it was declared that the black people of America would not be discouraged but would bet to the end, to Cairo, where

various East African nationalist movements, including that of Bebutoland, condemned this assassination.

The Secretary of the Union Syndicale Pan-Africaine (Pan-African Labor Union) declared that the brutal murder of Malcolm X would give impetus to the development of the Afro-American struggle.

*Jeune Afrique* (Young Africa), the weekly published in Tunis, carried an article by its New York correspondent, Simon Malley, which said:

"It was difficult on this Sunday night of the day in which Malcolm was struck down, this night of Feb. 21, to find a single Negro in the streets of Harlem for whom the assassination of the leader of the Organization of Afro-American Unity did not seem to be the result of a big conspiracy — a conspiracy to which neither the New York police nor the FBI were strangers."

"For over five hours I interviewed more than 50 Negroes in the black ghettos of New York, old and young, men and women. All agreed that, even taking into consideration the direct responsibility of the rival organization of Elijah Muhammad, the murder of Malcolm X took place in circumstances sufficiently strange to excite grave suspicions as to the role of the white law-enforcement authorities and security agents of the country."

The March 6 issue of *Revolutions Africaines* again devoted a big article to the death of Malcolm X:

"Malcolm X was no more nor less than a fearless nationalist and revolutionist, spokesman of an oppressed people whom he wanted to lead on the difficult road of liberation."

"That is why the American imperialists saw in him the champion of Afro-American liberation and a particularly dangerous enemy."

"In his struggle against American racism, Malcolm X did not hesitate to internationalize the question and seek the support of all the forces in the world opposed to U.S. imperialism."

"This concept was of inestimable political and moral value for the struggle of the Negro people in

## Services in Indonesia for Malcolm X

William Worthy reporting from Indonesia in the March 13 *Baltimore Afro-American*, says: "In response to an appeal by Indonesia's minister of religious affairs, this country's many mosques conducted on Friday special prayer services commemorating Malcolm X."

"This very weekend Malcolm had been expected to arrive here to attend the week-long Afro-Asian Islamic Conference which President Sukarno opened in Bandung Saturday morning."

"Malcolm's militancy and his identification with what Sukarno calls the new emerging forces had caught the imagination of this strongly anti-colonial Muslim nation."

"Since his death the press here has carried a running account of the . . . murder's repercussions in the colored and white communities."

Worthy also reports that in recent seizures of U.S.-owned companies, peasant unions cited Malcolm's murder as one of the reasons for the take-overs.

the U.S., and it filled them with a new militancy, a new dynamic spirit.

"Another aspect of Malcolm X's political thought which made him particularly dangerous, in the eyes of the ruling circles of the U.S., was his categorical affirmation of the absolute right of Negroes to defend themselves against the violence and brutality from which they suffer daily."

"A 'respectable' and purely non-violent struggle, such as that led by the Rev. Martin Luther King in the South, does not seriously

disturb the 'stability' of American society."

"But proclaiming the right of self-defense against that society founded on violence and cemented by blood struck terror into the hearts of the defenders of the status quo."

In recognizing the correctness of the advanced positions taken by Malcolm X, *Revolutions Africaines* thus becomes the spokesman of the most politically-developed African militants in paying fitting homage to the great American black nationalist leader.

## 200 Demonstrate in London Over Murder of Malcolm X

Over 200 people took part in a demonstration in London protesting the assassination of Malcolm X. The demonstration was called by the Council of African Organizations.

"Malcolm X regarded the use of force in self-defense where violence is unleashed against the Negro's demands for freedom and for human rights as justifiable only because the hand that prevented them had been unamenable to negotiation and peaceful demands," said a statement issued by the Council. "He had little faith in those who, while breaking his head with a cudgel, exhorted him to be passive and love them. Malcolm X aimed essentially at the forging of stronger links between Negroes in America, Africans and all oppressed peoples in Asia and Latin America, and that is precisely why he was murdered . . .

"The Council of African Organizations, representing over 40,000 youth and students in Britain, and the Union of African Students in Europe, are shocked

and angered by this savage assassination by the agents of U.S. imperialism of our nationalist leader and militant fighter for Afro-American freedom, human rights and dignity. We express solidarity with his aims and work, which no act of brutality can undermine or obliterate. We are determined to continue his just struggle by which the rights of Afro-American people will be secured and human dignity established."

## Slate New York Benefit For Malcolm X's Family

NEW YORK — The Students Against Social Injustice, a local youth organization, will hold a benefit folk-song concert with the proceeds going to the widow and children of Malcolm X.

The concert will be held on Saturday afternoon, April 10, 3 p.m., at Christ Church, 344 West 38th St. (Between Eighth and Ninth Avenues.) Contribution is \$1.

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# INTERVIEW

## WITH

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The following interview was given by Malcolm X to YOUNG SOCIALIST editorial board members Jack Barnes and Barry Sheppard early this year.

*What image of you has been projected by the press?*

Well, the press has purposely and skillfully projected me in the image of a racist, a race supremacist, and an extremist.

*What's wrong with this image? What do you really stand for?*

First, I'm not a racist. I'm against every form of racism and segregation, every form of discrimination. I believe in human beings, and that all human beings should be respected as such, regardless of their color.

*Why did you break with the Black Muslims?*

I didn't break, there was a split. The split came about primarily because they put me out, and they put me out because of my uncompromising approach to problems I thought should be solved and the movement could solve.

I felt the movement was dragging its feet in many areas. It didn't involve itself in the civil or civic or political struggles our people were confronted by. All it did was stress the importance of moral reformation—don't drink, don't smoke, don't permit fornication and adultery. When I found that the hierarchy itself wasn't practicing what it preached, it was clear that this part of its program was bankrupt.

So the only way it could function and be meaningful in the community was to take part in the political and economic facets of the Negro struggle. And the organization wouldn't do that because the

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~~stand~~ it would have to take would have been too militant, uncompromising and activist, and the hierarchy had gotten conservative. It was motivated mainly by protecting its own self interests. I might also point out that although the Black Muslim movement professed to be a religious group, the religion they had adopted—Islam—didn't recognize them. So, religiously it was in a vacuum. And it didn't take part in politics, so it was not a political group. When you have an organization that's neither political nor religious and doesn't take part in the civil rights struggle, what can it call itself? It's in a vacuum. So, all of these factors led to my splitting from the organization.

*What are the aims of your new organization?*

There are two organizations—there's the Muslim Mosque, Inc., which is religious. Its aim is to create an atmosphere and facilities in which people who are interested in Islam can get a better understanding of Islam. The aim of the other organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, is to use whatever means necessary to bring about a society in which the 22 million Afro-Americans are recognized and respected as human beings.

*How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?*

I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth.

But, when I was in Africa in May, in Ghana, I was speaking with the Algerian ambassador who is extremely militant and is a revolutionary in the true sense of the word (and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful revolution

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against oppression in his country). When I told him that my political, social and economic philosophy was black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well, where did that leave him? Because he was white. He was an African, but he was Algerian, and to all appearances, he was a white man. And he said if I define my objective as the victory of black nationalism, where does that leave him? Where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania? So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary.

So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country.

*Is it true, as is often said, that you favor violence?*

I don't favor violence. If we could bring about recognition and respect of our people by peaceful means, well and good. Everybody would like to reach his objectives peacefully. But I'm also a realist. The only people in this country who are asked to be non-violent are black people. I've never heard anybody go to the Ku Klux Klan and teach them non-violence, or to the Birch society and other right-wing elements. Non-violence is only preached to black Americans and I don't go along with anyone who wants to teach our people non-violence until someone at the same time is teaching our enemy to be non-violent. I believe we should protect ourselves by any means necessary when we are attacked by racists.

*What do you think is responsible for race prejudice in the U.S.?*

Ignorance and greed. And a skillfully designed program of miseducation that goes right along with the American system of exploitation and oppression.

If the entire American population were properly educated—by properly educated, I mean given a true picture of the history and contributions of the black man—I think many whites would be less racist in their feelings. They would have more respect for the black man as a human being. Knowing what the black man's contributions to science and civilization have been in the past, the white man's feelings of superiority would be at least partially negated. Also, the feeling of inferiority that the black man has would be replaced by a bal-

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anced knowledge of himself. He'd feel more like a human being. He'd function more like a human being, in a society of human beings.

So it takes education to eliminate it. And just because you have colleges and universities, doesn't mean you have education. The colleges and universities in the American educational system are skillfully used to miseducate.

*What were the highlights of your trip to Africa?*

I visited Egypt, Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar (now Tanzania), Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Guinea and Algeria. During that trip I had audiences with President Nasser of Egypt, President Nyerere of Tanzania, President Jomo Kenyatta (who was then Prime Minister) of Kenya, Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda, President Azikiwe of Nigeria, President Nkrumah of Ghana, and President Sekou Toure of Guinea. I think the highlights were the audiences I had with those persons because it gave me a chance to sample their thinking. I was impressed by their analysis of the problem, and many of the suggestions they gave went a long way toward broadening my own outlook.

*How much influence does revolutionary Africa have on the thinking of black people in this country?*

All the influence in the world. You can't separate the militancy that's displayed on the African continent from the militancy that's displayed right here among American blacks. The positive image that is developing of Africans is also developing in the minds of black Americans, and, consequently they develop a more positive image of themselves. Then they take more positive steps—actions.

So you can't separate the African revolution from the mood of the black man in America. Neither could the colonization of Africa be separated from the menial position that the black man in this country was satisfied to stay in for so long. Since Africa has gotten its independence through revolution, you'll notice the stepped up cry against discrimination that has appeared in the black community.

*How do you view the role of the U.S. in the Congo?*

As criminal. Probably there is no better example of criminal activity against an oppressed people than the role the U.S. has been playing in the Congo, through her ties with Tshombe and the mercenaries. You can't overlook the fact that Tshombe gets his money from the U.S. The money he uses to hire these mercenaries—these paid killers imported from South Africa—comes from the United States. The pilots that fly these planes have been trained by the U.S. The bombs themselves that are

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blowing apart the bodies of women and children come from the U.S. So I can only view the role of the United States in the Congo as a criminal role. And I think the seeds she is sowing in the Congo she will have to harvest. The chickens that she has turned loose over there have got to come home to roost.

*What about the U.S. role in South Vietnam?*

The same thing. It shows the real ignorance of those who control the American power structure. If France, with all types of heavy arms, as deeply entrenched as she was in what then was called Indochina, couldn't stay there, I don't see how anybody in their right mind can think the U.S. can get in there—it's impossible. So it shows her ignorance, her blindness, her lack of foresight and hindsight and her complete defeat in South Vietnam is only a matter of time.

*How do you view the activity of white and black students who went to the South last summer and attempted to register black people to vote?*

The attempt was good—I should say the objective to register black people in the South was good because the only real power a poor man in this country has is the power of the ballot. But I don't believe sending them in and telling them to be non-violent was intelligent. I go along with the effort toward registration but I think they should be permitted to use whatever means at their disposal to defend themselves from the attacks of the Klan, the White Citizens Council and other groups.

*What do you think of the murder of the three civil rights workers and what's happened to their killers?*

It shows that the society we live in is not actually what it tries to represent itself as to the rest of the world. This was murder and the federal government is helpless because the case involves Negroes. Even the whites involved, were involved in helping Negroes. And concerning anything in this society involved in helping Negroes, the federal government shows an inability to function. But it can function in South Vietnam, in the Congo, in Berlin and in other places where it has no business. But it can't function in Mississippi.

*In a recent speech you mentioned that you met John Lewis of SNCC in Africa. Do you feel that the younger and more militant leaders in the South are broadening their views on the whole general struggle?*

Sure. When I was in the Black Muslim movement I spoke on many white campuses and black campuses. I knew back in 1961 and '62 that the younger generation was much different from the

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older and that many students were more sincere in their analysis of the problem and their desire to see the problem solved. In foreign countries the students have helped bring about revolution—it was the students who brought about the revolution in the Sudan, who swept Syngman Rhee out of office in Korea, swept Menderes out in Turkey. The students didn't think in terms of the odds against them, and they couldn't be bought out.

In America students have been noted for involving themselves in panty raids, goldfish swallowing, seeing how many can get in a telephone booth—not for their revolutionary political ideas or their desire to change unjust conditions. But some students are becoming more like their brothers around the world. However, the students have been deceived somewhat in what's known as the civil rights struggle (which was never designed to solve the problem). The students were maneuvered in the direction of thinking the problem was already analyzed, so they didn't try to analyze it for themselves.

In my thinking, if the students in this country forgot the analysis that has been presented to them, and they went into a huddle and began to research this problem of racism for themselves, independent of politicians and independent of all the foundations (which are a part of the power structure), and did it themselves, then some of their findings would be shocking, but they would see that they would never be able to bring about a solution to racism in this country as long as they're relying on the government to do it. The federal government itself is just as racist as the government in Mississippi, and is more guilty of perpetuating the racist system. At the federal level they are more shrewd, more skillful at doing it, just like the FBI is more skillful than the state police and the state police are more skillful than the local police. The same with politicians. The politician at the federal level is usually more skilled than the politician at the local level, and when he wants to practice racism, he's more skilled in the practice of it than those who practice it at the local level.

## The Black Ghetto

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## INTERVIEW WITH MALCOLM X

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YOUNG SOCIALIST

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*What is your opinion of the Democratic party?*

The Democratic party is responsible for the racism that exists in this country, along with the Republican party. The leading racists in this country are Democrats. Goldwater isn't the leading racist—he's a racist but not the leading racist. The racists who have influence in Washington, D.C. are Democrats. If you check, whenever any kind of legislation is suggested to mitigate the injustices that Negroes suffer in this country, you will find that the people who line up against it are members of Lyndon B. Johnson's party. The Dixiecrats are Democrats. The Dixiecrats are only a subdivision of the Democratic party, and the same man over the Democrats is over the Dixiecrats.

*What contribution can youth, especially students, who are disgusted with racism in this society, make to the black struggle for freedom?*

Whites who are sincere don't accomplish anything by joining Negro organizations and making them integrated. Whites who are sincere should organize among themselves and figure out some strategy to break down the prejudice that exists in white communities. This is where they can function more intelligently and more effectively, in the white community itself, and this has never been done.

*What part in the world revolution are youth playing, and what lessons may this have for American youth?*

If you've studied the captives being caught by the American soldiers in South Vietnam, you'll find that these guerrillas are young people. Some of them are just children and some haven't yet reached their teens. Most are teenagers. It is the teenagers abroad, all over the world, who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression and exploitation. In the Congo, the refugees point out that many of the Congolese revolutionaries are children. In fact, when they shoot captive revolutionaries, they shoot all the way down to seven years old—that's been reported in the press. Because the revolutionaries are children, young people. In these countries, the young people are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist. And here in this country, it has been my own observation that when you get into a conversation on racism and discrimination and segregation, you will find young people more incensed over it—they feel more filled with an urge to eliminate it.

I think young people here can find a powerful example in the young *Simbas* in the Congo and the young fighters in South Vietnam.

Another point—as the dark-skinned nations of this earth become independent, as they develop and become stronger, that means that time is on the side

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of the American Negro. At this point the American Negro is still hospitable and friendly and forgiving. But if he is continually tricked and deceived and so on, and if there is still no solution to his problems, he will become completely disillusioned, disenchanted and disassociate himself from the interest of America and its society. Many have done that already.

*What is your opinion of the world-wide struggle now going on between capitalism and socialism?*

It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely.

*What is the outlook for the Negro struggle in 1965?*

Bloody. It was bloody in 1963, it was bloody in 1964, and all of the causes that created this bloodshed still remain. The March on Washington was designed to serve as a vent or valve for the frustration that produced this explosive atmosphere. In 1964 they used the Civil Rights bill as a valve. What can they use in 1965? There is no trick that the politicians can use to contain the explosiveness that exists right here in Harlem. And look at New York Police Commissioner Murphy. He's coming out in headlines trying to make it a crime now to even predict that there's going to be trouble. This shows the caliber of American thinking. There's going to be an explosion, but don't talk about it. All the ingredients that produce explosions exist, but don't talk about it, he says. That's like saying 700 million Chinese don't exist. This is the same approach. The American has become so guilt ridden and filled with fear that instead of facing the reality of any situation he pretends the situation doesn't exist. You know, in this country it's almost a crime to say there's a place called China—unless you mean that little island called Formosa. By the same token, it's almost a crime to say that people in Harlem are going to explode because the social dynamite that existed last year is still here. So I think 1965 will be most explosive—more explosive than it was in '64 and '63. There's nothing they can do to contain it. The Negro leaders have lost their control over the people. So that when the people begin to explode—and their explosion is justified, not unjustified—the Negro leaders can't contain it.

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3 NEW YORK WORLD  
 TELEGRAM & THE SUN

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46 JUN 23 1965

# Rally Told of \$6 Million Try To Soften Malcolm on Rights

Malcolm X was offered \$6 million after defecting from the Black Muslims last year "to play the civil rights game according to the rules," an admirer of the slain Black Nationalist charged.

The offer, said writer Sylvester Leaks, was made by several persons "of the white power structure" at a church on Riverside Dr. Malcolm refused, he said.

Leaks disclosed the alleged offer before 1500 persons last

night at a memorial rally for Malcolm in the Rockland Palace, 155th St. and Eighth Ave. Malcolm was assassinated Feb. 21 in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, less than a mile away.

The three-hour tribute was organized by a group headed by Leaks, who described himself as a writer and an "admirer of Malcolm but not a member of anything."

The program marked the

first public appearance of Malcolm's wife, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, since the murder. Mrs. Shabazz, who is expecting her fifth child in the fall, did not mention her husband but thanked the crowd for attending "on behalf of my four babies and myself."

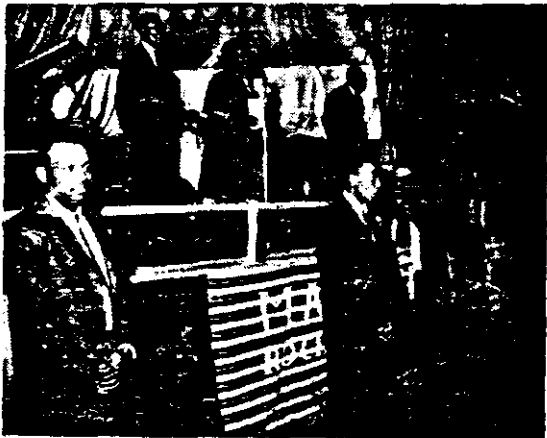
Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader, called Malcolm his teacher. "He taught me to be mean and black and hate the white man," Gray declared.

60 JUN 24 1965

*67C* **'The light still shines...'**

# MEMORIAL FOR MALCOLM X

May 19, 1925, Malcolm X first saw the light of day. Sunday, Feb. 21, 1965 his light, which had shone so brightly, was snuffed out by an assassin's bullets. On May 19, 1965, forty years after his birth, black people in Harlem's Rockland Palace proclaimed that the light still shines and that from



Mrs. Ella Collins at Memorial

now on this day will be the one on which black Americans will honor their departed hero.

Singer-actor Jimmy Randolph, star of *Ballad of Dimshire* and *Carmen Jones* sang "I Believe" and mistress of ceremonies, Selma Sparks commented, "Someone did come to show the way and though he is no longer with us, this light still shines for us to follow—to freedom."

James Shabazz, Malcolm's secretary and minister of Muslim Mosque, Inc., delivered a rousing tribute. Shabazz told how, when the Louisiana White Citizens Council placed a \$10,000 reward on Malcolm's head, dead or alive, last year, he had still gone to this southern citadel of racism because, "My people need me."

"Brother Malcolm did something for us which we cannot do for him," said Shabazz. He died for his people.

Louise Jeffers and the O.A.A.U. Singers received great applause for their rendition of "Doing the Mau Mau."

"To really show them what you mean do the Man like in Kenya. Then the man will understand you and you'll break the chains that bind you..."

Sidi Ali, secretary of the New York Chapter of the Pan African Students Organization, introduced a number of African guests. Victor Gbeho, first secretary of the permanent mission of Ghana to the U.N. read condolences full of sincere admiration for Malcolm from President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and the Ghanaian people.

Afterwards, Sidi Ali read a poem made up of some of the phrases from the eulogy delivered by Ossie Davis at Malcolm's funeral. "To our own Shining Prince." He also commented on the very important role women had played in African struggles and paid tribute to Malcolm's sister and her leadership as a woman.

Leontyne Watts, billed as the "Penthouse Primitive" singer, delivered an exciting rendition of the song about the African God, Babalu.

Mrs. Ella Collins, Malcolm's sister and president of the O.A.A.U. which Malcolm founded, closed the first half of the evening program with a pledge to continue the work which her brother had started in the spirit of his plans.

Mrs. Collins revealed that an international center will be built in Malcolm's honor where African diplomats may come and African students may reside. There will also be a school in which Afro-American children can learn their heritage.

## ARTIST'S TRIBUTE

LeRoi Jones, poet-playwright, author of *The Slave/The Toilet* and *The Dutchman* and one of the founders of the Black Arts Theatre School, spoke briefly in memory of Malcolm and then read an original poem dedicated to Malcolm.

There were more entertainers and speakers, including Mrs. Mae Mallory, one of the Monroe Defendants who has been reindicted by the state of North Carolina for her alleged involvement in the incident which sent into Cuban exile one of the most militant southern black leaders, Robert Williams. Mary Kochiyama, a dedicated woman in the freedom fight also spoke.

There was African music by Nadi Qamar and entertainment by Dolores Taylor, singer, Kenny Durham, trumpeter and Juanita Boyd, singer and others.

The most lasting and meaningful monument to Malcolm will be the fighting for, and the achievement of, black freedom, "by any means necessary."

—Sparks

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46 JUL 6 1965

# Jazz Festival Benefit for Mrs. Malcolm X

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Myias Martin  
 Herald Tribune Staff

Malcolm X, the fiery Black Muslim leader, is dead, but his memory is not.

Yesterday, Mrs. Sidney Pottier, wife of the movie actor, threw open the doors of her 18-room English manor house in Pleasantville, N. Y., to see her neighbors in the wealthy Bear Ridge Road district for a jazz benefit whose proceeds were to go to Malcolm's widow.

Her white neighbors, among them corporation executives, clergymen and college students, joined 1,000 other guests, most of whom were from Harlem, in paying tabs ranging from \$10 to \$50 for chicken, cold cuts, soft drinks and hard wooden seats.

Performers, who sang and played on a huge special stage erected outdoors in a natural amphitheatre, included the trumpeter Dixie Gillespie, the drummer Max Roach, the singer Abbe Lincoln, the Billy Taylor Trio and the singer Valerie Carr. Lena Horne, the singer, and Ahmad Jamal, the pianist, also scheduled to appear, could not attend but sent their telegraphed regrets.

Upstairs, reclining on a sun-porch on the east wing, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's 30-year-old widow, surveyed the scene below her and exclaimed:

"It's wonderful. Oh my goodness, I was so excited when I got up this morning. I couldn't eat."

Mrs. Pottier, who is separated from the actor, is president of a 16-woman group formed, they say, the instant, Feb. 21. Shocked by the murder, their first concern was for the financial future of Mrs. Shabazz, her four daughters, ranging in age from 1 to 6 years, and the baby she expected in October.

"Our express purpose in giving this festival is to care for them, buy them a home," said one of the group, who call themselves the Concerned Mothers Mutual Benefit Committee. All are Negro.

Besides Mrs. Pottier, a pretty, brown-haired mother of four girls, members include the folksinger Odetta, Mrs.

Malcolm Little

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Brock Peters, wife of the Negro actor; Mrs. Betty Frank Lomax, former wife of the Negro writer Louis Lomax; Miss Lincoln; the novelist Paule Marshall, and a Manhattan lawyer, Florynce R. Kennedy.

The group has established an office at 8 E. 48th St., to receive public contributions to help Malcolm's widow. The members said they had sold "over 1,000 tickets" to yesterday's fete, and had received quite unexpected help.

"Large companies like Schenley's and Bambergers Department Stores joined smaller business groups and Harlem people in donating equipment and refreshments for our festival," said a committee member.

"We have almost no overhead. And to make sure Mrs. Shabazz gets all the receipts," she added, "we've temporarily made her treasurer."

Mrs. Marshall, whose books "Brown Girl, Brownstones," and "Soul Clap Hands and Sing" were published by Random House and Atheneum, emphasized that "we are strictly non-political."

But Mrs. Lomax snapped: "We'd like to see the white American public show some of the compassion for Mrs. Shabazz that they showed in donating \$60,000 to Lee Harvey Oswald's widow."

"I personally don't consider Malcolm guilty of anything wrong. But nobody, even his detractors, can equate him with Oswald. Yet ~~Marina~~ Oswald is cared for."

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## Meeting in Harlem Honors Malcolm X

NEW YORK — Civil rights militants Fannie Lou Hamer of Mississippi and Gloria Richardson Dandridge, formerly of Cambridge, Md., were among the featured speakers at the memorial meeting for Malcolm X held at the Rockland Palace Ballroom here May 26. Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabazz, who is expecting Malcolm's fifth child this summer, was present and greeted the audience of some 500 persons.

Fannie Lou Hamer said Malcolm was "one of the greatest men I ever met because he was one of the only men I ever met who had the guts to tell the truth." Gloria Richardson Dandridge, who led the famous Cambridge Nonviolent Action movement until she married and moved to New York last year, said that unlike those people who disliked some sides of Malcolm "my admiration was for the whole man." She liked the direction in which Malcolm was moving, she said, and for "White America with its elaborate myths it was a more dangerous Malcolm who was developing." He was cut down, she said, when it only remained for him to "fashion the political weapon oriented toward the black people and necessary for our freedom."

Among the other speakers who appeared were Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray, comedian Godfrey Cambridge and actor-producer Ossie Davis. The meeting was chaired by writer Sylvester Leaks.

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 16 JUN 22 1965

30 JUL 26 1965

# More Questions on Malcolm X's Murder

By George Breitman

DETROIT, July 18 — "Why don't you admit that the Black Muslims killed Malcolm X, instead of trying to cast suspicion on the police? Malcolm himself said the Black Muslims were trying to kill him, and he was going to reveal the names of the would-be assassins at the meeting on Feb. 21 where he was murdered."

The above is one response to my article in the July 13 *NY Mirror*, where I took note of certain things printed in the New York newspapers after the assassination that raised questions about the conduct of the police.

The reason I don't "admit" the Black Muslims killed Malcolm is that I don't know them to be a fact. It may be so, but until it is proved it remains only a possibility — one among others. Even if Black Muslims or their agents were out to kill him, they may not have been the only ones.

What Malcolm thought about it is important, but not conclusive; he did not have all the facts either.

When his home was bombed on Feb. 14, a week before his assassination, he definitely accused the Black Muslims of the murder attempt. He believed it was a continuation of their bitter attacks and harassment.

Once he had made this accusation, it was a perfect setup for other forces to kill him and have it assumed that the Black Muslims were guilty. I do not say it happened that way; I say it could have happened that way if other forces were out to get him.

## Second Thoughts

"The police and the press publicized Malcolm's first opinion, but not his later doubts about that opinion. Yet it is a fact that in the last two or three days of his life Malcolm began to have second thoughts about the question. He told associates he was 'not at all that sure it's the Muslims' and that he was going to quit saying it was."

And in the last hour of his life, as he sat in the small anteroom of the Audubon Ballroom waiting for his turn to speak, he told members of his organization there that he was going to state that he had been hasty to accuse the Black Muslims of bombing his home, because things that had happened after the bombing had convinced him of the existence of a plot bigger and beyond the capabilities of the Black Muslims. Again, he might have been right or he might have been wrong. The point is that he did not know for sure, and therefore his opinion one way or the other is not conclusive.

In my previous article I called attention to some things that the New York papers reported right after the assassination and then dropped like a hot potato: That the crowd had seized and was beating two men whom they accused of having killed Malcolm; that the police came and rescued these two men; that they later indicted one of them, Talmadge Hayer of Paterson, N. J., for the murder; but that they never have said anything about the second man, who has simply disappeared without explanation.

Trying to figure out why the police behaved so strangely in regard to this second man, I noted that they admitted "several" police agents were in the hall pretending to be ordinary members of the audience when the killing took place, and I speculated that the second man might have been one of these police agents. I said that this might account for the way the top police dealt with him, and then I asked again: If he was a police agent, what was he doing that convinced a part of the audience that he was one of the killers?

In the recent *Status of Liberty* case in New York, it turned out that the chief initiator of whatever was plotted was an agent-



Malcolm X

provocateur planted there by the city police. When a Ku Klux Klan gang murdered Mrs. Viola Liuzzo in Alabama, it turned out that one member of the gang was an agent planted there by the FBI. It is well known, and Malcolm pointed this out several times, that the police and the FBI have infiltrated the Black Muslims.

These are reasons why I cannot rule out the possibility that a police agent might have been part of the murder gang, even encouraging the plot. It doesn't at all displease the police that Malcolm is dead and his movement beheaded, under circumstances that favor blaming the Black Muslims and possibly wiping out their movement, too.

If such speculation is without basis, if the police did not have an agent in the murder gang, if the police were in no way implicated in the murder, then they should easily be able to clear up the puzzling questions about the second man, whose identity and role they know.

While they are at it, perhaps they will clear up some other matters about their conduct. Malcolm's body was hardly cold before top police officials began bombarding the public with statements about how often they had offered him protection. Every official had a different figure for the number of offers, but all of them said Malcolm refused protection.

Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, had another story. Ted Poston, writing in the Feb. 23 *New York Post*, told of her reaction, the night after the killing, as she was watching TV and heard Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm say, "Of course we offered Malcolm X police protection many times — as late as the day his home was bombed." "That's a lie," Mrs. Shabazz said.

## Not Absolved

Either way, the police are not absolved of the responsibility for preventing murder. They are supposed to protect people, they are supposed to prevent murder, even of people who don't want special protection. And in this case they knew, more than a month before Feb. 21, that Malcolm's murder was being planned.

That isn't what I say — that's what they say. "According to the police spokesman, the department knew in mid-January that an attempt was to be made on Malcolm's life," the *New York Journal-American* reported on Feb. 21.

The police spokesman did not say how they knew. This would be interesting, but here let us confine ourselves to the question of what the police, knowing about the murder plot, did in and around the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21.

We already know that there were "several" undercover police agents in the audience. What about outside?

"According to police officials, a patrolman was stationed outside

the ballroom," the *New York World-Telegram* reported Feb. 22. A high police official, after confirming that police agents were planted inside the meeting, added, "And there were a couple of uniformed men outside," the *Herald Tribune* reported Feb. 23.

"Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm said yesterday (Feb. 22) that a special detail had been assigned outside the ballroom. . . Assistant Chief Inspector Harry Taylor, in charge of Manhattan North uniformed police said Sunday (Feb. 21) that two sergeants and 18 patrolmen had been stationed in the area," the *New York Times* reported on Feb. 22.

Which was it — "a" patrolman, "a couple" or a "special detail" of 20? Why such discrepancies about a relatively simple question? What does it denote — ineptness, indifference, or a sense of guilt?

Let us, for the moment, give the police department the benefit of the doubt and assume that they did assign 20 cops outside the Audubon. The sight of them might have had some effect on the killers. Where were the 20 cops between the time people began to arrive for the rally and the time of the killing? Many witnesses saw few or no cops as they reached the Audubon.

Mrs. Patricia M. Russell, a psychiatric social worker of New Rochelle, who wrote an eyewitness description of the murder in the Feb. 27 *Baltimore Afro-American*, said, "When we drove past the Audubon Ballroom . . . there were two police cars and eight policemen — two in front and six standing across the street at various corners. We had to look for a parking space and did not get back to the ballroom for 10 minutes. The area in front of the ballroom was clear of policemen. There was not one officer in sight." This was 10 or 15 minutes before the murder.

Where was the special detail of 20 police at this time? If it had depended on the cops alone, nobody would have been captured at the scene of the crime.

## Police De Noctibus

The "several" police agents didn't do anything to catch the men who shot Malcolm down right in front of them.

Talmadge Hayer, the only person captured at the Audubon who was indicted by the police for the murder, would have got away if it had depended solely on the cops inside or outside. Someone shot him in the leg as he fled, and the crowd chasing him caught him outside the ballroom. If it had not been for the shot and the crowd, Hayer would have got away before police showed up.

When the police finally did appear, Hayer was seized from the crowd by Sgt. Alvin Aronoff and Patrolman Louis Angelo. The Feb. 23 *Times* said they "were cruising in their patrol car on upper Broadway shortly after 3 P.M. when they heard shots in the Audubon Ballroom." The Feb. 23 *Daily News* said they "were driving by."

There was no claim by anybody that Aronoff and Angelo belonged to any special detail. They apparently were on regular cruising duty out of their precinct station, and happened to be passing by as Hayer and the people chasing him spilled out into the street.

It is not necessary for me to charge the police with ineptness or indifference — the facts speak for themselves. The question is why they acted this way. And related to that question are two others:

Did the killers act so boldly as they did because they had reason to believe that none of them would be caught by the police at the Audubon — which (leaving the second man aside) is exactly how it would have turned out if someone (not a cop) hadn't shot Hayer in the leg?

And if they had reason to believe this, what was that reason?

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# Malcolm X's Murder And the N.Y. Police

By George Breitman

DETROIT, July 4 — Some mystifying questions about the assassination of Malcolm X arise if you carefully read the New York newspaper reports printed right after the assassination, as I have just done. Some of them concern the role of the police.

I should explain, at the beginning, that I have no fixed theory about the killing. I don't know if agents of the Black Muslims did it; or if agents of white racists did it; or if agents of the government or the police did it; or if agents of a combination of these forces, who all hated Malcolm, did it. I am, at this point, only asking some questions provoked by studying different editions of the six New York daily papers after the killing.

Certain things seem agreed upon by everybody:

The Organization of Afro-American Unity had scheduled a rally on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. This was one week after Malcolm's home was fire-bombed and he and his family narrowly escaped injury or death. People entering the rally were not searched. On the other hand, they were all scrutinized by OAAU aides as they entered the hall.

Malcolm had just begun to speak when two men began a scuffle deliberately designed to distract the attention of Malcolm's guards. Three men rushed toward Malcolm, opening fire and wounding him mortally; they then ran out of the ballroom, pursued by several of Malcolm's supporters.

Police said that one of the three, identified later as Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N.J., had received a bullet in the leg by the time he got to the exit of the building. The police also alleged that he had been wounded by Reuben Francis, a Malcolm guard.

Hayer was seized outside the building by the people pursuing him. So was another man. The people began to beat and kick



Malcolm X

Hayer and the second man. Police arrived and rescued the two being beaten, taking them away from the crowd.

The third man got away. He got away because the crowd did not catch him. Hayer and the second man also would have got away if the crowd hadn't caught and held them until the police showed up.

Now let us turn to the New York Herald Tribune dated Monday, Feb. 22. This is a morning paper, which means that the first edition of the paper dated Monday actually appeared Sunday evening, a few hours after the killing. The top headline in the first (city) edition reads: "Malcolm X Slain by Gunmen as 400 in Ballroom Watch." The subhead, over the lead article by Jimmy Breslin, reads: "Police Rescue Two Suspects."

Breslin's story in this edition reports that Hayer was "taken to (Continued on Page 3)"

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## ...Questions About the Police and

## Malcolm X's Murder

(Continued from Page 1)

Bellevue Prison Ward and was sealed off by a dozen policemen. The other suspect was taken to the Wadsworth Avenue precinct, where the city's top policemen immediately converged and began one of the heaviest homicide investigations this city has ever seen."

Next we turn to a later (late city) edition of the same paper for the same day. The top headline is unchanged. But the subhead is different. This time it reads, "Police Rescue One Suspect."

The "second" suspect has dropped not only out of the headline, but out of Breslin's story too. Nothing about his being caught and beaten by the crowd, nothing about his being rescued by the police, nothing about his being taken to the Wadsworth station, nothing about the city's top police converging on that station.

### Suspect Vanishes

Not only does he disappear from Breslin's story in the late city edition, but he disappears from the Herald Tribune altogether from that date to this.

Perhaps the whole thing never happened? Perhaps Breslin, in the heat of the moment, had in his first story reported a mere rumor as a fact, and, being unable to verify it, decided not to repeat it in later editions?

But there are three morning papers in New York, and in their first editions they all said it happened.

For example, let us examine

the first (city) edition of the New York Times for Feb. 22. The subhead is very clear: "Police Hold Two for Questioning."

From the Times' city edition, we even learn the name of the cop who captured the "second" man. It is Patrolman Thomas Hoy, who is quoted as saying he had "grabbed a suspect" being chased by some people.

But when we turn to the late city edition of the same Times, printed only a few hours later, we find that its subhead too has changed. It now reads: "One Is Held in Killing."

But the story hasn't yet been changed altogether. Patrolman Hoy still remains in the late city story, and so does the "second" man who has dropped out of the subhead. In fact, the story has more about Hoy than it had in the city edition.

This time the Times reports: "As I brought him to the front of the ballroom, the crowd began beating me and the suspect," Patrolman Hoy said. He said he put this man — not otherwise identified later for newsmen — into a police car to be taken to the Wadsworth Avenue station."

Then Hoy's captive disappears from the Times as completely and as permanently as he did from the Herald Tribune, and from all the other daily papers.

But there cannot be any doubt in the mind of anyone reading the accounts I have cited that a second man was captured and taken away by the police.

Who was he?

Why did the press lose interest

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in him so suddenly, at a time that it was filling its pages with all kinds of material about the murder, including the silliest trivialities and wildest rumors? Was it because the police "advised" them to?

Why did Patrolman Hoy deem the "second" man to be a suspect? What was he doing at the time Hoy grabbed him?

Why did the crowd deem him to be a suspect? What had they seen him doing before Hoy grabbed him?

Why did the city's "top policemen" surround him with a wall of silence that has not been pierced for 4½ months?

If they decided he was innocent, why didn't they say so publicly? That is the usual practice.

Why didn't they at least announce his name? That is also usually done.

#### Who Was He?

What did the "second" man know about the murder plot and the identity of the killers?

It is extremely difficult to figure out why the police (and the press) behaved in this way. It leads to another question:

Could the "second" man have been a police agent?

Fantastic? Only if you don't know anything about the police, FBI, CIA, etc.

It is standard procedure for them to infiltrate radical, black nationalist and just militant organizations. Sometimes, as the recent "Statue of Liberty" case showed, these police agents worm their way into positions where they can carry out provocations

or cause other damage, in addition to merely "reporting" what happens inside the organizations infiltrated.

We do not have to speculate about whether or not the police infiltrated the Organization of Afro-American Unity and whether or not such police agents were present at the Audubon Ballroom at the time of the assassination. The answer is yes, without any speculation.

A "high police official" said, as reported in the *Herald Tribune* Feb. 23, that "several" members of the highly secretive Bureau of Special Services (BOSS) were present in the audience at the time of the killing. (BOSS is the police agency involved in the Statue of Liberty provocation.) After talking to this high police official, *Herald Tribune* staff member Milton Lewis wrote:

"It is no secret that BOSS police — who never wear uniforms — have credentials to cover almost any situation, so that if they were required to have a card or emblem of the Black Nationalist sect it is a safe bet that they had them."

So perhaps the "second" man was a police agent, and perhaps the strange behavior of the top police results from their desire to protect one of their own "several" men present at the Audubon.

But in that case, the question must be asked again, and such questions will keep on being asked until the whole story is told: Why was the crowd convinced that the "second" man was one of the killers?

## MALCOLM X'S MURDER AND THE NY POLICE

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# Report October Trial Set In Killing of Malcolm X

By Ed Smith

NEW YORK — The trial date in the Malcolm X murder case has been set for late October, according to an article by Abel Silver in the Sept. 22 *New York Post*. Silver apparently was given this information while questioning the New York District Attorney's office about the unusual delay in bringing the three murder suspects indicted last March to trial.

Indicative of the lurid treatment the press will probably give this trial, after eight months of conspicuous silence concerning police investigation of Malcolm's killers, Silver's article begins, "A police guard will be thrown around witnesses called to testify at the trial [because] authorities fear that threats may be made against some of the witnesses."

## Suspect

Silver states that one of the suspects, Thomas Hagan (alias Talmadge Hayer), "was shot and wounded by Malcolm's outraged bodyguard and had to be rescued from lynching by police assigned to the hall." There are two pieces of misinformation in this sentence.

The first is that no one to this day, including the police, has identified the person who shot Thayer; the second is that Thayer was not arrested by police assigned to the hall, but was held by people from the audience in the hall until police arrived later (and, incidentally, Thayer would not have been arrested if he was not held by the crowd).

The other two suspects, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson, were arrested Feb. 26, five days after the assassination, and March 3, respectively. They are charged with assaulting Malcolm X with weapons, which could only mean that they were in the Au-



Malcolm X

dubon Ballroom when the assassination occurred.

This allegation is noteworthy because both Butler and Johnson were well-known and leading figures in the New York mosque of the Black Muslims, and they would have been well-known to Malcolm's assistants who closely scrutinized the audience before the Feb. 21 murder.

In January, Butler and Johnson and a third man were arrested after an argument with an ex-Muslim, Benjamin Brown, that ended in the shooting of Brown. Butler and Johnson were out on bail on first degree assault charges in that case at the time of the Malcolm killing.

All of the events surrounding the murder of the black nationalist leader are shrouded in mystery and confusion. The role of the police has been highly suspect. The press has been conspicuously lacking in curiosity about the progress of the case. It remains to be seen what the police will come up with at the trial this fall.

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# REVIEWS and REPORTS

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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF  
MALCOLM X. Grove Press,  
1965, xvi + 455 pp., \$7.50.

Malcolm X worked on this book because he hoped "that if I honestly and fully tell my life's account, read objectively it might prove to be a testimony of some social value." That hope is fulfilled; his autobiography is a valuable document helping to explain the development of a remarkable man who had a strong influence on black and white thought in our time.

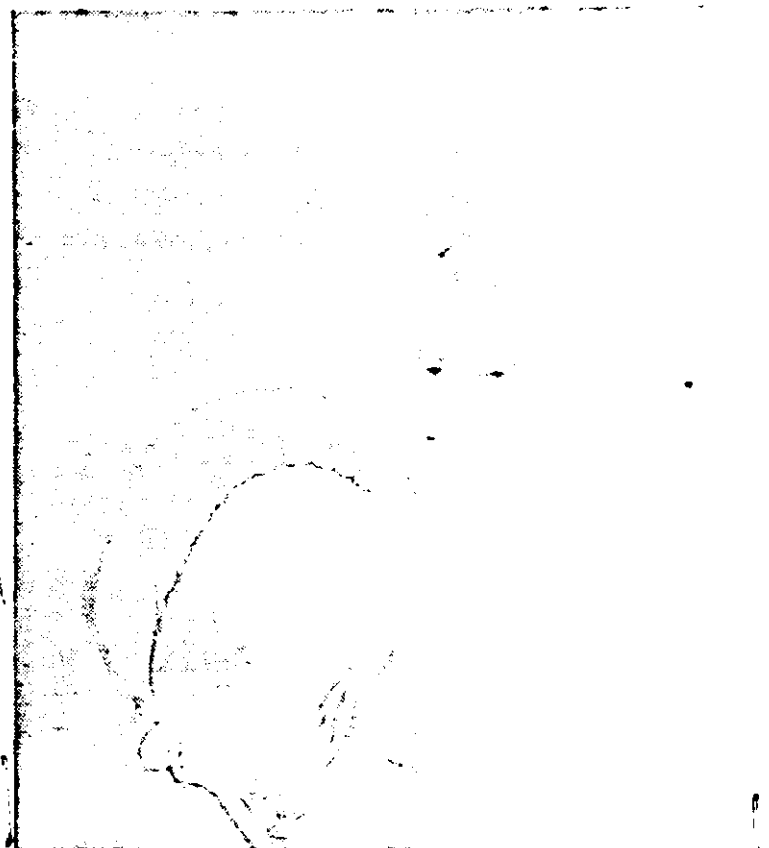
The publishers say it is "a classic of American testimony, fit to stand beside Frederick Douglass, James Weldon Johnson, Richard Wright, James Baldwin, and the others who have explained what it is to be a black man in white America." This is true, although its literary quality does not compare with that of the writers cited.

Malcolm was not a writer; he "told" this book to Alex Haley. Because Haley did not sympathize with his views, Malcolm stipulated that nothing be in it that he had not said and that nothing be left out of it that he wanted in it. The actual writing and arrangement were done by Haley. As Malcolm had predicted, he did not live to see the full and final version; he was assassinated on the weekend that he was supposed to visit Haley's home for a last reading of the manuscript.

There is another factor that keeps this from being the "definitive" book on Malcolm. And that is the fact that it was completed during a period of great and rapid change in his life and outlook, and does not adequately reflect ideas and positions he arrived at in his final months.

## Original Purpose

Originally, it was to be the story of Malcolm the Black Muslim; the first dedication was to Elijah Muhammad and the royalties were to go to his organization. It was begun early in 1963, a full year before Malcolm's break with the Black Muslims in March, 1964, and most of the material was set down in print before he broke. If it had been published then, it would still have been a fascinating narrative, but along strictly "orthodox" Black Muslim lines.



The late Malcolm X and daughter Ilyasah

Malcolm later wanted to make changes in this part of the book (not in its account of what had happened, but in the opinions and judgments expressed there). However, he let Haley talk him out of making such changes. This was unfortunate, because the book attributes to Malcolm formulations barely mentioned, and there is even concepts that he no longer held at the time of his death. In his epilogue, Haley himself brings up to date Malcolm's changed views on intermarriage; but a gap remains in the book on other, more basic questions.

Until a study of this period in Malcolm's life is published, the new Merit Publishers' book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, and especially its last eight chapters, containing speeches and statements from December, 1964, to February, 1965, are indispensable for understanding the revolutionary direction of Malcolm's thought which the

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autobiography presents only in part and in some parts unclearly or ambiguously.

The first half of the autobiography deals with Malcolm until the age of 27 — his birth in Nebraska, his childhood in Michigan, his adolescence in Boston, his drift into hustling, narcotics and crime in Harlem, his arrest for robbery before he was 21, his 6½ years in prison and his introduction to the doctrines of Elijah Muhammad. It explains convincingly why this shrewd young man, who had not believed in anything but how to make a fast buck, was so powerfully attracted to the Black Muslims and why he became Muhammad's most dedicated and unquestioning disciple.

#### Tireless Work

The second half includes Malcolm's picture of the Black Muslims and his tireless work in helping to build it from a small sect into an influential national organization (1952-64), and some of the events in the brief 50 weeks remaining of his life after he left the Black Muslims. The conception of Malcolm held by the masses in the black ghetto — of an uncompromising and incorruptible militant — is fully confirmed in these chapters; and with it is evidence of Malcolm's capacity for continued intellectual growth. Some readers may also be surprised by Malcolm's sense of humor, his modesty, his respect and hunger for education, and his class-consciousness (in relation to the Negro middle class).

Along the way, Malcolm expresses opinions on a wide variety of subjects, most connected with race relations, but not all. Some of these are acute, and others are nothing but prejudices (for example, his unenlightened attitude toward women, which stemmed partly from his experiences as a hustler and was reinforced by Black Muslim doctrine on relations between women and men). His predictions that he would die violently, that he would be killed before this book was published, and that the press would then identify him with hate and irresponsibility, proved to be all too correct.

In addition to the autobiography, the book contains an introduction by New York Times reporter M.S. Handler (marred by the utterly wrong statement that at the end

of his life Malcolm "no longer inveighed against the United States"); a brief after-word by actor-playwright Ossie Davis, explaining why he gave the eulogy at Malcolm's funeral; and a 74-page epilogue by Alex Haley.

The epilogue is quite good where Haley is reporting things he personally witnessed and experienced — how the book was written, the tension under which Malcolm lived, how hard he worked, how he felt most at ease among the masses on the streets of Harlem, how aware he was of a tendency to shut his mind to problems he couldn't solve, etc. It is not so good where Haley touches on things like the organizational problems facing Malcolm and his co-workers, which Malcolm never discussed with him.

Haley carries the story up to Malcolm's assassination and funeral, but this is for the most part a routine summary of the newspaper articles of that time, which were more concerned with sensationalizing the developments than with digging into them. One exception is Haley's report that Malcolm told him, on the phone the day before the assassination:

"The more I keep thinking about this thing, the things that have been happening lately [attempt on his life], I'm not all that sure it's the Muslims. I know what they can do, and what they can't and they can't do some of the stuff recently going on. Now, I'm going to tell you, the more I keep thinking about what happened to me in France, I think I'm going to quit saying it's the Muslims." The next day, an hour before his death, he said the same thing to associates in the anteroom to the Audubon Ballroom.

— George Breitman

### Twin Girls Are Born To Malcolm X's Widow

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the 30-year-old widow of Malcolm X, gave birth to two girls on Oct. 7 in Brookdale Hospital, Brooklyn.

Both girls will be named after her late husband, the Amsterdam News of Oct. 9 reported. One of the girls will be called Maliki, after Malcolm X's Muslim first name, Malik. The twins are not identical.

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### THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X

CONT.

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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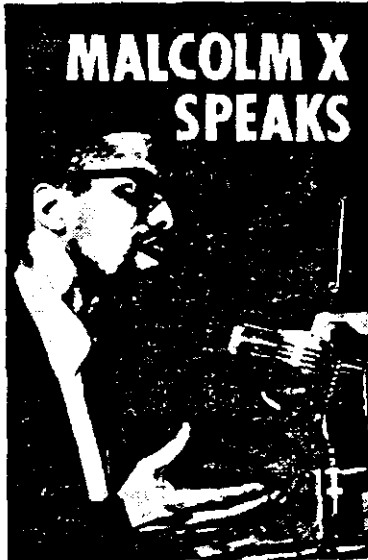
# —Malcolm X Speaks—

With one exception, the new book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, consists of speeches and statements made between March, 1964, when Malcolm left the Black Muslims, and February, 1965, when he was assassinated. The exception is the first speech in the book, "Message to the Grass Roots," which was given to a militant conference in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963. This was one of Malcolm's last speeches as a Black Muslim, but in it he was already beginning to express ideas (on black nationalism, separation and revolution) that had a different emphasis from the orthodox Black Muslim line. Later, after leaving the Black Muslims, Malcolm developed ideas different, on some points, than the ones expressed in this speech.

## Installment 1 MESSAGE TO THE GRASS ROOTS

We want to have just an off-the-cuff chat between you and me, us. We want to talk right down to earth in a language that everybody here can easily understand. We all agree tonight, all of the speakers have agreed, that America has a very serious problem. Not only does America have a very serious problem, but our people have a very serious problem. America's problem is us. We're her problem. The only reason she has a problem is she doesn't want us here.

And every time you look at yourself, be you black, brown, red or yellow, a so-called Negro, you represent a person who poses such a serious problem for America because you're not wanted. Once you face this as a fact, then you can start plotting a course that will make you appear intelligent, instead of unintelligent.



Excerpted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Price \$5.95. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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**Forget Differences**

What you and I need to do is learn to forget our differences. When we come together, we don't come together as Baptists or Methodists. You don't catch hell because you're a Baptist, and you don't catch hell because you're a Methodist. You don't catch hell because you're a Baptist or Methodist, you don't catch hell because you're a Democrat or a Republican, you don't catch hell because you're a Mason or an Elk, and you sure don't catch hell because you're an American; because if you were an American, you wouldn't catch hell. You catch hell because you're a black man. You catch hell, all of us catch hell, for the same reason.

So we're all black people, so-called Negroes, second-class citizens, ex-slaves. You're nothing but an ex-slave. You don't like to be told that. But what else are you? You are ex-slaves. You didn't come here on the Mayflower. You came here on a slave ship. In chains, like a horse, or a cow, or a chicken. And you were brought here by the people who came here on the Mayflower, you were brought here by the so-called Pilgrims, or Founding Fathers. They were the ones who brought you here.

We have a common enemy. We have this in common: We have a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common discriminator. But once we all realize that we have a common enemy, then we unite — on the basis of what we have in common. And what we have foremost in common is that enemy — the white man. He's an enemy to all of us. I know some of you all think that some of them aren't enemies. Time will tell.

In Bandung back in, I think, 1954, was the first unity meeting in centuries of black people. And once you study what happened at

the Bandung conference, and the results of the Bandung conference, it actually serves as a model for the same procedure you and I can use to get our problems solved. At Bandung all the nations came together, the dark, nations from Africa and Asia.

Some of them were Buddhists, some of them were Muslims, some of them were Christians, some were Confucianists, some were atheists. Despite their religious differences, they came together. Some were communists, some were socialists, some were capitalists — despite their economic and political differences, they came together. All of them were black, brown, red or yellow.

The number-one thing that was not allowed to attend the Bandung conference was the white man. He couldn't come. Once they excluded the white man, they found that they could get to-

gether. Once they kept him out, everybody else fell right in and fell in line. This is the thing that you and I have to understand. And these people who came together didn't have nuclear weapons, they didn't have jet planes, they didn't have all of the heavy armaments that the white man has. But they had unity . . .

They realized all over the world where the dark man was being oppressed, he was being oppressed by the white man; where the dark man was being exploited, he was being exploited by the white man. So they got together on this basis — that they had a common enemy.

And when you and I here in Detroit and in Michigan and in America who have been awakened today look around us, we too realize here in America we all have a common enemy, whether he's in Georgia or Michigan, whether he's in California or New York. He's the same man — blue eyes and blond hair and pale skin — the same man. So what we have to do is what they did. They agreed to stop quarreling among themselves. Any little spat that they had, they'd settle it among themselves, go into a huddle — don't let the enemy know that you've got a disagreement.

Instead of airing our differences in public, we have to realize we're all the same family. And when you have a family squabble, you don't get out on the sidewalk. If you do, everybody calls you uncouth, unrefined, uncivilized, savage. If you don't make it at home, you settle it at home; you get in the closet, argue it out behind closed doors, and then when you come out on the street, you pose a common front, a united front. And this is what we need to do in the community, and in the city, and in the state. We need to stop airing our differences in front of the white man, put the white man out of our meetings, and then sit down and talk shop with each other. That's what we've got to do.

Next week: What is a Revolution?

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**MALCOLM X  
SPEAKS**

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# Malcolm X Speaks

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The following is the next installment of the speech made by Malcolm X in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963:

## Installment 2

### WHAT IS A REVOLUTION?

I would like to make a few comments concerning the difference between the black revolution and the Negro revolution . . . First, what is a revolution? Sometimes I'm inclined to believe that many of our people are using this word "revolution" loosely, without taking careful consideration of what this word actually means, and what its historic characteristics are. When you study the historic nature of revolutions, the motive of a revolution, the objective of a revolution, the result of a revolution, and the methods used in a revolution, you may change words. You may devise another program, you may change your goal and you may change your mind.

Look at the American Revolution in 1776. That revolution was for what? For land. Why did they want land? Independence. How was it carried out? Bloodshed. Number one, it was based on land, the basis of independence. And the only way they could get it was bloodshed.

The French Revolution — what was it based on? The landless against the landlord. What was it for? Land. How did they get it? Bloodshed. Was no love lost, was no compromise, was no negotiation, I'm telling you — you don't know what a revolution is. Because when you find out what it is, you'll get back in the alley, you'll get out of the way.



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### Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution — what was it based on? Land; the landless against the landlord. How did they bring it about? Bloodshed. You haven't got a revolution that doesn't involve bloodshed. And you're afraid to bleed. I said, you're afraid to bleed.

As long as the white man sent you to Korea, you bled. He sent you to Germany, you bled. He sent you to the South Pacific to fight the Japanese, you bled. You bled for white people, but when it comes to seeing your own churches being bombed and little black girls murdered, you haven't got any blood. You bleed when the white man says bleed; you bite when the white man says bite; and you bark when the white man says bark. I hate to say this about us, but it's true. How are you going to be nonviolent in Mississippi, as violent as you were in Korea? How can you justify being nonviolent in Mississippi and Alabama, when your churches are being bombed, and your little girls are being murdered, and at the same time you are going to get violent with Hitler, and Tojo, and somebody else you don't even know?

Violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of her. And if it is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.

The Chinese Revolution — they wanted land. They threw the British out, along with the Uncle Tom Chinese. Yes, they did. They set a good example. When I was in prison, I read an article — don't be shocked when I say that I was in prison. You're still in prison. That's what America means: prison. When I was in prison, I read

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an article in Life magazine showing a little Chinese girl, nine years old; her father was on his hands and knees and she was pulling the trigger because he was an Uncle Tom Chinaman.

When they had the revolution over there, they took a whole generation of Uncle Toms and just wiped them out. And within ten years that little girl became a full-grown woman. No more Toms in China. And today it's one of the toughest, roughest, most feared countries on this earth — by the white man. Because there are no Uncle Toms over there.

Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight.

There's been a revolution, a black revolution, going on in Africa. In Kenya, the Mau Mau were revolutionary; they were the ones who brought the word "Uhuru" to the fore. The Mau Mau, they were revolutionary, they believed in scorched earth, they knocked everything aside that got in their way, and their revolution also was based on land, a desire for land.

In Algeria, the northern part of Africa, a revolution took place. The Algerians were revolutionists, they wanted land. France offered to let them be integrated into France. They told France, to hell with France, they wanted some land, not some France. And they engaged in a bloody battle.

So I cite these various revolutions, brothers and sisters, to show you that you don't have a peaceful revolution. You don't have a turn-the-other-check revolution. There's no such thing as a nonviolent revolution. The only kind of revolution that is nonviolent is the Negro revolution. The only revolution in which the goal is loving your enemy is the Negro revolution. It's the only revolution.

olution in which the goal is a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated theater, a desegregated park, and a desegregated public toilet; you can sit down next to white folks — on the toilet.

That's no revolution. Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality.

The white man knows what a revolution is. He knows that the black revolution is world-wide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution — that's a revolution. They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia, revolution is in Africa, and the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America. How do you think he'll react to you when you learn what a real revolution is? You don't know what a revolution is. If you did, you wouldn't use that word.

Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, "I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me." No, you need a revolution. Who ever heard of a revolution where they lock arms, singing "We Shall Overcome"? You don't do that in a revolution. You don't do any singing, you're too busy swinging. It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These Negroes aren't asking for any nation — they're trying to crawl back on the plantation.

When you want a nation, that's called nationalism. When the white man became involved in a revolution in this country against England, what was it for? He wanted this land so he could set up another white nation. That's white nationalism. The French Revolution was white nationalism. The Russian Revolution too — yes, it was — white nationalism. You don't think so? Why do you think Khrushchev and Mao can't get their heads together? White nationalism. All the revolutions that are going on in Asia and Africa today are based on what? — black nationalism.

A revolutionary is a black nationalist. He wants a nation. I was reading some beautiful words by Rev. Cleage, pointing out why he couldn't get together with someone else in the city because all of them were afraid of being identified with black nationalism. If you're afraid of black nationalism, you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love black nationalism.

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**MALCOLM X  
SPEAKS**

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## BACK MALCOLM X

*NY*  
 The Malcolm X Inquiry Committee, formed "out of indignation at Malcolm's assassination going unnoticed in the current political campaign" sent letters to candidates demanding action to see that "...southern justice is not truly the law..."

A letter from the D.A.'s office said that the trial should start within six to eight weeks and Manhattan Borough President Constance Baker Motley "saw no need at apprehension about a trial delay of Malcolm X's alleged assassins."

PLP State Senatorial Candidate Bill Epton said he was in complete agreement with the Committee's concern over the trial delay and had cited the Malcolm X case in his election pamphlet and would do so in future literature.

In a recent advertisement in the Amsterdam News, sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Elect Bill Epton, a demand was made for a speedy trial for the assassins of militant fighter Malcolm X.

*NY*  
 The Committee of Inquiry is collecting funds for a newspaper advertisement regarding their work. In their letter to the Harlem PLP leader they said, "As voting

### MALCOLM X

citizens we find it difficult to choose among candidates who have not taken a stand on this issue."

Epton pointed out that he was the only candidate running for any office who has made this issue part of his campaign platform. A Committee answer has since thanked him for his "warm supporting letter."

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# Books of The Times

## An Eloquent Testament

By ELIOT FREMONT-SMITH

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X. By Malcolm X, with Alex Haley. Introduction by M. S. Handler. Epilogue by Alex Haley. Illustrated. 455 pages. Grove. \$7.50.

IT is probably fair to say that the majority of the public regards Malcolm X, who was shot down by gunmen at an afternoon rally last Feb. 21 in Harlem's Audubon Ballroom, as a violence-preaching "Black Muslim" racial agitator who reaped his own bloody death. Ironically, this is also the stated view of Elijah Muhammad, the self-proclaimed "Messenger of Allah" and leader of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) which, among other things, advocates racial segregation and black supremacy. "We didn't want to kill Malcolm!" Mr. Muhammad cried over the heads of his bodyguards (among them, Cassius Clay) at a Black Muslim convention in Chicago shortly after the murder. "His foolish teaching would bring him to his own end!" There is, however, another view of Malcolm X—one that is increasingly prevalent among civil rights advocates—that with his death American Negroes lost their most able, articulate and compelling spokesman.



The New York Times  
Malcolm X

Both views represent parts of the truth. While he was a recruiter for Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X preached black superiority; and to the end he maintained that Negro violence was at least an appropriate response to white violence against Negroes. It is also true that in the last year of his life he radically modified certain of his ideas and began to take an active role in the securing of Negro rights within, not apart from, American society.

How important a spokesman he could have been for American Negroes had he lived remains in doubt. His advocacy of black supremacy came with his conversion to the Elijah Muhammad-centered cult of the Nation of Islam while in prison. His beginning advocacy of civil rights and racial equality came with a second conversion—to the Islamic religion.

It has been said, correctly I think, that "The Autobiography of Malcolm X" is a book about the nature of religious conversion, the sense of being born anew that certain people experience. Certainly, his account of this phenomenon that he underwent twice—the movement from utter despair to elation and the sense of mission—is one of the book's major fascinations.

But the book is more. It tells what happens to an intelligent Negro who discovers that he has, within American society, no future. And it shows in the most powerful and precise terms what this really means—the systematized destruction of Negro self-respect as an almost automatic function of white society.

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It takes quite a lot to destroy a man's self-respect, yet Malcolm X's early life does not seem unique. In 1929 (his last name then was Little; he was 4 years old) he watched his parents' home in Lansing, Mich., burn to the ground, set afire by hoodlums who didn't like "uppity" Negroes. His father, a Baptist minister and a follower of Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement, died mysteriously shortly afterward. In grade school Malcolm was a popular and brilliant student, but when he said he wanted to be a lawyer, he was told he should set his sights on carpentry. Later he pimped, pushed narcotics, became an addict, took up burglary and, at 20, was caught in Boston and sentenced to 10 years, a term that reflected not his legal crime, but the judge's disapproval of his having a white mistress.

It's not an unusual story, except that Malcolm was saved from its usual continuation; he was born anew. Through religious allegiance to Elijah Muhammad he gained a purpose that his country, a larger prison and its prevailing morality, had denied him.

As this extraordinary autobiography shows the source of Malcolm X's power was not alone in his intelligence, energy, electric personality or ability to grow and change, remarkable as these were. Its source was that he understood, perhaps more profoundly than any other Negro leader, the full, shocking extent of America's psychological destruction of its Negroes.

"The Autobiography of Malcolm X" is a brilliant, painful, important book. Alex Haley has made very readable the many hours of taped interviews, and his own epilogue, about working with Malcolm X, the assassination, his estimate of the man, is candid and perceptive. The book raises many difficult questions, and it is a testament parts of which many readers will not approve. But as a document for our time, its insights may be crucial; its relevance cannot be doubted.



# Malcolm X Speaks—

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The following is the next installment of the speech made by Malcolm X in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963:

## Installment 3

### THE HOUSE NEGRO AND THE FIELD NEGRO

There were two kinds of slaves, the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negroes — they lived in the house with master, they dressed pretty good, they ate good because they ate his food — what he left. They lived in the attic or the basement, but still they lived near the master; and they loved the master more than the master loved himself. They would give their life to save the master's house — quicker than the master would. If the master said, "We got a good house here," the house Negro would say, "Yeah, we got a good house here." Whenever the master said "we," he said "we." That's how you can tell a house Negro.

If the master's house caught on fire, the house Negro would fight harder to put the blaze out than the master would. If the master got sick, the house Negro would say, "What's the matter, boss, we sick?" We sick! He identified himself with his master, more than his master identified with himself.

### Crazy Idea?

And if you came to the house Negro and said, "Let's run away, let's escape, let's separate," the house Negro would look at you and say, "Man, you crazy. What you mean, separate? Where is there a better house than this? Where can I wear better clothes than this? Where can I eat better food than this?" That was that house Negro. In those days he was called a "house nigger." And that's what we call them today, because we've still got some house niggers running around here.

This modern house Negro loves his master. He wants to live near him. He'll pay three times as much as the house is worth just to live near his master, and then brag about it. "I'm the only Negro out here." "I'm the only one on my job." "I'm the only one in this school." You're nothing but a house Negro.



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And if someone comes to you right now and says, "Let's separate," you say the same that the house Negro said on the plantation. "What you mean, separate? From America, this good white man? Where you going to get a better job than you got here?" I mean, this is what you say. "I ain't left nothing in Africa," that's what you say. Why, you left your mind in Africa.

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master got sick, the field Negro prayed that he'd die. If someone came to the field Negro and said, "Let's separate, let's run," he didn't say "Where we going?" He'd say, "Any place is better than here."

You've got field Negroes in America today. I'm a field Negro. The masses are the field Negroes. When they see this man's house on fire, you don't hear the little Negroes talking about "our government is in trouble." They say, "The government is in trouble." Imagine a Negro: "Our government!" I even heard one say "our astronauts." They won't even let him near the plant — and "our astronauts!" "Our Navy" — that's a Negro that is out of his mind, a Negro that is out of his mind.

Just as the slavemaster of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep the field Negroes in check, the same old slavemaster today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, twentieth-century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, to keep us under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent.

#### Get Numb

That's Tom making you non-violent. It's like when you go to the dentist, and the man's going to take your tooth. You're going to fight him when he starts pulling. So he squirts some stuff in your jaw called novocaine, to make you think they're not doing anything to you. So you sit there and because you've got all of that novocaine in your jaw, you suffer — peacefully. Blood running all down your jaw, and you don't know what's happening. Because someone has taught you to suffer — peacefully.

The white man does the same thing to you in the street, when he wants to put knots on your head and take advantage of you and not have to be afraid of your fighting back. To keep you from fighting back, he gets these old religious Uncle Toms to teach you and me, just like novocaine, to suffer peacefully. Don't stop suffering — just suffer peacefully. As Rev. Cleage pointed out, they

say you should let your blood flow in the streets. This is a shame. You know he's a Christian preacher. If it's a shame to him, you know what it is to me.

There is nothing in our book, the Koran, that teaches us to suffer peacefully. Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery. That's a good religion. In fact, that's that old-time religion. That's the one that Ma and Pa used to talk about: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and a head for a head, and a life for a life. That's good religion. And nobody resents that kind of religion being taught but a wolf, who intends to make you his meal.

This is the way it is with the white man in America. He's a wolf — and you're sheep. Any time a shepherd, a pastor, teaches you and me not to run from the white man and, at the same time, teaches us not to fight the white man, he's a traitor to you and me. Don't lay down a life all by itself. No, preserve your life, it's the best thing you've got. And if you've got to give it up, let it be even-steven.

The slavemaster took Tom and dressed him well, fed him well and even gave him a little education — a little education; gave him a long coat and a top hat and made all the other slaves look up to him. Then he used Tom to control them. The same strategy that was used in those days is used today, by the same white man. He takes a Negro, a so-called Negro, and makes him prominent, builds him up, publicizes him, makes him a celebrity. And then he becomes a spokesman for Negroes — and a Negro leader.

Next week: The Negro leaders.

of residence. This enables the whites to control black labor as they want to, and they use the pass system and all other devices in order to control this labor, in order to direct it to places they want, at the gold mines, the white farms, and the industries, and in the quantities they want.

"So that you can say the whole of the black population is peasant, landless peasants it is true, but peasants. Those few who stay in towns have no right to be in towns. They are there only insofar as they are employed by whites in town.

"This means that the bulk of the population is the black landless peasants, and this is our starting point, that no meaningful movement or organization can be created without the peasantry. So we concentrated in building up organizations, and in politicizing the peasantry."

Tabata then discussed the Cape African Teacher's Association, an affiliate of the Unity Movement as an example of the type of organization which is presently

THE MILITANT PAGE 4  
CONTINUED

MALCOLM X SPEAKS

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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~~3 to 6~~ on Trial Dec. 6  
 In Slaying of Malcolm X

The trial of three Negroes charged with first-degree murder in the slaying of Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader, has been set for Dec. 6, the District Attorney's office said yesterday.

The men charged with wilfully killing Malcolm "with a shotgun and pistols" are Thomas Hagan, 22 years old, also known as Thomas Haver and Talmadge Hayer, of 347 Marshall Street, Paterson, N.J.; Norman Butler, 26, of 661 Rosedale Avenue, the Bronx, and Thomas Johnson, 29, of 932 Bronx Park South, the Bronx.

Judge Charles Marks will try the case in State Supreme Court.

Malcolm was shot last Feb. 21 as he started to address a rally of his Organization of Afro-American Unity in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street.

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 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
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## MAKING HIS MARK

A strong diagnosis of America's racial sickness in one Negro's odyssey

By Bayard Rustin

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X. With the assistance of Alex Haley. Illustrated. Grove Press. 455 pp. \$7.50.

This odyssey of an American Negro in search of his identity and place in society really begins before his birth 40 years ago in Omaha, Neb. He was born Malcolm Little, the son of an educated mulatto West Indian mother and a father who was a Baptist minister on Sundays and dedicated organizer for Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement the rest of the week.

The first incident Malcolm recounts, as if it were his welcome to white America, occurred just before he was born. A party of Ku Klux Klanners galloped up to his house, threatened his mother and left a warning for his father "to stop spreading trouble among the good" Negroes and get out of town. They galloped into the night after smashing all the windows. A few years later the Klan was to make good on its threat by burning down the Littles' Lansing, Mich., home because Malcolm's father refused to become an Uncle Tom. These were the first in a series of incidents of racial violence, characteristic of that period, that were to haunt the nights of Malcolm and his family and hang like a pall over the lives of Negroes in the North and South. Five of Reverend Little's six brothers died by violence—four at the hands of white men, one by lynching, and one shot down by Northern police officers. When Malcolm was six, his father was found cut in two by a trolley car with his head bashed in. Malcolm's father had committed "suicide," the authorities said. Early in his life Malcolm concluded "that I too would die by violence . . . I do not expect to live long enough to read this book."

Malcolm's early life in the Midwest was not wholly defined by race. Until he went to Boston when he was 14, after his mother suffered a mental breakdown from bringing up eight children alone, his friends were often white; there were few Negroes in the small Midwestern towns where he grew up. He recounts with pride how he was elected president of his eighth-grade class in an almost totally white school.

But the race problem was always there, although Malcolm, who was light-skinned, tried for a time to think of himself as white or just like anyone else. Even in his family life, color led to conflict that interfered with normal relationships. The Reverend Little was a fierce disciplinarian, but he never laid a hand on his light-skinned son because, unconsciously, according to Malcolm, he had developed respect for white skin. On the other hand, Malcolm's mother, whose father was a white man, was ashamed of this and favored Malcolm's darker brothers and sisters. Malcolm wrote that he spent his life trying to purge this tainted white blood of a rapist from his veins.

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Belmont ☒  
Mohr ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Casper ☒  
Callahan ☒  
Conrad ☒  
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Tele Room ☒  
Holmes ☒  
Gandy ☒

The Washington Post and Times Herald **BOOK WEEK**  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
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Race also set the limits on his youthful ambitions during what he describes as his "mascot years" in a detention home run by whites with mixed feelings of affection and superiority towards him. One of the top students in his school and a member of the debating club, Malcolm went to an English teacher he admired and told him of his ambition to become a lawyer. "Mr. Ostrowsky looked surprised and said, 'Malcolm, one of life's first needs is for us to be realistic . . . a lawyer, that's no realistic goal for a nigger . . . you're good with your hands . . . why don't you plan on carpentry?'" How many times has this scene been repeated in various forms in schoolrooms across the country? It was at this point, Malcolm writes, "that I began to change—inside. I drew away from white people."

Too many people want to believe that Malcolm "the angry black man sprang full grown from the bowels of the Harlem ghetto." These chapters on his childhood are essential reading for anyone who wants to understand the plight of American Negroes.

Malcolm Little was 14 when he took the Greyhound to Boston to live with his half-sister, Ella, who had fought her way into the Boston "black bourgeoisie." The "400," as they were called, lived on "the Hill," only one step removed socially, economically and geographically from the ghetto ("the Town"). Malcolm writes that "a big percentage of the Hill dwellers were in Ella's category—Southern strivers and scramblers and West Indian Negroes, whom both the New Englanders and Southerners called 'Black Jews.'" Ella owned some real estate and her own home, and like the first Jews who arrived in the New World, she was determined to shepherd new immigrants and teach them the strange ways of city life. There were deep bonds between Ella and her younger brother, and she tried to help him live a respectable life on the Hill.

But for Malcolm the 400 were only "a big-city version of those 'successful' Negro bootblacks and janitors back in Lansing . . . 8 out of 10 of the Hill Negroes of Roxbury . . . actually worked as menials and servants. . . . I don't know how many 40- and 50-year-old errand boys went down the Hill dressed as ambassadors in black suits and white collars to downtown jobs 'in government,' 'in finance,' or 'in law.'" Malcolm instead chose "the Town," where for the first time he felt he was part of a people.

Unlike the thousands of Negro migrants who poured into the Northern ghettos, Malcolm had a choice. But from the moment he made it, the options narrowed. He got a job at the Roseland Ballroom, where all the jazz greats played. His title was choo-  
shine boy, but his real

job was to hustle whiskey, prophylactics and women to Negroes and whites. He got his first conk and zoot suit and a new identity, "Red," and his secondary education began before he was 15. "I was . . . schooled well, by experts in such hustles as the numbers, pimping, con games of many kinds, peddling dope, and thievery of all sorts, including armed robbery."

It is significant that it was Malcolm's good qualities—his intelligence, integrity, and distaste for hypocrisy—as well as his sickness that made him choose crime rather than what passed in the Negro community for a respectable bourgeois life. Later he moved on to bigger things in Harlem, became "Detroit Red," went on dope and at one time carried three guns.

His description of the cut-throat competition between the hustlers and their fraternity is both frightening and moving. "As in the case of any jungle," he writes, "the hustler's every waking hour is lived with both the practical and the subconscious knowledge that if he ever relaxes, if he ever slows down, the other hungry, restless foxes, ferrets, wolves, and vultures out there with him won't hesitate to make him their prey." He summed up his morality at the time: "The only thing I considered wrong was what I got caught doing wrong . . . and everything I did was done by instinct to survive." As a "steerer" of uptown rich whites to Harlem "sex specialties," he recounts perversions with racial overtones, of white men begging to be beaten by black women or paying large amounts to witness interracial sex that make Genet's "The Balcony" seem inhibited by comparison.

"Detroit Red" was a limited success in his trade for four years. But even in this business, success was limited by race. The big operators, the successful, respectable, and safe executives of policy, dope, and prostitution rackets, were white and lived outside the ghetto.

Malcolm left Harlem to return to Boston, and a few months later was caught as the head of a burglary gang. In February, 1946, not quite 21, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison, though the average sentence for burglary was about two years—the price for his being caught with his white girl friend and her sister.

Most of the first year in prison, Malcolm writes, he spent in solitary confinement, cursing: "My favorite targets were the Bible and God." Malcolm got a new name from the other prisoners—"Satan"—and plenty of time to think. He went through what he described as a great spiritual crisis, and, as a result, he, the man who cursed

~~God~~ bowed down and prayed to Allah. It will be difficult for those readers who have never been in prison to understand the psychological torment that prisoners experience, their feelings of isolation, their need to totally commit their minds to something outside of themselves. Men without any of the external economic symbols of status seek security in a religion, philosophy or ideology. Malcolm particularly, with his great feelings of rebelliousness, hatred and internal conflict, turned to books and ideas for relief. When his brothers and sisters wrote to him that they had become followers of Elijah Muhammad and sent him Elijah's teachings, Malcolm seized on the tracts. Stimulated, he read other books on religion and philosophy voraciously. In his spiritual and psychological crisis he underwent religious conversion.

He took on a new identity and became Malcolm X, a follower of Elijah Muhammad. Now he had a God to love and obey and a white devil responsible for his plight. Many Negro prisoners accepted the "Messenger," Elijah Muhammad, for similar reasons. Excluded from American society, they are drawn to another one, the Nation of Islam. (This analysis of why Malcolm joined the Muslims is mine, for although Malcolm writes about Muslim ideas, nowhere does he discuss the reasons for his conversion beyond a surface level.)

Out of prison, Malcolm, while remaining religious, arrived at a balanced view of the more fantastic elements of Elijah's teachings and a deeper understanding of one of the driving forces: "So many of the survivors whom I knew as tough hyenas and wolves of the streets in the old days now were so pitiful. They had known all the angles, but beneath that surface they were poor ignorant, untrained men; life had eased up on them and hyped them. . . . I was thankful to Allah that I had become a Muslim and escaped their fate."

Alex Haley, who assisted Malcolm with the book, rightly commends him for deciding not to rewrite the first parts of the book and make it a polemic against his old leader, although in the interim they had broken and now were in competition with each other. As a result, the book interestingly shows changes in Malcolm's thinking.

After seven years in prison, Detroit Red emerged as Malcolm X and was soon to be the brightest star of the Nation of Islam. But as in every conversion, the man himself was not entirely reborn. Malcolm brought with him his traits of the past—the shrewd and com-

~~pet~~ ~~tive~~ instincts learned on the ghetto streets, combined now with the language and thoughts of the great philosophers of Western culture he applied from reading Hegel, Kant, and Nietzsche, and great Negro intellectuals like Du Bois. Remaining, too, with his burning ambition to succeed, was the rebellious anger of his youth for being denied a place in society commensurate with his abilities. But on the other side of the coin was a desire for fraternity, family and respectability.

Because of his ability, he was sent to New York, where he struck a responsive chord with a great many Harlem Negroes. The Nationalist sects provided an arena of struggle for power and status denied lower-class Negroes in the outside world.

But the same qualities that made him a successful ghetto organizer soon brought him into conflict with other Muslim leaders, especially Elijah's children and prospective heirs.

They saw Malcolm as a threat to their domain and apparently were able to convince Elijah that there was a threat to himself as well. For although Malcolm always gave corollary credit to Elijah—and the limits set upon him by Elijah's demands made many underestimate the exceptional nature of his mind—he could not totally constrain his brilliance, pride or ambition. "Only by being two people could I have worked harder in the service of the Nation of Islam. I had every gratification that I wanted. I had helped bring about the progress and additional impact such that none could call us liars when we called Mr. Muhammad the most powerful black man in America."

As Malcolm's star rose higher in the western sky, Mr. Muhammad saw his eastern star setting and grew jealous. The conflict grew, although Malcolm made efforts toward conciliation. Finally, there was a total break that can be fatal to the erring Muslim who is cast away. Malcolm was aware of the dangers. "I hadn't hustled in the streets for nothing. I knew I was being set up. . . . As any official in the Nation of Islam would instantly have known, any death-talk for me could have been approved of—if not actually initiated—by only one man." Later, just before his death, Malcolm said the attempt to murder him would come from a much greater source than the Muslims; he never revealed about whom he was talking.

Under a death sentence and without money or any substantial organization, Malcolm opted for action, although it was unclear whether he was running away from or toward something as he began another phase of his odyssey—a pilgrimage to Mecca where he became El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. Throughout his many conversions and transformations, he never was more American than during his trip to Mecca. Because his ankles were not flexible enough, he was unable to sit properly cross-legged on the traditional Muslim rug with the others, and at first he shrank from reaching into the common food pot. Like many American tourists, he projected desires for hospitality

and fraternity, frustrated at home, on the Muslims he met, most of whom he could not communicate with because of the language barrier. Back in America, he acknowledged that it would be a long time before the Negro was ready to make common struggle with the Africans and Arabs.

In Mecca, Malcolm also dramatically announced that he had changed his view on integration, because he had seen true brotherhood there between black and white Muslims. In reality he had begun changing his attitude on integration and the civil rights movement many months before as the divisions between him and Elijah Muhammad widened. Part-way through the book his attacks on the movement became muted, and in the epilogue Haley concludes that Malcolm "had a reluctant admiration for Dr. Martin Luther King."

The roots of Malcolm's ambivalence were much more profound than personal opportunism. In a touching confession of dilemma he told Haley, "the so-called moderate' civil rights organizations avoided him as 'too militant' and the 'so-called militants' avoided him as 'too moderate.' 'They won't let me turn the corner!' he once exclaimed. 'I'm caught in a trap!'" Malcolm was moving toward the mainstream of the civil rights movement when his life was cut short, but he still had quite a way to go. His anti-Semitic comments are a symptom of this malaise.

Had he been able to "turn the corner," he would have made an enormous contribution to the struggle for equal rights. As it was, his contribution was substantial. He brought hope and a measure of dignity to thousands of despairing ghetto Negroes. His "extremism" made the "mainstream" civil rights groups more respectable by comparison and helped them wrest substantial concessions

from the power structure. Malcolm himself clearly understood the complicated role he played. At a Selma rally, while Dr. King was in jail, Malcolm said, "Whites better be glad Martin Luther King is rallying the people because other forces are waiting to take over if he fails." Of course, he never frightened the racists and the reactionaries as much as he made liberals feel uncomfortable, and moderates used his extremism as an excuse for inaction.

Behind the grim visage on television that upset so many white Americans there was a compassionate and often gentle man with a sense of humor. A testament to his personal honesty was that he died broke and money had to be raised for his funeral and family.

Upset by the comments in the African and Asian press criticizing the United States government for Malcolm's fate, Carl T. Rowan, Director of the United States Information Agency, held up some foreign papers and told a Washington audience, according to Alex Haley, "... All this about an ex-convict, ex-dope peddler, who became a racial fanatic." Yes, all this and more, before we can understand Malcolm's autobiography, revealing little-known

aspects of his life and character, makes that tortured journey more understandable.

One of the book's shortcomings is that M. S. Handler and Haley, in their sensitive and insightful supplementary comments, make no comprehensive estimate of Malcolm X as a political leader. His often conflicting roles in the civil rights movement are described rather than analyzed. Perhaps this couldn't be helped, for Haley writes that Malcolm wanted a chronicler, not an interpreter. Obviously, Malcolm was not ready to make a synthesis of his ideas and an evaluation of his political role.

Shortly after Malcolm's death Tom Kahn and I wrote in *New America and Dissent*: "Now that he is dead, we must resist the temptation to idealize Malcolm X, to elevate charisma to greatness. History's judgment of him will surely be ambiguous. His voice and words were cathartic, channeling into militant verbiage emotions that otherwise might have run a violently destructive course. But having described the evil, he had no program for attacking it. With rare skill and feeling he articulated angry subterranean moods more widespread than any of us like to admit. But having blown the trumpet, he could summon, even at the very end, only a handful of followers."

Of course we cannot judge political effectiveness by numbers alone, but we cannot ignore his inability to build a movement. As a spokesman for Negro anger and frustration, he left his mark on history, but as a militant political leader he failed—and the Negro community needed both. Till the end, his program was a maze of contradictions. He was a brilliant psychologist when it came to articulating the emotions and thoughts of ghetto Negroes, but he knew virtually nothing about economics, and more important, his program had no relevance to the needs of lower-class Negroes. His conception of the economic roots of the problem is reflected in such remarks as "it is because black men do not own and control their community retail establishments that they cannot stabilize their own communities." And he advocates, as a solution, that Negroes who buy so many cars and so much expensive whiskey should own automobile franchises and distilleries. Malcolm was urging Negroes to pool their resources into small business establishments at a time when small businesses were declining under the pressure of big business and when an unplanned technological revolution is creating massive unemployment for unskilled Negroes. Mal-

Malcolm's solutions were in fact almost a mirror image of many proposals made by white economic moderates; those advocates of "self-help" without a massive program for jobs remind me of no one so much as those black nationalist sects and their "build it yourself" black economy without capital. In short, Malcolm's economic program was not radical. It was, in fact, petty bourgeois.

Malcolm got a wide hearing in the ghetto because large sections of the Negro working class were being driven into the "underclass" and made part of the rootless mass by the vicissitudes of the economy. He articulated the frustration and anger of these masses, and they admired his outspoken attack on the racists and white hypocrites. But while thousands came to his funeral (I was there, too, to pay my respects), few joined his organization. Nor should it be surprising that the Negro masses did not support his proposed alliance of black Americans, Africans, and Arabs, including such leaders as Prince Faisal. For what did a Harlem Negro, let alone an Arab Bedouin, have in common with a feudal prince like Faisal? And at home Malcolm maintained an uneasy co-existence with the Harlem political machine. Today Malcolm's organization, the OAAU, hardly exists. In addition, he never clearly understood that as progress was made toward social integration, the problem for America's Negroes would become just as much one of class as of race.

Malcolm was with the Negro masses, but he was not of them. His experience and ambitions separated him from working-class Negroes. But to say this is not enough. In a sense Malcolm's life was tragic on a heroic scale. He had choices but never took the easy or comfortable ones. If he had, he might today be, as he says, a successful lawyer, sipping cocktails with other members of the black bourgeoisie. He chose instead to join the Negro masses who never had this freedom of choice. And, before his death he was working toward a more creative approach to the problems of the ghetto. Perhaps he might have been successful in "turning this corner."

After reflecting on the old days at Mosque 7, shortly before he was killed, Malcolm told Haley, "That was a bad scene, brother. The sickness and madness of those days—I'm glad to be free of them. It's a time for martyrs now. And if I'm to be one, it will be in the cause of brotherhood."

Our journey through the madness of racism continues, and there is much we can learn about both the sickness and the cure from Malcolm X.





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### Jury Selection Is Lagging In Malcolm X Murder Case

Defense and prosecution lawyers failed yesterday to pick any more jurors in the case of three men accused of slaying Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader.

The lawyers questioned half a dozen prospects in an abbreviated session in Supreme Court. The court will convene for a full day today, beginning at 10:30 A.M.

The defendants are accused of the fatal shooting of Malcolm on Feb. 21, 1965, as he addressed a gathering in the Audubon Ballroom at 166th Street and Broadway.

The one juror chosen so far is George Carter, a Negro chemist. He was picked Wednesday.

The defendants, who are being tried for first-degree murder, are Norman 3X Butler, 26 years old, of 661 Rosedale Avenue, the Bronx; Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of 932 Bronx Park South, the Bronx, and Thomas Hagan, 22, of Paterson, N. J.

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 Mr. Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Malcolm X Trial Focuses On Religion

By LARRY VAN GELDER  
 Of the World-Telegram Staff

Religious belief loomed today as a crucial element in the trial of three men—two of them described by police as Black Muslim "enforcers"—for the murder of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

As examination of prospective jurors entered its third day in Criminal Court, both defense and prosecution were expected to pursue the line of questioning employed yesterday when no talesman were chosen.

Three of the five men and women examined were questioned about their belief in a Supreme Being, and two were dismissed when they told the court they did not believe in such a deity. A woman who did was questioned extensively about whether it would make a difference if a person affirmed to tell the truth rather than swearing it, and was also questioned about Islam.

## 3 Postponements

Charged with the assassination of Malcolm X last Feb. 21 before 400 persons gathered in the Audubon Ballroom at 163th St. off Broadway are:

Thomas Hagan, also known as Talmadge Hayer, 22, of 347 Marshall St., Paterson, N.J., and the two alleged "enforcers," Norman 3X Butler, 25, of 661 Rosedale Ave., and Thomas 15X Johnson, of 932 Bronx Park South, both the Bronx.

Their trial, originally expected to begin late last summer, was finally placed on the court calendar for December. But it was postponed because the court did not wish to inconvenience jurors at Christmas time. The start of the subway strike brought another postponement.

## Hustler's Career

Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Neb., son of a West Indian mother and a father who was a Baptist Minister on Sunday and a back-to-africa movement organizer the rest of the week, was 39 years old when he was shot to death.

In prison for burglary at 21 after a career as a petty hustler, Malcolm seized on the teaching of Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader.

Following his release from prison, the eloquent Malcolm rose rapidly in the Muslim ranks, reaching such stature that he was regarded as a threat to Elijah's leadership. He was expelled from Muhammad's Nation of Islam after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, an event he described as a case of "chickens coming home to roost."

## Mecca Pilgrimage

Many observers believed Elijah had used the Kennedy remarks as a pretext for ridding himself of a dangerous rival. Malcolm then made a

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

6 NEW YORK WORLD  
TELEGRAM & SUN

Date: 1/14/66  
 Edition: METRO  
 Author: LARRY VAN GELDER  
 Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS  
 Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI  
 or

Classification: FU 100-399321  
 Submitting Office: NYO

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Malcolm X  
3 on trial in assassination

pilgrimage to Mecca, where he became El-Hajj Malik El Shabbazz.

From the time of his split with Elijah, Malcolm was subjected to a series of threats

on his life. He traveled with bodyguards, but he had concluded early in his life that he would die violently.

And on a Sunday last February, he did.

# MALCOLM X FEARED DEATH FROM 2 SIDES

Malcolm X believed that both the white power structure and the Black Muslims wanted to see him dead, a witness said yesterday at the trial of the three men accused of murdering Malcolm.

The testimony, which supported the state's contention that the assailants were trigger men for the "black supremacy" Muslim cult, prompted demands for a mistrial by lawyers for the defendants. These were denied by Justice Charles Marks.

The statement was made under cross-examination by George Whitney, 33 years old, of 223 West 121st Street. Mr. Whitney stated earlier that he had left the Muslims, in which he bore the name of George 23X, with Malcolm, who set up the rival Muslim Mosque, Inc., and the organization of Afro-American unity.

In the afternoon, the prosecution added another piece to its mosaic of identifications of the three defendants — Thomas Hagan, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson.

A witness, Jasper Davis, stated that it was Butler, seated next to him at the Audubon Ballroom last Feb. 21 who jumped up and gave the signal for what Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody said was the re-arranged assassination plan.

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# Drama, Emotion Accompany Malcolm X's Widow to Trial

By James W. Sullivan  
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

For 13 emotion-laden minutes, Mrs. Betty Shabazz told a jury of nine men and three women yesterday what she knew of the murder of her husband, Malcolm X, in the Audubon Ballroom last Feb. 21.

Then, when attorneys for the three men accused of the shotgun-pistol assassination declined to cross-examine her, a court attendant led her toward the exit.

As she passed behind the table where the three clean-cut young Negro defendants had sat for nearly six weeks, she stopped and turned toward them.

"They killed my husband," she said in a low, quivering voice. "They killed him."

The attendant took her arm and led her toward the exit but she stopped again.

"They had no right to kill my husband," she said.

The dramatic incident brought an immediate warning from Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks that the jury should not consider statements made by the widow after she left the stand as part of the evidence in the case.



Betty Shabazz

Actually, she did not identify as her husband's killers Norman 3X Butler, 26; Thomas 15X Johnson, 30; or Thomas Hagan, 22, also known as Talmadge Mayer.

According to her testimony, the 30-year-old Mrs. Shabazz did not see Malcolm killed and was not immediately aware of the Black Nationalist leader's death.

Dressed in black, the attractive widow was brought to

the stand at 12:20 p. m. by assistant District Attorney Vincent Dermody immediately after her arrival in the Criminal Courts Building.

Under questioning by Mr. Dermody, she said she had arrived at the ballroom with "my four babies" shortly before 3 p. m. Her daughters at that time were aged 6, 4, 2, and 6 months. Twin daughters were born seven months later.

She and the children were in a booth at the right of the stage and when she heard her husband give a Muslim greeting to the 400 persons in the audience, she said.

"A few minutes later I saw someone stand and shout in a loud and demanding voice, 'Take your hand out of my pocket.'"

She said her husband's bodyguards had moved from the stage toward the disturbance and she heard Malcolm say something to the effect that everything would be all right.

Then she heard shots fired, chairs falling and people shouting.

She pushed her crying babies under a bench to protect them. Then, a loud gasp

caused her to look toward the stage.

"I didn't see my husband. I started running toward the stage, but they wouldn't let me down there."

Eventually, the bodyguards permitted her on the stage and she saw her husband's body.

After testifying that she accompanied the body to the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center and later formally identified it at the morgue, she left the stand.

Throughout her brief appearance on the stand, Mrs. Shabazz had glared at the three defendants. After she left the courtroom, William C. Chance, attorney for Butler, demanded a mistrial on the ground that, throughout her testimony, she was "staring intently and icily at the defendants." Justice Marks denied the motion.

Tolson ✓  
DeLoach ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Wick ✓  
Casper ✓  
Callahan ✓  
Conrad ✓  
Felt ✓  
Gale ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Sullivan ✓  
Tavel ✓  
Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Holmes ✓  
Gandy ✓

The prosecution contends that Nagan and Butler created the disturbance in the audience, that Johnson then fired a sawed-off shotgun into Malcolm X and fled while the other two pumped pistol bullets into him.

*[Handwritten signature]*  
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# Malcolm X's Widow Scores Suspects

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

In a voice of despair and steely hatred, the widow of Malcolm X yesterday denounced the three men who are on trial for his murder.

Then, leaving the witness stand in Supreme Court, she halted a few feet from the table at which they were seated and cried out, "They killed my husband!"

She tried to turn toward them, but two court attendants seized her by the arms and hurried her to the doorway. Even while they tugged at her, she exclaimed, "They killed him. They had no right to kill my husband."

The outburst followed less than 10 minutes of gentle questioning by Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody. She was not asked to identify the defendants as being in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th Street and Broadway, last Feb. 21, when the murder took place, and she was not subjected to cross-examination.

The six defense lawyers immediately rushed to the bench to protest and Justice Charles Marks, who is presiding, told the jury of nine men and three women:

"When the last witness left the witness stand she made some statements that may or may not have been audible to you. I direct you to disregard them."

When the afternoon session

convened, William C. Chance, lawyer for Norman 3X Butler, one of the accused, formally moved for a mistrial on the further grounds that the widow, who calls herself Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the Moslem name that Malcolm assumed after his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1963, was "staring intently and icily at the defendants" throughout her testimony.

"I watched the defendant intently from a distance of two and a half feet," Justice Marks replied in denying the application, "and it was my observation that she looked straight ahead."

Mrs. Shabazz was composed during her long-awaited appearance in the trial, which goes into its sixth week today. A tall, well-spoken woman in her early thirties, she wore a simple black suit, black pumps, a black velvet hat and a pearl necklace.

She lives with her six young daughters—twins were born in October—in a house in Mount Vernon that was purchased with gifts of money after the murder.

Sitting with her hands folded in her lap and her back straight in the witness chair, she told the jury about removing her children's snow suits as her husband gave the Moslem salutation, "Salaam Aleikum," to the 400 persons in the audience at the ballroom.

"Then a lot of things were happening all at once," she said.

"Chairs falling, people shouting. Then there was a succession of shots. . . . My babies started crying. They wanted to know if someone was going to kill us. . . . I was trying to quiet them. I pushed them under the bench and I covered the bench with my body."

"And what happened then?" asked Mr. Dermody.

"I heard a gasp," she said. "I looked up at the stage and I couldn't see my husband. I ran to the stage, but they wouldn't let me through. Then I saw him, sprawled on his back."

The prosecution contends that the murder was committed by Butler, Thomas 15X Johnson and Talmadge Hayer, who is also known as Thomas Hagan, all of whom are allegedly members of the Black Muslims, the organization that Malcolm broke with in the year before his death.

In the corridor outside the courtroom in the Criminal Courts Building, leaflets were being distributed announcing a "commemoration day solemn march" on Sunday in memory of Malcolm X. Among its sponsors were listed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, HARYOU-ACT, and many other civil rights and black nationalist groups.

The march will begin at 10 A.M. at Lennox Avenue and 110th Street and go from there to the ballroom.

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## 75 MARCH TO MARK MALCOLM'S DEATH

**They Walk to Where He Was  
Slain a Year Ago Today**

A "solemn march" in memory of Malcolm X drew 75 followers of the murdered black nationalist leader into the bitter cold, deserted streets of Harlem yesterday.

Organizers of the "commemoration day" had hoped to attract at least 500 paraders and had claimed the support of such civil rights groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress on Racial Equality and the Urban League.

As one bearded marcher explained, however, those who showed up were "just people, not groups."

Malcolm was shot on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, 1965, as he was preparing to address 400 followers in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street. Three men accused of the slaying are on trial in the Criminal Term of Supreme Court here.

### Ballroom Boycotted

The marchers set off at 11:30 A.M. from Lenox Avenue and 140th Street, moving quietly three abreast behind a yellow-fringed red, yellow and green flag. A drummer wearing a black leather cap and high black boots beat a slow cadence. The marchers reached the Audubon Ballroom at 12:45.

Outside the dingy, two-story

building the marchers huddled in the cold while Ahmadu Wachuku, one of the organizers, read a resolution asking the group to "strive until we are indisputably free of the white man's yoke."

He also declared a "permanent boycott against the Audubon Ballroom," whose management

had refused the group's application to hire the hall.

The ballroom manager said later the hall had been rented to other groups for yesterday afternoon and evening. "We don't boycott anybody," he added.

The brief rally ended with a speech by Queen Mother Moore, an ample woman dressed in an

orange turban and a flowing green-checked cape.

"Arise you mighty, captive, non-self-governing nation," she shouted, "because you can move mountains if you dare." She closed her speech with the cry of "Uhuru," the Swahili word for freedom, and many in the crowd answered with upraised fists.

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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MALCOLM 2/16 NX  
 NEW YORK (UPI)--CARTRIDGES TAKEN FROM ONE OF THREE MEN CHARGED WITH MALCOLM X'S ASSASSINATION WERE LINKED WEDNESDAY WITH A .45 CALIBER WEAPON USED TO MURDER THE BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER.

DET. JOSEPH REISCH, A BALLISTICS EXPERT, SAID THAT EXTRACTOR MARKS FOUND ON .45 CALIBER CARTRIDGES TAKEN FROM THOMAS HAGAN, 22, OF 347 MARSHALL ST., PATERSON, N.J., MATCHED MARKINGS ON THE WEAPON USED TO GUN DOWN MALCOLM X LAST FEB. 21.

TESTIFYING AS THE 21ST PROSECUTION WITNESS IN THE FIRST DEGREE MURDER TRIAL WHICH IS INTO ITS SIXTH WEEK, REISCH SAID THAT A MICROSCOPIC EXAMINATION OF THE SHELL CASING OF THE CARTRIDGES TAKEN FROM HAGAN MATCHED THREE SHELLS FOUND IN THE UPPER MANHATTAN AUDUBON BALLROOM, 166TH ST. AND BROADWAY, WHERE MALCOLM WAS SLAIN.

REISCH SAID THE EXTRACTOR MARKS ON A GUN ARE "SIGNIFICANT AND PECULIAR TO THAT PARTICULAR WEAPON." HE SAID THE MARKINGS ARE SIMILAR TO AN INDIVIDUAL'S FINGERPRINTS.

POLICE CONFISCATED A CARTRIDGE CLIP CONTAINING FOUR .45 CALIBER BULLETS FROM HAGAN WHEN HE WAS ARRESTED MINUTES AFTER MALCOLM X'S ASSASSINATION. HAGAN WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED IN THE LEFT THIGH BY A MALCOLM X SECURITY GUARD AS HE ATTEMPTED TO FLEE THE BALLROOM. POLICE LATER HAD TO RESCUE HIM FROM AN IRATE MOB OF MALCOLM X FOLLOWERS.

A FINGERPRINT EXPERT TESTIFIED EARLIER THAT HAGAN'S THUMB PRINT MATCHED LATENT PRINTS TAKEN FROM A SMOKE BOMB THAT IGNITED IN THE BALLROOM MOMENTS BEFORE THE BEARDED, 39-YEAR-OLD MALCOLM X WAS KILLED.

THE OTHER TWO DEFENDANTS ARE THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 29, AND NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 26.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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MALCOLM 2/17 NX  
 ADV FOR AMS MON FEB 21  
 BY STANLEY S. SCOTT

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL  
 NEW YORK (UPI)--ONE YEAR AGO MONDAY A TERRIFYING VOLLEY OF  
 GUNFIRE TORE OUT THE LIFE OF RACIST LEADER MALCOLM LITTLE, THE  
 39-YEAR-OLD BEARDED BLACK NATIONALIST KNOWN TO MILLIONS AS  
 MALCOLM X.

IN A MANHATTAN COURTROOM, THREE ALLEGED ASSASSINS ARE ON TRIAL,  
 CHARGED WITH FIRING 19 MISSILES INTO HIS BODY IN A "PRE-ARRANGED"  
 PLOT AS ABOUT 400 SPECTATORS LOOKED ON FEB. 21, 1965.

THE SIX-WEEK-OLD FIRST DEGREE MURDER TRIAL IS MARKED BY A  
 TIGHT SECURITY GUARD AND A METHODOICAL SEARCH OF ALL SPECTATORS  
 ENTERING THE 24-SEAT COURTROOM ON THE 13TH FLOOR OF THE CRIMINAL  
 COURTS BUILDING.

MILD-MANNERED SUPREME COURT JUSTICE CHARLES MARKS AT THE  
 OUTSET OF THE TRIAL, ORDERED THAT THREE GUARDS BE SEATED DIRECTLY  
 BEHIND THE DEFENDANTS.

THE SECURITY MEASURES HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO GUARD AGAINST  
 POSSIBLE RETALIATION BY MALCOLM X SYMPATHIZERS.

PROSECUTING ATTORNEY VINCENT J. DERMODY HAS CALLED MORE THAN  
 20 WITNESSES, INCLUDING SOME WHO HAVE TESTIFIED THEY SAW THE  
 DEFENDANTS INSIDE THE UPPER MANHATTAN AUDUBON BALLROOM AT  
 166TH ST. AND BROADWAY, FIRING SHOTS INTO MALCOLM'S BODY.  
 DERMODY HAS POINTED THE FINGER OF GUILT AT THE THREE ALLEGED BLACK  
 MUSLIM FOLLOWERS.

IN ORDERING THE STRINGENT SECURITY MEASURES, MARKS POSSIBLY  
 WAS ATTEMPTING TO AVOID A REPEAT OF A VIOLENT COURTROOM OUTBURST  
 THAT OCCURRED IN CHICAGO IN 1935.

IN THAT INCIDENT SOME 200 BLACK MUSLIMS STORMED A  
 COURTROOM WHILE ONE OF THEIR MEMBERS WAS ON TRIAL. BEFORE THE  
 MELEE WAS OVER, ONE PATROLMAN WAS DEAD AND 11 HAD BEEN INJURED.  
 TWO OF THE MUSLIMS WERE SHOT IN THE CLASH AND 40 WERE SENT TO  
 PRISON.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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THE THREE NEATLY DRESSED DEFENDANTS HERE APPEAR CALM AND UNMOVED AS THE DAMAGING EVIDENCE CONTINUES TO PILE UP AGAINST THEM.

ONE OF THE THREE, NORMAN 3 X BUTLER, 26, OF NEW YORK, SPENDS HIS TIME IN COURT READING THE WORLD ALMANAC AND SKETCHING PICTURES OF HIS COURT-APPOINTED DEFENSE LAWYER.

THOMAS 15 X JOHNSON, 29, ALSO OF NEW YORK, HAS MAINTAINED A FACIAL MIXTURE OF SMILES AND DEEP SHOCK WHENEVER A WITNESS ADVANCES TO THE DEFENSE TABLE AND ACCUSES HIM OF FIRING TWO BLASTS FROM A SAVED-OFF SHOTGUN INTO MALCOLM'S CHEST. HE KEEPS A GUARDED SMILE FOR BLACK MUSLIM "BROTHERS" ATTENDING THE TRIAL.

THE THIRD DEFENDANT, 22-YEAR-OLD THOMAS HAGAN OF PATERSON N.J., SHIES AWAY FROM JOHNSON AND BUTLER, POSSIBLY FOR GOOD REASONS.

PETER L.F. SABBATINO, HAGAN'S DEFENSE LAWYER, CONTENDS THAT HIS CLIENT IS THE VICTIM OF "MOB IDENTIFICATION."

SABBATINO ASSAILS TESTIMONY THAT HAGAN WAS A MEMBER OF THE BLACK MUSLSLEMS ALONG WITH BUTLER AND JOHNSON.

HE CHARGES THAT HAGAN WAS A VICTIM OF ERRONEOUS IDENTIFICATION WHEN HE WAS SHOT IN THE LEFT THIGH BY A MALCOLM X SECURITY GUARD WHILE ATTEMPTING TO FLEE THE AUDUBON BALLROOM.

ONCE A PROTEGE OF SELF-STYLED PROPHET ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, MALCOLM BROKE AWAY FROM THE MUSLIM SECT MORE THAN A YEAR BEFORE HIS DEATH TO FORM HIS OWN SPLINTER GROUP, THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY.

MALCOLM DISCARDED ATHEISM AND ACCEPTED MUHAMMAD'S RACIST TEACHINGS WHILE SERVING A SENTENCE IN THE MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON AT CONCORD, MASS. HE ONCE SAID HE "KICKED" NARCOTICS ADDICTION WITHIN 24 HOURS AFTER ALIGNING WITH MUHAMMAD.

A WEEK BEFORE HIS DEATH MALCOLM'S NEW YORK, HOME, ONE OF THE RENT-FREE FRINGE BENEFITS HE ENJOYED WHILE IN THE GOOD GRACES OF MUHAMMAD, WAS ROCKED BY FIRE BOMBS IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS.

MALCOLM LATER HELD A NEWS CONFERENCE AND TOLD REPORTERS THAT BLACK MUSLIM FOLLOWERS WERE PLOTTING AGAINST HIS LIFE.

ASKED BY A REPORTER IF THE SO-CALLED "CONSPIRACY" COULD BE HALTED, MALCOLM RETORTED THAT MUHAMMAD COULD STOP THE PLOT BY "RAISING HIS HAND."

MALCOLM REPORTEDLY HAD PLANNED TO REVEAL AT THE FATAL RALLY THE NAMES OF THOSE WHOM HE SAID WERE TRYING TO KILL HIM. A RED NOTE BOOK PIERCED WITH THREE BULLET HOLES WAS TAKEN FROM HIS LEFT BREAST POCKET AFTER HIS DEATH. THE BOOK HAS BEEN OFFERED INTO EVIDENCE.

DERMODY HAS CHARGED THAT BUTLER AND HAGAN, ARMED WITH .9MM AND .45 AUTOMATIC WEAPONS, INFILTRATED THE RALLY AND CREATED A "DIVERSIONARY" COMMOTION MIDWAY IN THE BALLROOM TO ALLOW JOHNSON THE OPPORTUNITY TO SNEAK TO THE STAGE AND SHOOT MALCOLM WITH THE SHOTGUN.

DERMODY IS ATTEMPTING TO PROVE THAT HAGAN AND BUTLER FOLLOWED JOHNSON TO THE STAGE AND PUMPED SHOTS INTO MALCOLM'S PRONE BODY.

ADV FOR AM'S MON FEB 21

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## Prosecution Ends Case In Malcolm X Murder

A public-relations man who was a free-lance radio reporter a year ago yesterday became the 24th and last prosecution witness against the three young men accused of the assassination of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X.

Charles Moore told a jury of nine men and three women of seeing a man firing "an automatic pistol" in the direction of the Audubon Ballroom stage where Malcolm was standing, of running to a telephone to call his radio station and then seeing the man shot in the leg as he ran from the scene.

Mr. Moore identified the man he saw as Talmadge Nayer or Thomas Hagan, 22, who is on trial for the murder with Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30.

Assistant District Attorney

Vincent Dermody rested his case after the testimony. The defense will open on Monday, the first anniversary of Malcolm's death.

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# Unanswered—Motive In Malcolm X Murder

By James W. Sullivan  
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

The prosecution's case against three young men accused of the murder of Malcolm X ground to a close last week offering answers to all the questions except the big one: Who engineered the assassination of Black Nationalism's ablest leader?

Since that afternoon 364 days ago, when Malcolm's riddled body was wheeled out of the Audubon Ballroom and he was pronounced dead at Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center, the assumption has been that the killing was engineered by the Black Muslims.

There certainly had been bad blood between Malcolm and the Black Muslims. Elijah Muhammad suspended Malcolm, his most effective minister, in 1963 for remarks made after President Kennedy's assassination, and later expelled him. Malcolm resented that, and members of his political and religious organizations were in violent clashes with the Muslims at various times.

After the killing, various of Malcolm's followers talked of task forces heading for Chicago to take revenge on the elderly Elijah, but no attempt was ever made on his life.

The Muslims publicly denied any connection with the murder, but few officials gave them any support and the general public has considered them guilty of it.

However, at no time during the six weeks that Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody has presented his evidence in the court of Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks has he given any evidence of a motive for the murder.

## MUSLIMS

Several witnesses identified as Muslims the three defendants, Norman 3X Butler, 26, Thomas 15X Johnson, 29, and Thomas Hagan or Talmadge Hayer, 22, but none claimed to know or even implied that their religious leaders might have sent them to kill Malcolm.

The only link between Malcolm's death and the Muslims was a tenuous one, from George 28X Whitney, former member of the Fruit of Islam, the elite Muslim security corps, and later bodyguard to Malcolm. Whitney said Malcolm had continuously expressed fears that he would be killed, "saying that the power structure and the Black Muslims were both interested in his death."

Attorneys demanded to know whether he said "white power structure" or "black power structure," but Whitney replied that he "just said power structure."

In Harlem, where rumors grow faster than grass does in more arable locations, the theory that the Black Muslims ordered Malcolm's execution is widely held, but not unanimously. Some ultra-liberals can find support for a theory that Malcolm was killed on orders

of the United States government. If you are a conservative, some residents will agree with your theory that the killers were agents of the "Peking Reds."

Both the latter theories have their roots in Malcolm's international activities in the period before his death. He had made a pilgrimage to Mecca and a speaking tour in Europe and Africa and was friendly with representatives of Arab nations assigned to the United Nations.

## THEORIES

The ultra-liberals saw in his death the Central Intelligence Agency's reaction to his plans for a united Arab and African people which would include Americans of African descent. The conservatives maintained that he had been supported by the Chinese-Cuban branch of the Communist party and that he was killed because he was moving away from the

subversive racist line which he had been paid to preach.

This week, the jury of nine men and three women in Justice Marks' court probably will hear another theory—that Malcolm died as the result of a conspiracy by his bodyguards.

When a celebrity is killed at an appearance before several hundred persons, the person charged with the crime can expect a parade of eye-witnesses to accuse him. Butler, Johnson and Hayer have seen such a parade.

Except for official witnesses, nearly every one who has come to the witness stand has testified to some part of what happened in the ballroom that day.

Hayer and Butler have been identified as the men who created a disturbance in the audience. Johnson has been identified as the man who ran to the stage during the disturbance and fired a sawed-off shotgun into Malcolm. Hayer and Butler have been re-identified as the men who then ran to the stage and pumped pistol shots into the fallen Malcolm.

Under such circumstances, defense attorneys have cross-examined intensively, hoping to shake the eye-witnesses and, occasionally, having some success. Some of the questions have been classics, such as that asked by Butler's attorney, William Chance, of Cary 2X Thomas, one of Malcolm's bodyguards:

"Have you at any time denied to anybody that you killed Jesus Christ?"

Because Mr. Dermody objected and Justice Marks sustained him, the audience was never treated to an answer.

However, the trend of the questioning by Mr. Chance and Peter L. F. Sabbatino, attorney for Hayer, has indicated they will attempt to prove that Malcolm was the victim of a conspiracy by his own guards.

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As witnesses have admitted that they were part of the security guard at the meeting and, in some cases, were armed, the defense attorneys have hammered questions at them about their failure to protect Malcolm Thomas, who said he was carrying a pistol, received question after question on cross-examination about why he failed to shoot. His only answer was that he was confused and the affair happened too quickly.

### NO!

But Thomas, like the other bodyguards, reacted with an emphatic "No!" when the defense attorneys asked him if he had conspired in the assassination. That question was the only one of hundreds thrown at him which caused him to lean forward in the witness chair, grasp the microphone and bring his mouth up close to it before he answered.

The defense opens this week. Apparently, there will be few witnesses, but Mr. Sabatino has said Hayer will take the stand, Mr. Chance has said Butler will take the stand and Attorney Joseph Pinckney has said Johnson will take the stand.



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# Malcolm X:

By Jack Barnes

## Recollections of a Visit

Robert Penn Warren interviewed a man named Malcolm X in June 1964, and I helped to interview a man with the same name in January 1965. I phrase it that way because, after reading Warren's account, I almost wondered if we had interviewed the same man. Of course, the difference was really in the interviewers, in their attitudes and assumptions.

Warren was born and raised in the South and, as a young man, believed in segregation. He had spent much of his life in the North as a writer and teacher, and is now against segregation. Stunned by the Negro upsurge, he wanted to find out more about what Negroes think. So he set out

to interview many of them for his book Who Speaks for the Negro? (Random House, 1965).

His approach is that of a liberal. One of his favorite questions of the people he interviewed was did they think that it would have been a good idea to have compensated the Confederate slaveholders for the slaves emancipated; he seemed to hit it off best with those who said it would have been a good idea. He evidently was smart enough to omit this question with Malcolm, or at least he doesn't mention it.

Warren goes to the Hotel Theresa in Harlem for his interview with Malcolm. "I am admitted by a strong-looking young Negro man, dressed impeccably . . . he is silent but watchful, smooth-faced, impassive, of ominous dig-

nity." (Not being a poet, as is Warren, I find it hard to conceive a dignity that is "ominous.") Malcolm shakes Warren's hand, "with the slightest hint of a smile." Warren looks him over:

"The most striking thing, at first, about that face is a sort of stoniness, a rigidity, as though beyond all feeling. When the lips move to speak you experience a faint hint of surprise. When — as I discover later — he scores a point and the face suddenly breaks into his characteristic wide, leering, merciless smile, with the powerful even teeth gleaming beyond the very pale pink lips, the effect is, to say the least, startling. But beyond the horn-rimmed glasses always the eyes are watching, pale brown or hazel, some tint of yellow. You cannot well imagine them closed in sleep."

### Felt Dismissed

"After the handshake, he turns to his aide . . . I am, for the moment, dismissed, and wander across the room, inspecting it." " . . . as he stands there across the expanse of bare, ill-swept floor, conferring with the ominous attendant . . . I am watching him, and he knows I am watching him, but he gives no sign." Malcolm's failure to give a sign that he knows Warren is watching him is clearly as sinister as the "attendant" has now become.

"Finally" Malcolm beckons Warren into the tiny room used as his office. "Malcolm X tells me that he has only a few minutes, that he has found that you waste a lot of time with reporters and then you don't get much space." And so the interview begins.

It seemed somewhat different when Barry Sheppard and I interviewed Malcolm in the same office on Jan. 18, 1965, a month before his assassination. Our interview was taped for the Young Socialist (March-April, 1965; also in the pamphlet, Malcolm X Talks to Young People, Young Socialist Pamphlet, 1965.)



Malcolm X

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THE MILITANT  
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## THE MILITANT

The thing that struck us first was how tired Malcolm looked. (In the Autobiography, Alex Haley describes the 18-hour schedule he followed.) At one point toward the end of the interview, a yawn can be heard on the tape, followed by the apology, "Excuse my tired mind." We were a little uncomfortable at first, feeling that Malcolm might need rest more urgently than we needed an interview and, because this was the first time we had met, there was some over-politeness on both sides. Malcolm sent out for coffee for the three of us, making his familiar joke about his preference for light coffee, and after that the atmosphere warmed up.

After the formal interview, we offered to type it up and bring it back, edited to fit our space requirements, for his final check and corrections. We also asked him if he would like the Young Socialist Alliance to organize a national speaking tour of campuses for him later in the year. He expressed interest in this, but did not commit himself, saying he would discuss it the next time we got together.

### Trap Falls

Let us return to poor Warren. He tries to catch Malcolm in a contradiction, but Malcolm deftly avoids the trap and makes his own point. Warren's reaction:

"I discovered that that pale, dull yellowish face that had seemed so veiled, so stony, as though beyond all feeling, had flashed into its merciless, leering life — the sudden wolfish grin, the pale pink lips drawn hard back to show the strong teeth, the unveiled glitter of the eyes beyond the lenses, giving the sense that the lenses were only part of a clever disguise; that the eyes needed no help, that they suddenly see everything."

Malcolm had ruined his eyes reading by poor light at night while he was in prison, and says in the Autobiography that he had astigmatism. Never mind the facts — Warren senses "that the lenses were only part of a clever disguise" (an elaborate scheme for fooling liberals somehow). Warren didn't really need to look into Malcolm's eyes — he came to the interview convinced that Malcolm was racist, demagogic and opportunist ("He may end at the barricades, or in Congress. Or he might even end on the board of a bank"), and that is what he went away with.

## PAGE 3 CONT.

### True to Form

Malcolm knew the white liberal type very well, and he must have had to grin ("tee") when he saw how closely Warren was conforming to the type. And when Warren asks Malcolm "if he believes in political assassination" (!), it is not hard to see why Malcolm might "turn the hard, impassive face and veiled eyes" upon Warren and say, "I wouldn't know anything about that."

I returned to Malcolm's office less than a week after our interview, bearing the edited transcript Barry had made from the tape. (If we had known this would be the last thing we would get from him, we of course would not have shortened the transcript, even slightly.) Malcolm was talking to a young man in his inner office. While I waited, for about 10 minutes, one of Malcolm's co-workers, the only other person in the outer office, dozed at a reception desk. A small stack of Militants lay on the desk with a couple of times on top.

As Malcolm read the transcript, he began to grin. When he came to the question about capitalism and the statement, "It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely," he said, "This is the farthest I've ever gone. They will go wild over this." I asked if he wanted to tone it down and, without hesitation, he answered no.

He said he felt the editing had sharpened up what he had originally said; that he had been tired when he gave the interview. He made very few changes and I said that would be the final copy, just as he had left it. He said, "Make any additional changes you want — it's fine. This is the kind of editing it's a pleasure to read."

Malcolm then began to talk about young revolutionaries he had met and been impressed by in Africa and Europe. He said he had a long list of them — he called them "contacts" — and would give me a copy so we could send them the issue of the Young Socialist that contained his interview. He also spoke about The

## MALCOLM X: RECOLLECTIONS OF A VISIT

Militant, and how often he had seen it abroad.

I told him I might be going to Algeria for the World Youth Festival (then scheduled for the spring of 1963) and might be able to meet some of his contacts there. He said, "Great, that would be a good experience; they have a hard time believing that revolutionists exist in the United States." We arranged that he would give me the list after the Young Socialist came off the press.

### Campus Tour

I reminded him about our proposal for a national campus tour. This time he responded very favorably; he must have thought about it further and may have discussed it with some of his co-workers. He said he had learned from much experience of speaking on campus that students were in general the only whites that seemed to be open-minded. He said he was sure that the government would try to buy off the white students who were radical, that this was their main problem. He said they should "get in a closet" — away from the professors and the job offers from government and business — and think out their ideas more thoroughly and basically. They could travel the road before them in one of two ways, he said, "— as missionaries or as revolutionaries."

He asked a lot of questions about the Young Socialist Alliance — how many locals, where, what campuses? He wanted to know how long the tour would last; he said he could not make it until after his return from another trip abroad that he was committed to make, but that would be the best time. I said I was sure that on most campuses we would be able to get broader sponsorship than the YSA for his speeches, and he said he didn't care how broad or how narrow the sponsorship would be.

He asked me if I read French and then gave me a magazine from Paris with a story about his talk there in November 1964. He said he thought it was a communist magazine, and that "things are very different in Europe and Africa. There are communists and socialists all over, and no one makes a big deal out of it. They can't imagine how narrow-minded this country is."



View of Imperialism

Malcolm also spoke at some length about imperialism, along what Marxists might call Luxemburgian lines — how the West is in a real bind because the colonial revolution is cutting off places where imperialism can expand.

I felt completely at ease with Malcolm throughout this discussion, which lasted quite a while at his initiative. He grew quite excited at the thought of his African youth contacts getting the Young Socialist interview and at the possibility of my meeting them. I had no sense of "taking" his valuable time — he was giving it voluntarily, and not out of mere politeness.

It is inconceivable that he would be like that with a liberal. There would be no common points of departure, no common projects of any kind, for him to discuss with a liberal who felt, as Warren did, that he was accomplishing his mission when he got Malcolm to "admit" that he didn't "see in the American system the possibility of self-regeneration."

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Marchers proceed along 125th St. in memorial to Malcolm X. (NEWS photo by Ed Clarity)

## A Year Later, Only 75 In Parade for Malcolm X

By WILLIAM RICE

Malcolm X, who, as fiery prime minister of the white-hating Black Muslims, drew throngs to Harlem street corners with his racist tirades, was almost alone in death yesterday.

Instead of the expected thousands, only 75 persons joined in a parade honoring the man who was born Malcolm Little and died in a rain of bullets under the name of El Hajki El Shabazz.

It was, as he said of the assassination of President Kennedy, a case of "chickens coming home to roost."

### His Own Remark

It was that remark, many believe, that led to Malcolm's own assassination as he was about to address his following a year ago today in the Audubon Ballroom.

Elijah Muhammad, head of the Muslim group, suspended him for making it and, after a ban of several months, he formed his own black nationalist group.

Malcolm eventually modified his anti-white views and gained the hatred of the Black Muslims. Three men assertedly of that

sect are on trial for his death in Supreme Court.

### Memorial March

Leaders of yesterday's march, billed as "a solemn memorial march to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of El Haji Malik El Shabazz," had listed about 25 organizations in support of the procession. Among them, they said were the NAACP, CORE, the Urban League and Haryou-Act.

The march began at 110th St. and Lenox Ave. and, with several white-robed members of the Yoruba Temple, a voodoo sect, in the vanguard, continued through the streets of Harlem to the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th St., in Washington Heights.

After a brief rally outside the ballroom—to which they were denied entrance—the little group split up.

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# Who Mourns Malcolm X?

By Rasa Gustaitis

Of The Herald Tribune Staff

What had been billed as a solemn march to commemorate the death of Malcolm X turned out to be a small and lonely procession yesterday.

A year ago, 22,000 mourners had walked past the bier of the militant Black Nationalist who had come to represent Negro anger and growing racial pride to many in this country and abroad. But yesterday, in the midst of the trial of his alleged killers, not even 100 friends and admirers came to honor his memory.

As they marched to the beat of an African drum, behind voodoo priests in white wind-whipped garments, the streets of Harlem were deserted and hardly anyone even parted a curtain to gaze out a window.

## 'WHO CARES'

"This is showing us who really cares about black," remarked Ahmadu Wachuku, one of the leaders of the commemoration. The march was "a joint endeavor of various splinter groups," he said.

Nobody has actively tried to take over the leadership of Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity, and his followers have scattered since his death. Mrs. Ella Mae Collins, his sister, is officially his successor, but she spends much of her time in Boston and is rarely seen at the Hotel Theresa, where the group still has its headquarters.

Neither Mrs. Collins nor Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X who was also known as El Hajji Malik El Shabazz, were present yesterday. Mr. Wachuku said it had been "a trying week" for the widow.

Mrs. Shabazz had appeared in Supreme Court last week during the trial of the three men charged in the murder of her husband. She told how she shielded her children when a volley of shots hit Malcolm X on the stage of the Audubon Ballroom, before 300 spectators.

The prosecution has rested its case, and the defense is to begin today. Charged in the shooting are Thomas 15X John- son, 30, and Norman 3X But- ler, 26.

## Only a Handful in Harlem Parade Note Anniversary of His Death

Hayer, 22; Thomas 15X John- son, 30, and Norman 3X But- ler, 26.

Some of the shivering, bundled-up people who gathered in 13-degree weather on the corner of 110th St. and Lenox Avenue at 10 a. m. yesterday had learned about the march for "the Prince of our black captive non-selfgovern- ing people" from leaflets dis- tributed outside the court- room last week.

They waited until 11:30 a. m. when a line finally formed. Only 65 people were in it. There would have been 69, but four white sympathi- zers were told they could not take part.

"White people don't live in Harlem, they only own things in Harlem," explained Dan Watts, editor of Liberator magazine which co-sponsored the march.

"We were hoping white peo- ple wouldn't come," someone else said. "This is black."

Mr. Wachuku, wearing a red fez and carrying a carved stick, took the lead. The stick was a sawawisha, an African symbol for "the forces of equalization," that worked "by hand," Mr. Wachuku said.

Close behind him three marchers carried a red, yellow and green flag embroidered with an ankh, an ancient Egyptian symbol of "life and resurrection," according to a voodoo priest.

Then came Queen Mother Moore of the voodoo Temple Yoruba, who represented Yemoja, the goddess of motherhood. A large woman in black and white fur-trimmed cloak, red turban and red shoes, she said she was "everything my people are."

Behind her walked women in turbans and African hair- cuts, men with single earrings, a man in turban and djella- bah, an African robe, and a string of others.

At 116th Street, seven other

members from Temple Yoruba joined in. One beat a cere- monial drum, one carried a rifle, symbol of Ogun, the voodoo god of war. Baba Osergeman, the chief priest, carried a sword and an iru kere, an ox-tail stick sym- bolizing Obatala, the god of peace. Others held a white parasol with gold tassels.

Up Lenox Ave. they marched, past the Bethel Gospel, Penta- costal Assembly, Inc., Fritz's

Bar and Grill, the Legal Aid Society, Dunbar Pawnbrokers, Glamor Pix Studios and the Truth Coffee Shop. Then along 145th Street to St. Nicholas Ave., up to 161st Street to Broadway and 166th Street, where the Audubon Ballroom, site of the murder, is. It was 1 p. m. when they arrived.

Mr. Wachuku said that a meeting inside had been planned but that the manage- ment had cancelled the group's reservation. He called for a boycott of the hall.

The brief ceremony outside took only five minutes. Queen Mother Moore held up a clenched fist and led a cry of "Uhuru!" (freedom). Mo- ments later the street was empty again.

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## POLICE GIVE TESTIMONY

## Malcolm X Murder Trial

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK, Feb. 15 — A series of detectives and technical witnesses have testified during the past week in the trial of the three men accused of murdering Malcolm X. The most important piece of evidence to emerge from all this testimony is the identification of a fingerprint of Talmadge Hayer, also known as Thomas Hagan, one of the defendants, on a crude device set aflame in the Audubon Ballroom at the time of the shooting.

Roland B. Wallace, a 38-year-old member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, testified on Feb. 10 that he had just re-entered the ballroom at the rear when shots rang out. Then his attention was attracted to a burning "smoke bomb." It was near a window at the rear on the right side facing the stage. Someone poured water on it and put it out.

Detective John J. Keeley testified that he found the wet device, a man's sock stuffed with matches and other material, later in the afternoon of Feb. 21, 1965 near where Wallace had seen it. He turned it over to Detective Edward Meagher who examined it for finger prints and other evidence.

Meagher took the witness stand next and said he found a usable fingerprint on a piece of unravelled film that was in the sock. He found no usable fingerprints on the shotgun or .45 caliber automatic that have been entered into evidence thus far in the trial.

Detective Robert Meyer testified on Feb. 11 that the finger print on the film and one taken

## Slate N.Y. Memorial For Malcolm X

A memorial meeting for Malcolm X will be held on the first anniversary of his death, Monday evening, February 21, from 7 to 10 p.m. at P.S. 175, 178 W. 135th St. (between Seventh and Lenox Avenues) in New York City. The meeting will be under the auspices of the Malcolm X Memorial Committee, c/o Sylvester Leaks, 410 W. 110 St. The sponsors of the committee include such figures as James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, and John Lewis.

from the left thumb of Hayer were "one and the same."

Dr. Milton Helpern, the city's chief medical examiner, took the stand the same day and described the results of the autopsy he had performed on the body of Malcolm X. The cause of death was multiple gunshot and bullet wounds in the chest, heart and aorta, he said. Malcolm X was hit by eight shotgun slugs and nine bullets from .45 caliber and 9 mm guns. The evidence indicated he was hit by the shotgun slugs while standing and by bullets from the other weapons while prone.

On Feb. 14 Detective James A. Scaringe, a ballistics expert, described a great many slugs and shells found at the scene of the assassination. Aside from the

three types mentioned above, three .32 caliber bullets were found near the ballroom office door.

On the morning of Feb. 9 the second "secret" witness of the trial gave his testimony. The court was cleared of spectators and reporters before he appeared. Reportedly this witness is an FBI agent who was given the .45 caliber automatic that Hayer is alleged to have used by the first "secret" witness.

According to reliable sources the first "secret" witness testified on Feb. 3 that he picked up the .45 at the Audubon ballroom and turned it over to the FBI. He identified Norman (3X) Butler and at least one of the two other defendants.

Detective Ferdinand Cavallaro, who was originally in charge of the investigation, was questioned at length about a list of 119 names of the people questioned concerning the case when he testified on Feb. 9.

During his cross-examination by Hayer's attorney, Cavallaro mentioned that Reuben Francis, who was indicted for shooting Hayer but later disappeared, had been rearrested on Feb. 2, 1966 in Assistant District Attorney Dermody's office.

A spokesman for the district attorney's office said that Francis had been picked up by the FBI. He had forfeited \$10,000 bail; and was now being held on \$25,000 bail. A spokesman for the FBI denied any knowledge of Francis.

The number of spectators at the trial has dwindled over the weeks. Spectators are still being subjected to the practice of being frisked each time they enter the courtroom.

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## 75 MARCH TO MARK MALCOLM'S DEATH

**They Walk to Where He Was  
Slain a Year Ago Today**

A "solemn march" in memory of Malcolm X drew 75 followers of the murdered black nationalist leader into the bitter cold, deserted streets of Harlem yesterday.

Organizers of the "commemoration day" had hoped to attract at least 500 paraders and had claimed the support of such civil rights groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress on Racial Equality and the Urban League.

As one bearded marcher explained, however, those who showed up were "just people, not groups."

Malcolm was shot on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, 1965, as he was preparing to address 400 followers in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street. Three men accused of the slaying are on trial in the Criminal Term of Supreme Court here.

### Ballroom Boycotted

The marchers set off at 11:30 A.M. from Lenox Avenue and 110th Street, moving quietly three abreast behind a yellow-fringed red, yellow and green flag. A drummer wearing a black leather cap and high black boots beat a slow cadence. The marchers reached the Audubon Ballroom at 12:45.

Outside the dingy, two-story

building the marchers huddled in the cold while Ahmadu Wachuku, one of the organizers, read a resolution asking the group to "strive until we are indisputably free of the white man's yoke." He also declared a "permanent boycott against the Audubon Ballroom," whose management had refused the group's application to hire the hall. The ballroom manager said later the hall had been rented to other groups for yesterday afternoon and evening. "We don't boycott anybody," he added. The brief rally ended with a speech by Queen Mother Moore, an ample woman dressed in an orange turban and a flowing green-checked cape. "Arise you mighty, captive, non-self-governing nation," she shouted, "because you can move mountains if you dare." She closed her speech with the cry of "Uhuru," the Swahili word for freedom, and many in the crowd answered with upraised fists.

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# Judgment of Gods By Murray Kempton



THE widow of the man we called Malcolm X and the police called Malcolm Little and his family called Malik Shabazz was a witness last week at the trial of the three young men the state says murdered him.

She turned out to be a monument of august simplicity, one white strand of pearls on the neck, the rest all black.

Malcolm X lived in the most ragged social setting known to Americans; yet he willed himself to be a great foreign prince. How odd to be reminded that, no matter where they are born or how they live, kings end up marrying queens.

"Betty Shabazz," she said to the stenographer. "S, like Sam, h, a, b, like boy, a, b, a, z, like zebra, z." "Sam," "Boy," the little nicknames white people used to call Negroes before history made us self-conscious; there is irony in every word spoken by a queen in exile.

She had gone to the Audubon Ballroom, she told Assistant District Attorney Dermody, with "my four babies" last Feb. 21 to sit in a box at her husband's last meeting.

She had watched her husband come to the stage and "give the customary greeting" and then a man stood up on the left hand and said something "in a loud and demanding voice."

Her husband had said everything would be all right, and then there was a shot and chairs falling and people running.

"My babies started crying and I was trying to quiet them. They tried to know if somebody wanted to kill us. I pushed them under a bench. I covered the bench with my body. One of them cried out they couldn't breathe or see. I turned to help quiet them and then I looked toward the stage and I couldn't see my husband."

As a presence she was magnificent; as a witness, she was of very little use even a queen, with the charge of four little girls, can be asked to observe very little else.

From behind the district attorney her look seemed fixed, brooding, without anger or hatred. She was looking at the defendants; and one of their counsel who bore its frontal force talked about that look as tho it had been a flame.

It was the terrible force of the assumption without much chance of knowledge that these were the murderers of her husband. And these three young men sat looking straight ahead, under the shadow of a curse that might have been a thousand years old because it was that impersonal and devoid of any sign of recognition.

And then, departing, she stopped right by the defendants and raised her arm. Who knows the motives of queens? Some of us thought she was about to strike them, and some of us that she was only about to remonstrate with them.

A court attendant took her elbow. "Let go of my arm," she said. She had begun at last to cry. "They killed my husband." Her "they" sounded as if she were talking about everybody. And then she was gone, and Judge Marks instructed the jury to disregard her final scene.

You doubted that any juror could fit an event of this size into his judgment of a criminal case. What is relevant about the anger of the gods at the absurdity of everything?

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# Wife Alibis Suspect In Malcolm Killing

The Malcolm X trial, in which three members of the Black Muslim movement are accused of assassinating the black nationalist leader, begins its eighth week on Monday.

Yesterday the wife of one of the defendants, Norman 3X Butler, testified that her husband was at home in their Bronx apartment on the day the shotgun slaying took place in a Harlem ballroom.

Mrs. Butler, mother of four children, said her husband arrived home around noon and remained at home for the rest of the day. Malcolm X, who defected from the Black Muslims to set up a rival group, was slain around 3 p.m.

When asked by prosecutor Vincent J. Dermody how she could be sure of the time of her husband's arrival, she said: "My husband is being tried for murder. That's why I remember the time that day."

Other witnesses have placed her husband at the scene of the killing.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

New York World  
Telegram  
Pg 24

Date: 2-26-66  
Edition: Sports Final  
Author: None  
Editor: Richard D. Peters  
Title: Wife Alibis Suspect  
in Malcolm Killing

Character: SM-NOI  
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Classification: NEW YORK  
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

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# Black Muslims Today—

## The Legacy of Malcolm X

### 'Nation of Islam' Wanes in Harlem

Only a year ago the Black Muslims were in the headlines, a major concern of whites and many Negroes alike. What has happened to the "Nation of Islam?" What effect did the slaying of Malcolm X have on it? How does world heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali (Cassius Clay) figure in Black Muslim plans? For the answers, Leslie Whitten visited Black Muslim centers in key cities, talked to members of the sect and their opponents, had an exclusive interview with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Muslims. This is the first article of a series.

By LESLIE H. WHITTEN

Hearst Headline Service Exclusive to The Journal-American

#### "I REMEMBER MALCOLM."

You hear it that way every time you mention the Muslims in Harlem. The gangling, reddish-haired man with the thick glasses made necessary by too much prison reading is a folk hero there, even though he has only been dead a year.

Wrong-headed often, undisputably brilliant, he boomed a minor anti-white cult into national prominence, split with its leader two years ago and was murdered Feb. 21, 1965 while making a speech to his followers.

Now, his own group—the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)—has withered. The Nation of Islam—popularly called "Black Muslims"—has faded from the news. Its rate of increase has slumped.

But Malcolm X—born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Neb., in 1925—is still very much in the minds of those Negroes he entranced with his battery and impressed with his courage.

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I remember Malcolm, too. Arguing civil rights with me shortly before the 1963 march on Washington, he waved a hand toward the Justice Department and said:

"The Negroes have been sugared to death by civil rights. When the sugar gets bitter in their mouths, they'll taste it our way."

Behind his articulate speech was a dash of contempt. It was there whenever I heard him talking to white men he didn't know. And because he was so intelligent, it hurt.

A FEW MONTHS after that interview, Malcolm, characteristically outspoken, called President Kennedy's death a case of "chickens coming home to roost." He was capable of even greater enormities.

Allegedly because of that statement, but more probably because he was gaining too much power in the family-bond Black Muslim movement, Elijah Muhammad, the sect's leader, silenced him.

His mosque was taken away and he began brooding over assassination. When it came in the crowded lecture hall, two men identified by police as Black Muslims were among those accused of killing him.

Malcolm's 38 years are chronicled superbly in "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," written with Alex Haley. It says everything that needs saying about why a poverty-stricken but super-bright Negro turns to the bizarre Muslim creed.

But this story is more about what Malcolm left behind, and in terms of material things, he didn't leave behind much.

Unlike many of the Muslim leaders, he never made any money from the religion he served and recruited for during almost a decade. Friends have started a fund to help his wife, Betty, keep the family together. And in terms of doctrine and organizations, Malcolm's legacy is equally bare.

AT THE HOTEL THERESA in Harlem, the OAAU, headed by Malcolm's half-sister in Boston, Ella Collins, maintains a meeting room upstairs. On the door are signs saying it can be rented for \$1.25 an hour as a rehearsal hall. If it has 150 dedicated members, that would surprise Negro leaders. The Muslim Mosque Inc., which Malcolm founded to unify American Muslims—real Muslims—has collapsed.

On West 116th Street, Muhammed Mosque Number Seven, where he had so often praised Elijah, is a charred shell, with a clutter of newspapers and beer cans inside its jammed front door.

When Malcolm was murdered, someone set it afire and on the winter day I visited it, the building was silent as Malcolm's own dead lips.

In Harlem and elsewhere, I spoke with men who had known Malcolm. They explained why he remains a symbol for the beaten-down Negro in many cities, despite, even because of, his violent, sardonic anti-white tirades.

AT NAACP HEADQUARTERS in Harlem, executive secretary Eric C. Swaby, who knew him as "Big Red" before Malcolm turned from crime to the Black Muslims, spoke feelingly:

"It's not at all that he was just bright, but he was honest. He said what Negroes have been wanting to say for years, but didn't have the guts. What he left behind was a force: his personality."

Black Muslims generally keep apart from Civil Rights demonstrations, but Swaby told how Malcolm had gone to the rally in Foley Square for four little Negro girls killed in an Alabama Sunday school bombing.

"He was beginning to change. His diagnosis was always letter perfect, but his cure wasn't right." Swaby's intent face broke up into a smile:

"I wouldn't have been surprised if in another year I could have gotten a membership (in the NAACP) out of him."

Another Harlem friend of Malcolm was Dr. Josef Ben-Johanan, a leader of the African Nationalists in America Inc.—one of the fast-spreading black nationalist groups. The Ethiopia-born Ben-Johanan said:

"To the black woman, he represented the husband that she wanted, but perhaps does not have—a man who could speak up for his race in the face of oppression by the whites."

Malcolm made a pilgrimage to Mecca to embrace traditional Moslem beliefs, and when he returned, said Ben-Johanan, "he was a different man. Since he has died, you cannot feel strength in the Muslims."

ALEXANDER J. ALLEN, now East Coast head of the Urban League, agreed that Malcolm's analysis—or much of it—was sound, "but his solutions for me made no sense. I think black chauvinism is just as bad as white chauvinism."

The ferocity of the criticism from his erstwhile colleagues in the Black Muslim movement is itself evidence of the power of Malcolm's image. Elijah Muhammad writes in his book, "Message to the Black Man:"

"This chief hypocrite took a group with him to build a 'mosque in opposition' to me and filled it with all types of wickedness and disbelievers like himself."

The Muslim paper, "Muhammad Speaks," which ironically was set up by Malcolm, follows this same

line with a story: "Malcolm's Doom Decried by God, Not the Messenger (Elijah Muhammad)." Elijah, in commenting on Malcolm's death, said:

"I didn't harm Malcolm . . . his foolish teaching brought him to his own end."

**B**UT MALCOLM GAVE as good as he got.

"Religious fakery" was his description of Elijah's teachings after he broke with his aging master. Malcolm's way was strong words. He expressed pleasure publicly when an air crash in Paris killed many of Atlanta's most prominent citizens, for example.

In Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, New York—wherever I spoke with Negro—and white—leaders I heard, at worst, grudging respect for him. His name is remembered, his organizations are defunct.

A top law enforcement man who followed the career of Malcolm from his years in prison said frankly: "He was mean and he was smart. I'd like to have just talked to him one time man to man."

Malcolm was often wrong. His belief that King James wrote Shakespeare seems silly. His breathless praise of Ghana's dictator, Nkrumah, who has done his share of hunting down Negroes, is embarrassing.

The Malcolm I remember rings through in his autobiography:

"I'm telling it like it is! You never have to worry about me biting my tongue if something I know as truth is on my mind. Raw, naked truth exchanged between the black man and the white man is what a whole lot more of is needed in this country."



***X IN STATE** in an 8th ave. funeral parlor.*

AP Photo



*FAITHFUL FEW* parade in Lenox ave. on anniversary of Malcolm X assassination. AP Photo



*MALCOLM'S WIDOW, Betty Shabaz,*  
in mourning.

Journal-American Photo



**ANGRY MALCOLM** preaches at the peak of his power: 'Listen to me, white man!'

Journal-American Photo by Seymour Zee



**MUSLIM WOMEN** in nun-like garb paid adoring attention to Malcolm in Harlem.

AP Photo

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(MALCOLM X)

NEW YORK--TALMADGE HAYER, 24, TOOK THE WITNESS STAND AT HIS FIRST DEGREE MURDER TRIAL IN MANHATTAN CRIMINAL COURT MONDAY AND CONFESSED HIS PART IN THE ASSASSINATION OF BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X.

"I JUST WANT THE TRUTH TO BE KNOWN THAT I TOOK PART IN WHAT HAPPENED AT THE AUDUBON BALLROOM... BUTLER AND JOHNSON HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THIS CRIME," HAYER SAID WHEN HE TOOK THE STAND TO TESTIFY AT 3:40 P.M. IN THE SEVEN-WEEK OLD MURDER TRIAL. HAYER ALONG WITH THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 30, AND NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 27, WERE ACCUSED OF THE FEB. 21, 1965 SLAYING.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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# Defendant at Trial Admits Role in Malcolm X Slaying

NEW YORK (AP)—In a dramatic courtroom confession, Talmadge Hayer said yesterday he was one of the assassins of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

He declared that his co-defendants—Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson — “had nothing to do with it.”

Hayer, 24, testified that he had three accomplices, but he refused to name them. He said the killers were hired. But he refused to say who hired them or why, or how much money was involved.

Hayer, who made his confession during the defense presentation, faced continued cross-examination today.

Hayer said no one involved in the murder was connected with the Black Muslims.

## First-Degree Charge

The prosecution contends that all three defendants were active members of the sect, of which Malcolm once was a top leader. He broke with the Muslims and founded his own black nationalist movement in 1964.

Hayer, Butler, 26, and John-



TALMADGE HAYER

son, 30, all Negroes, are on trial in State Supreme Court on first-degree murder charges.

They are accused of shooting Malcolm as he addressed 400 followers in a Manhattan ballroom Feb. 21, 1965. The prosecution charges that Johnson fired a shotgun blast into Malcolm's chest and that Hayer and Butler pumped pistol bullets into him as he lay prone on the stage.

## Swore Innocence Earlier

Asst. Dist. Atty. Vincent J. Dermody indicated in cross-examination of Hayer that he considered his surprise testimony was a desperate attempt to save his co-defendants. The

prosecution has produced more evidence against Hayer than against Butler or Johnson.

Hayer, who swore on the witness stand last Wednesday that he was innocent, returned to the stand after an out-of-court conference with his co-defendants.

He told Justice Charles Marks and the jury that he wanted to “tell the truth.”

Hayer — who had said first that he had four accomplices and then said later there were three — testified that he fired a .45-caliber automatic at Malcolm “about four times” after he had been felled by the shotgun blast.

Hayer said the man who fired the shotgun was a “husky, dark-skinned Negro who wore a beard.” Johnson is light-skinned, slender and clean-shaven.

## Marked for Death

Hayer had been recalled to the witness stand by Butler's lawyer, William C. Chance.

Malcolm, who was the minister of the Black Muslims' Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, said many times after his break with the Muslims that he was marked for death by the black supremacy cult. Leaders of the Muslims denied it.

Hayer, whose home was in Paterson, N.J., was wounded in the left thigh by one of Malcolm's bodyguards in the turmoil that followed the assassination in the Audubon Ballroom, the prosecution says.

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## Insists Another 3 Helped Slay X

The 22-year-old defendant who stunned a Supreme Court jury Monday with his confession of killing Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X, stuck stubbornly to his story yesterday despite a scathing cross-examination.

Talmadge Hayer insisted that he and three other men killed Malcolm as he was about to speak in the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965, but maintained that his two co-defendants were not among the assassins.

### Won't Name Anyone

Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody, the prosecutor, suggested that Hayer had been ordered to confess the crime in order to clear his accused ac-

complices, Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30.

But Hayer wouldn't budge from Monday's confession, insisting that he and the other three men were hired to commit the crime, but refusing to identify his accomplices.

"How much money were you offered?" Dermody asked Hayer.

"I will not say," was the defendant's calm reply.

Moving closer to the witness stand, Dermody demanded, "Was it for 12 pieces of silver?"

Hayer's counsel, Peter L. F. Sabbatino, stood up and asked, "Is that the amount in the Bible?"

"Yes, exactly what Judas got," Dermody shouted, bringing a

scattering of applause from the spectators.

Hayer answered, "No, sir," to

the question, after the lawyers haggled over the number of silver pieces paid for the Biblical assassination.

Judas received 30 pieces of silver to betray Christ to the authorities.

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**Seeks to Clear 2 Other Defendants**

# Man on Trial for Malcolm X Murder Tells Court He Took Part in Crime

NEW YORK, Feb. 28 (AP) — Talmadge Hayer dramatically confessed in open courtroom today that he participated in the assassination of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X. He then sought to exonerate two other men on trial with him for the murder.

Hayer, 24, who last Wednesday swore under oath that he was innocent, told Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks and a jury that he now wanted to "tell the truth."

Hayer said he "did take part" in the assassination with others, but refused to name his confederates.

Hayer said he had spoken with his two codefendants, Norman 3X Butler, 28, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, during a luncheon recess today.

The trial is in its seventh week.

He told the court and jury: "I told Butler and Johnson I know they did not have anything to do with this crime—that I did take part in it and that I know they weren't there. I wanted to tell the jury and the court the truth."

Hayer was called as a witness by William C. Chance, Butler's attorney, after conferences among the judge and attorneys.

Chance asked Hayer, "Were you alone in this involvement?"

"No, sir," Hayer answered. "Do you know the names of the others who took part in the killing?" Chance asked.

Hayer said he knew the men but he would not name them. "I just want to testify that

Butler and Johnson had nothing to do with this," he added. "I was there, I know what happened and I know the people who were there."

Under cross-examination later, Hayer said he was hired to kill Malcolm X. But he denied the person who hired him was connected with the Black Muslims, as the state contends.

Malcolm was shot down before a crowd of 400 in the Audubon Ballroom Feb. 21, 1965, as he prepared to address a gathering of Black Nationalists.

He had formed the Black Nationalist movement after becoming disenchanted with the Black Muslims and breaking away from them. Before his death, the separatist leader had accused the Muslims of plotting against his life.

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## Defendant in Malcolm Murder: Was Home Feeding the Baby

Robert 15X Johnson denied under oath yesterday that he had ever been in the Audobon Ballroom, where Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X was assassinated Feb. 21, 1965.

Johnson, 30, one of three men accused of the shotgun-and-pistol murder, took the witness stand in his own defense on the first anniversary of his arrest for the murder. The case is being heard by a jury of nine men and three women in the court of Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks.

He testified that he remained in his Bronx apartment, clad in pajamas, until evening on the Sunday when he is alleged to have fired a shotgun into Malcolm. He said he spent the day feeding his three children and doing housework while his pregnant wife rested.

When his wife, Etta X, testified Wednesday, she said a woman neighbor had brought the news of the assassination to her and her husband shortly after 3:30 p.m. However, the neighbor, Mu-

riel X Long, testified yesterday that she couldn't have arrived before 5 p.m. because she had worked in Manhattan until 4:30 p.m.

Johnson will continue under cross-examination today.

The other two defendants, Talmage Hayer, 24, and Norman 3X Butler, 27, already have testified in their own defense. Hayer later returned to the stand to admit he participated in the murder and deny that the other two were involved.

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## Malcolm Trial Nearing Jury

Asst. Dist. A.Aty. Vincent J. Talmadge Hayer, 24, had confessed in open court that he shot at Malcolm X with a 45-caliber pistol, but Butler, 27, were innocent.

However, when the defense summed up yesterday in Supreme Court, Hayer's attorney, Peter L. F. Sabbatino, spent three hours telling the jury of nine men and three women that his client was not guilty.

The Black Nationalist leader was shot to death at a rally in Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom.

One of the three defendants,

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## DEFENSE SUMS UP IN MALCOLM CASE

### Lawyers for Accused Ask Disregard of Muslim Ties

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

Lawyers for Thomas 15X Johnson and Norman 3X Butler yesterday asked a Supreme Court jury not to convict the two defendants of the murder of Malcolm X merely because of their membership in the Black Muslims.

Both William C. Chance, who summed up for Butler, and Charles T. Beavers, who spoke for Johnson, said that the prosecution had tried to put the Muslims and their beliefs on trial.

Peter L. F. Sabbatino, counsel for Talmadge Hayer, who confessed his complicity in the murder from the witness stand on Feb. 23 and tried to absolve his co-defendants, asked the jury, in the course of an impassioned two and a half hour summation, to disregard the confession.

"There was no reason for this lad to do what he did except a high sense of Christian charity," Mr. Sabbatino declared.

"The theory of the people's case that the motive for killing Malcolm X was because he left the Black Muslim movement is totally absurd," said Mr. Chance during his hour and 40 minute address.

#### Cites Malcolm's Suspension

Striding in front of the jury box, the jacket and vest of his black suit unbuttoned, Mr. Chance declared that Malcolm had already been punished by suspension from his ministerial duties in the cult in December, 1963, assertedly for expressing pleasure at the assassination of President Kennedy.

When Malcolm broke with the Muslims the following March, the attorney went on, his deep voice rising to a shout, it was a step he took "of his own free will."

Mr. Chance asked the jury to "exclude" the testimony of Cary Thomas, a key prosecution witness, because he "suffered from an impaired mentality." As he spoke he waved a grey-jacketed records folder from the Bellevue Hospital psychiatric division, where Thomas, who followed Malcolm out of the Muslims, was treated for the delusion that he killed

Mr. Chance also sought to cast doubt on the credibility of other prosecution witnesses, noting their criminal records in some instances, or their advanced age, poor vision or assertedly defective memory.

#### Religious Charter

In closing, he asked the panel of nine men and three women, to remember that the Muslims were chartered as a religious organization in New York State and that its members were entitled to the same consideration as Protestants, Catholics or Jews.

Mr. Beavers accused the prosecution of attempting to prejudice the jury against the defendants by injecting the name of Cassius Clay, the heavyweight champion, into the trial. Johnson denied on cross-examination on Friday that he had ever acted as a bodyguard for Clay, who took the name Mohammad Ali when he became a member of the Muslims.

Speaking for Hayer, Mr. Sabbatino developed the theory that dissident members of the organization of Afro-American Unity, which Malcolm established after his break with the Muslims, were responsible for his murder.

"And the arch-boss of this conspiracy," said the grey-haired, 74-year-old lawyer, in a voice that rattled the windows of the court room, "was Reuben Francis."

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## MALCOLM SLAYING CALLED A 'LESSON'

### Prosecutor Charges Killing Was Intended as Warning

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

Malcolm X was publicly assassinated as "an object lesson" to his followers, Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody declared yesterday.

The prosecutor, summing up in the eight-week trial of the three men accused of the killing, did not, however, attempt to link the murder directly to the national leadership of the Black Muslims.

"We never said we'd prove that Elijah Muhammad ordered this death," he declared. "I have been accused of putting the Black Muslims on trial. I submit this is not a fact."

However, he continued, I submit that these three defendants are members of the Black Muslims and that these three defendants caused his death."

Malcolm broke with the Muslims, whose best known spokesman he had become, in March, 1964, and set up the rival Organization of Afro-American Unity and Muslim Mosque, Inc.

From that time until he was riddled in a pistol-and-shot-gun attack while addressing a meeting of 400 persons at the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965, he often stated as a certainty that the Muslims would murder him.

#### Brazenness of Killing Noted

Mr. Dermody contrasted the "brazenness" of the killing with the stealth with which crime is usually carried out — "secretly, quietly, in the dead of night."

"Why was it done in this way?" he asked the Supreme Court jury. "There must have been some reason."

Then, facing the panel of nine men and three women, and underlining his statement with downward thrusts of his right hand, the prosecutor declared:

"Is it abusing your common sense to say that it was an object lesson to Malcolm's followers, telling them that this is what can happen and will happen?"

Mr. Dermody, a member of the District Attorney's office for 25 years and a specialist in murder trials, described Hayer's admission on the witness stand last Monday that he had indeed taken part in the killing but that his co-defendants were innocent as a "futile, desperate gesture."

"He knew he was going down, buried under a mountain of evidence, and he tried at the last moment to do the noble thing," the prosecutor stated, the final phrase ringing with sardonic emphasis.

Somewhere along the line," he went on, "it was decided, by whom I cannot say, that he was a dead duck and that he should take the fall."

Mr. Dermody, who spoke for 4 hours and 20 minutes, reviewed the testimony of the 26 witnesses presented by the state and 19 who appeared for the defendants.

Hayer, he noted, had been captured outside the ballroom with a bullet, assertedly fired by one of Malcolm's body guards, in his left thigh. There could be no dispute that he had attended the meeting.

But as to his contention that he had never been a member of the Muslims or, for that matter, ever been in a Muslim mosque, Mr. Dermody asked the jury to study carefully photographs taken, according to testimony, at Mosque No. 25 in Newark, showing Hayer taking part in a karate demonstration.

As to the alibis of Butler and Johnson, who were arrested on Feb. 25 and March 3, that they spent the afternoon of the murder with their families in their Bronx apartments, Mr. Dermody said: "Somebody is lying."

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# Malcolm Trial 'Don't Believe Confession'

By James W. Sullivan  
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

On Monday, Feb. 28, Talmadge Hayer, 24, took the witness stand in Supreme Court to tell a jury of nine men and three women that he fired bullets from a .45 caliber pistol into Malcolm X last year in the Audubon Ballroom.

Yesterday, seven days later, Peter L. F. Sabbatino, Hayer's attorney, spent three hours telling the same jury that his client was not guilty.

"Stay in this jury room until hell freezes over, rather than convict this boy, no matter what he says," Mr. Sabbatino commanded the jury in the course of his summation.

Mr. Sabbatino maintained that Malcolm was the victim of a vast conspiracy, which included many of those present for the rally at which he was assassinated on Feb. 21, 1965.

Among those he charged as being involved in the conspiracy were Malcolm's security guards, several prosecution witnesses and a part-time reporter for Radio Station WABC, who was covering the rally.

He indicated that the weight of "rigged evidence" had persuaded his client to confess and to attempt to absolve his two co-defendants Norman 3X Butler, 27, and Thomas 15X Johnson, both lieutenants in the Black Muslims' Mosque No. 7, of which Malcolm was minister before he was suspended in 1963.

Both Charles T. Beavers, attorney for Johnson, and William C. Chance, attorney for Butler, pointed out "inconsistencies" in the evidence and urged the jury to disregard implications that the Black Muslims were responsible for Malcolm's assassination.

Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody will give the state's summation today.

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# 3 Convicted in Slaying of Malcolm X

**NEW YORK (AP)** — After deliberating more than 20 hours, a Supreme Court jury has convicted three men of first-degree murder in the assassination of Black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

Only five silent spectators were seated in the heavily guarded courtroom when George Carter, the Negro foreman, read the verdict at 12:20 a.m. today.

The case had gone to the jury of three white women and nine men, including three Negroes, on Wednesday afternoon after an eight-week trial.

Highlighting those proceedings was the dramatic courtroom confession of Talmadge Hayer, 24, one of the convicted men. Reversing earlier testimony in which he had sworn he was innocent, Hayer admitted taking part in the killing.

But Hayer, of Paterson, N.J., indicted under the name Thom-



Norman 3X Butler Thomas 15X Johnson Talmadge Hayer

as Hagan, sought to exonerate the other two defendants, Norman 3X Butler, 27, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, both of the Bronx.

He said he had been hired with four other men to kill Malcolm, but he refused to name his confederates, saying,

"I just want to testify that Butler and Johnson had nothing to do with this."

Justice Charles Marks set April 14 for sentencing the three men to mandatory life imprisonment.

Malcolm was felled in a hail of shotgun and pistol fire on

Feb. 21, 1965, as he appeared before 400 of his followers in a Manhattan ballroom.

The onetime chief lieutenant of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, he had been suspended for saying the assassination of President Kennedy was an example of "chickens coming home to roost."

After leaving the sect, Malcolm, 39, stated publicly that he had been marked for death by the Black Muslims, but Muhammad and others of the group's leaders disclaimed any link to the slaying.

Both Butler and Johnson testified that they were lieutenants in the "Fruit of Islam," the Black Muslim elite guard. At the time of Malcolm's killing, they were both out on bail for allegedly shooting another Muslim defector.

Each testified he was home at the time of the shooting.

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FROM Wash Post & Times Herald

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# 3 Found Guilty in Malcolm X Murder; Face Maximum of Life Imprisonment

From News Dispatches

NEW YORK, March 11 (Friday)—All three defendants in the Malcolm X murder trial were convicted of murder in the first degree early today.

The verdict was returned at 12:30 a.m. by the panel of

three white women and nine men, three of them Negroes.

Convicted were Talmadge Hayer, 24, also known as Thomas Hagan, of Paterson, N.J.; Norman 3X Butler, 27, of the Bronx; and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of the Bronx.

The jury received the case Wednesday afternoon at the end of an eight-week trial.

The verdict came some 14 hours after the jury had begun its second day of deliberations.

All three face a maximum sentence of life imprisonment. Judge Charles Marks set April 14 for sentencing.

The three were charged with acting in concert to execute Malcolm X, who bolted the Black Muslim sect to lead his own following of black nationalists.

Johnson and Butler are avowed Muslims but testified they were at home with their families on Feb. 21, 1965, when Malcolm X was gunned down in Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom. Hayer, in a surprise move in the eighth week of the nine-week trial, took the witness stand and said he and two other unidentified men were hired to assassinate Malcolm by persons he refused to name. He denied that either Johnson or

Butler was a co-conspirator. A number of witnesses testified that all three were in the ballroom when Malcolm X was slain.

All three defendants sat impassively while the verdict was read by the jury foreman, George S. Carter.

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(MUSLIMS)

NEW YORK--THREE REPUTED MEMBERS OF THE RACIST BLACK MUSLIM SECT WERE SENTENCED TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT TODAY FOR THE SLAYING OF BREAKAWAY BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X.

JUSTICE CHARLES MARKS WANTED DOWN THE MANDATORY LIFE SENTENCES FOLLOWING AN EIGHT-WEEK TRIAL. NEW YORK STATE LAW WOULD NOT PERMIT THE DEATH SENTENCE IN THE CASE.

THE THREE, TALMADGE HAYER, 24, OF PATERSON, N.J., AND MORRIS BY BUTLER, 24, AND THOMAS LEE JOHNSON, 30, BOTH OF THE SECT, WERE CONVICTED OF FIRST DEGREE MURDER MARCH 11.

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 WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

# Malcolm X Slayers Get Life; Court Is Barricaded

By NORMA ABRAMS

In a heavily guarded, barricaded, 11th-floor courtroom of the Criminal Courts Building, the three assassins of Malcolm X impassively heard themselves mandatorily sentenced to life imprisonment yesterday for the slaying of the fiery Black Nationalist

Malcolm's widow, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, slipped into a rear seat of the spectators' benches as Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks passed sentence on Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of 932 Bronx Park South, Bronx.

## Widow Smiles—No Comment

She arrived too late to hear sentence pronounced on the other two—Talmadge Hayer, 24, of 347 Marshall St., Paterson, N.J., and Norman 3X Butler, 27, of 661 Rosedale Ave., Bronx.

Mrs. Shabazz left hurriedly afterward, and with a smile, told a reporter, "I have no comment." Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Hayer were present when their husbands were sentenced, but showed no emotion.

The three were convicted of first degree murder March 11 after an eight-week trial. All spectators were searched before being admitted to the courtroom for the trial, a procedure which was repeated for the sentencing.

The prosecution charged that Johnson cut down Malcolm with two blasts from a double-barreled

shotgun as the 39-year-old secessionist from the Black Muslim movement addressed 400 followers in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, on Feb. 21, 1965.

## Open Fire with Pistols

Hayer and Butler then pumped pistol slugs into Malcolm as he slumped to the floor.

During the trial, Hayer, who at first swore he was blameless, returned to the witness stand and admitted his part in the killing but sought to exonerate Johnson and Butler.

The three could be eligible for parole after serving 26 years and eight months.



Justice Charles Marks  
Sends killers to prison

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# 3 GET LIFE TERMS IN MALCOLM CASE

Sentenced for 1965 Murder  
of Black Nationalist

By JACK ROTH

In a heavily guarded, locked courtroom that was opened only to permit the widow of Malcolm X to enter, the three men convicted of killing the black nationalist leader were sentenced to life in prison yesterday.

The terms were imposed on Talmadge Hayer, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson, all Negroes, by Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks. All were identified at their trial as Black Muslims.

Under the law a life sentence is tantamount to a sentence of 40 years to life, which means the defendants will become eligible for parole after serving 26 years and 8 months.

A jury of nine men and three women deliberated for more than 20 hours last month before finding each defendant guilty of first-degree murder.

The trial took a startling turn when Hayer, on the witness stand, changed his earlier testimony and admitted he had taken part in the killing. But he asserted that his co-defendants were innocent.

## Broke With Black Muslims

Malcolm was shot to death Feb. 21, 1965, in the Audubon Ballroom at 166th Street and Broadway, as he addressed a rally of 400 persons. A former supporter of Elijah Muhammad, the black Muslim leader, he was slain about a year after breaking with the Muslim movement to set up his own group, known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Court attendants and police personnel, including police-women, searched spectators who entered the courtroom before the sentencing calendar was called. The courtroom was locked when the sentencing of Hayer was begun. Mrs. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, was searched and sat in a back row of the court to hear the sentencing.

Hayer, 24 years old, of 347 Marshall Street, Paterson, N. J., wore a dark suit and stood next to his lawyer, Peter Sabbatino. Four court attendants surrounded Hayer.

Mr. Sabbatino told Justice Marks that "the solution here will not be supported by history."

He then asked for an adjournment of the sentencing, saying his client was in pain as a result of a bullet wound he suffered while trying to escape from the ballroom after the killing. Justice Marks denied the motion.

The life sentence brought no sign of emotion to Hayer's face.

## Others Receive Their Terms

The next to be sentenced was Butler, 27, of 661 Rosedale Avenue, the Bronx. He was represented by William C. Chance Jr., who also vainly sought an adjournment.

Johnson, 30, of 330 Bronx Park South, the Bronx, was represented by Joseph Pinckney, who told the court that he had intended to ask for an adjournment, but had been asked by his client not to do so.

Mrs. Shabazz declined to comment as she left the court. When she was a witness at the trial, she said, as she passed the three defendants: "They killed my husband. They had no right to kill my husband."

The prosecution was conducted by assistant district attorneys Vincent J. Dermody and Gerald J. Ryan. Mr. Dermody recently was promoted to head the homicide bureau in Manhattan District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's office.

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## The Murder of Malcolm X:

## COVERING UP THE CRIME

By MRS. ELLA COLLINS

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There has been no mention in the press of additional indictments of the other men involved in the assassination of Malcolm X.

Are we to believe that the conviction of the three killers is the conclusion of the trial? Are we expected to accept this as a final verdict?

As I wrote earlier, during my investigation reliable, responsible and competent people who witnessed the assassination, today remember, as they did immediately after the assassination, seeing five or six men firing guns either at Malcolm X or overhead, and two others causing disturbance to distract.

## KILLERS STILL LOOSE

In accordance with the law, each man participating in assassination is equally guilty. Of a total of eight or more men (including the one who set off the fire bomb in the rear of the Audubon Ballroom), just three have been brought to justice.

Now I ask the Black people of this land: Do we fall asleep and let this investigation end? Is this what the power structure intended? Historically, we have done nothing to bring to justice killers of great Black men. Why do we rely on others to do our work?

I was informed, during my investigation, that many of Malcolm's top security men had warned witnesses who saw the assassination from close range to keep quiet and say nothing when they were questioned by the District Attorney.

## PERJURING WITNESSES

Why would these so-called "protectors" of Malcolm X hold evidence and warn others to hold evidence that would aid the D.A. in building the state case, in apprehending more of the killers and in bringing them to justice?

Members of Malcolm's security gave testimony in court favorable to the defense—they did not appear as "hostile witnesses." Some who testified for the state had previously informed me of opposite information to what they gave on the witness stand.

Many witnesses who could have

identified the persons involved were not even called to testify. A woman told me that she sat beside one of the killers and had raised her hand to knock away

der.

A man was shot in the stomach during the assassination and refused medical aid. Who was he? Who finally treated his wounds?

Not a word about him was mentioned during the trial. Another man was shot in the foot. He too was not mentioned at the trial.

Many of these relevant facts were given to the District Attorney by those present at the Ballroom that Sunday. They were not brought out in the open at the trial—was it because they would open doors for additional indictments?

At other rallies held at the Audubon Ballroom there were 40 to 60 policemen present—in the back of the room, in adjoining rooms, in the outer hall, in front of the building and in squad cars.

On the day of the assassination, there was only one policeman to be seen—outside the building. According to witnesses, it took 15 to 20 minutes for the police to arrive after the killing. Why?

We must remember that just a week earlier, Malcolm's home was bombed. If the police found it necessary to protect this great man on previous occasions—when nothing happened—why was it found unnecessary to protect him after his home had been bombed?

The stage was vacant that day, the cops nowhere to be seen. Security men stood by and did nothing—and none were called to testify at the trial. All this indicates that many people were aware of the planned assassination.

Since that cold, awful day, many of Malcolm's security men have left the country. Others have hidden out. Many of us know who they are—including the District Attorney.



Officers of O.O.A.U.

William Belfou, Benson Nkomo

his gun. The killer's expression warned her that she herself was in danger.

When I asked if any of the three indicted men was the one she had seen, her answer was no. She had also seen the three men who had finally been tried for the killing, but none was the one that sat beside her.

This man had ran to the stage and fired point-blank at Malcolm as he was falling.

In addition, two other killers (wearing turtle-neck sweaters pulled up over their mouths) who were small in stature, were shooting at Malcolm and overhead.

She had seen a total of six men taking an active part in the murder.

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## Williams to Handle 3 Muslims' Appeal In Malcolm Killing

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7 (UPI) — Edward Bennett Williams, considered one of the best constitutional lawyers in the country, said today his firm has been retained to appeal the convictions of three Black Muslims accused of killing Malcolm X.

Malcolm was shot down Feb. 21, 1965, as he began to address a gathering of his breakaway Black nationalist organization at the Audubon Ballroom in Upper Manhattan.

Following an eight-week trial, Talmadge Hayer, 24 years old, of Patterson, N.J., and Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 155X Johnson, 30, both of the Bronx, were sentenced to live imprisonment.

Williams said his firm had been retained by "friends and those closely related to the accused men." He said the Appellate Division of New York Supreme Court has been advised of the appeal.

Role Denied by Black Muslims Spokesmen for the Black Muslims have consistently denied any participation in the killing. They also denied having had anything to do with the subsequent trial and refused to discuss the three defendants' Black Muslim spokesmen in New York and Chicago, where the group's headquarters is situated, declined comment on yesterday's development.

Sources close to the group have speculated, however, that the Black Muslims are meeting the expenses of the court cases.

The three men were convicted and sentenced last April and would become eligible for parole after they had served 28 years, eight months. All had pleaded innocent.

During the trial, Hayer changed earlier testimony by saying he had taken part in the killing. He testified that his two co-defendants were innocent.

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# Crowd Battles Police 2 Hours

A South Side meeting of some 250 persons in memory of Malcolm X, slain Black Nationalist leader, flared into a two-hour, sporadic struggle with policemen Sunday.

Violence erupted, the police said, with the appearance of two white women on the scene. The crowd also was angered by the failure of an attempt to erect a new sign renaming Washington Park as Malcolm X Shabazz Park.

Thirty-eight participants were arrested. Eleven persons, including four policemen, were treated for minor injuries. Molotov cocktails, rocks and debris were hurled during the encounters.

Extra Police Sent

Some 125 extra policemen were sent to the scene as a meeting, which began in a forum of Washington Park, de-

generated into angry shouting. Rocks tore through windshields of autos passing by and windows in several police cars were shattered.

Policemen formed a chain with locked arms at one point of the struggle. Demonstrators left the park and assembled in front of the Wabash Police Station, shouting epithets.

Crowd Chased Back  
Policemen with night sticks

chased the crowd back into the park and fired shotguns into the air several times.

The crowd assembled at 1 p.m. at a park forum at 53d and South Park. There were speeches and drum playing.

Many of the crowd wore colorful fezzes, arm bands and buttons bearing the words "Black Power."

The meeting was held by various groups, none of them officially designated nor later identified.

Plainclothes policemen Otis Harris and Carl Ford, of the Wabash Av. Station, said they had been told last week that an attempt would be made during the rally to tear down the Washington Park sign at 51st and South Park, and replace it with a "Malcolm X Shabazz Park" sign.

The crowd never got the sign up. It was confiscated by policemen.

The disruption of the meeting came with the appearance of two white women who parked their car nearby. Their names were not learned.

## 'We Don't Want Them'

Officers Harris and Ford said the women joined the crowd. Then someone shouted:

"There's whites among us."

Other voices cried, "That's white and we don't want them here." The crowd was made up of a number of youths, both male and female.

Two or three Negro girls set upon the whites, the two Negro plainclothesmen said.

"They were joined by about 15 Negro women who pushed and mauled them," the officers said. "We pulled our stars and told them we were police. We ordered them to get back to the meeting."

The policemen then drew their guns. Ford escorted the two white women to their auto and directed them to leave. They did.

Then the crowd began moving from the speaking area to 51st and South Park. About

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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CHICAGO SUN TIME  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-22-67  
Edition: FOUR STAR FINAL

Author: \_\_\_\_\_  
Editor: EMMETT DEDMON

Title: RALLY TO HONOR  
MALCOLM X SPONSORED IN  
WABASH PARK, CHICAGO, ILL.

Character: \_\_\_\_\_  
or 157-1465

Classification: \_\_\_\_\_  
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

☐ Being Investigated

UNDER INVESTIGATION

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30 uniformed policemen then were on hand.

#### Police Reinforced

Minutes later, they were reinforced; the policemen then numbered about 125.

They pursued the crowd, moving in a wide arc of some 500 yards, back into the park.

Soon, the crowd assembled at the Wabash Av. Station, ostensibly, the police said, to try to free a number of participants who were being questioned inside.

The crowd totaled some 200. They chanted and shouted insults at the policemen before being dispersed.

Three Molotov cocktails were hurled into 48th St. They landed harmlessly although they were ignited.

Bottles and stones also were thrown at policemen.

Inside the station, demonstrators refused to stand for photographs and would not discuss the incident with newsmen.

Police Lt. Robert Harness, commander of the 2d District, praised his men. "They kept their heads, and withstood a lot of baiting and pressure," he commented.

The area was cleared by 6:45 p.m., and by midnight the Wabash Av. station had its normal complement of men on duty.

A 13-year-old girl said she was told by some of the group to put up a sign renaming the park. She wore a button with a picture of Malcolm X.

The girl complained that as she attempted to post the sign "a policeman hit me in the head."

The police said they had planned to remove the sign

because no permit had been issued for its erection on public property.

The Wabash Av. District policemen treated for minor injuries at Provident Hospital were:

Daniel Moran, face cut from thrown brick; Louis Shelley, bruised arm; James Breckenridge, hand bite, and Marvin Phaer, sprained or fractured wrist.

The 31 adults and seven juveniles were arrested on charges ranging from mob action and interfering with police to disorderly conduct. Some were charged additionally with aggravated battery and damage to police property.

Three of the juveniles were arrested during a television filming of arresting police at the station.



Confiscated and taken to Wabash Av. Police Station is sign erected by rioters to replace the Washington Park one near scene of rally. (Sun-Times Photo by Jack Lenahan)



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## 30 ARRESTED DURING MALCOLM X TRIBUTE

## 10 Hurt at Black Nationalist Rally

A black nationalist meeting in Washington park's free speech area erupted in violence yesterday after two white women joined the crowd of 250 persons honoring Malcolm X, the slain Negro leader.

In the melee that followed, 30 persons were arrested, 10 others—including 3 policemen—were injured, and the Wabash avenue police station was besieged for more than an hour.

At the meeting, sponsored by the Afro-American Student association, a sign bearing the name of the park was ripped down and the group tried to replace it with a sign reading "Malcolm X Shabazz Park."

## Angers Negro Women

The two white women, who were rescued by Negro undercover policemen, fled the scene and remained unidentified.

Their arrival in the park angered some Negro women, who seized them and began shouting "Black power" and "Whitey's here." Policemen Otis Harris and Carl Ford intervened and led the two white women away.

Then, someone tore down the park sign, and several arrests were made after police reinforcements arrived.

The crowd marched on the police station, a few blocks away at 48th street and Wabash avenue, to protect the arrests. Rocks and bottles were thrown and police said at least four molotov cocktails were exploded.

## Tip Over Police Car

Comdr. Robert Barnes addressed the crowd thru a bullhorn in an effort to get them to disperse. Hundreds of policemen were called in from several south side districts to handle the crowd.

The mob tipped over a police car a block south of the station and smashed its windows.

CTA officials rerouted buses around the area in the disorder.

Among those addressing the meeting in the park were Lawrence Landry, who led the massive 1963 school boycott; Oscar Brown Jr., the entertainer; and Robert Lucas, chairman of the Chicago chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, who led last summer's open housing march into Cicero.

Police charged all those arrested with mob action, disorderly conduct, and resisting arrest. They will appear today before Magistrate Maurice Lee in Jury court.

The disturbance yesterday came at approximately the same time as police in several parts of California were trying

to put down racial, religious, and political violence.

## Closed by Council

In Vallejo, Cal., about 40 miles northeast of San Francisco, all 70 members of the police force and a dozen highway patrolmen were called out to quell a disturbance at the Floyd Terrace housing project, which has been ordered closed by the city council.

In San Francisco, violence broke out between Jews and Arabs in Golden Gate park.

Police said about 100 Arab students picketed a gathering of about 1,500 persons marking Israel Freedom day. The Arab group marched toward the bandstand and began heckling the speaker, according to police.

In Los Angeles, 26-year-old Michael Laski, leader of a

small communist splinter group which calls itself the Communist Party U. S. A., Marxist-Leninist, was arrested at an outdoor anti-Viet Nam protest rally on a charge of using sound equipment on Sunday without a police permit.

In San Diego, 34 Negroes and 4 whites were arrested after a riot at a rock 'n' roll show in the downtown Community Course auditorium.

Mr. Tolson	
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Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

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CHICAGO AMERICAN  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

5-22-67

Date:

Edition: 3 STAR FINAL

Author:

Editor: LLOYD WENDT

Title: RALLY TO HONOR  
MALCOLM X SPONSORED BY  
C.C.F.P. WASHINGTONCharacter: CGO, ILL  
or 157-1465

Classification:

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

☐ Being Investigated

UNDER INVESTIGATION

File 5-  
102-397321100-397321-A-  
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SECTION OF WASHINGTON park, near Provident hospital, has been proclaimed Malcolm X Shabazz park, according to sign. Gathering of Black Nationalists to honor their slain leader turned into a riot.

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# Wabash Av. Station Guarded After 38 Arrests in Park

By Edmund J. Rooney

Extra police squads guarded the Wabash Av. police station and patrolled nearby streets Monday as the result of a disturbance led by "Black Power" advocates.

Four juveniles and 34 adults were arrested after the melee Sunday in Washington Park. Three policemen and four other persons were slightly injured.

Police Comdr. Robert Harness blamed the disturbance on "high emotionalism" by persons attending a meeting to dedicate the park to Malcolm X, slain Black Nationalist.

"The trouble began when two unidentified white girls sought to attend the meeting and their presence was objected to by many colored women," Harness said.

TWO NEGRO undercover detectives, Otis Harris and Carl Ford, were credited with rescuing the white girls from the angry crowd.

"Harris and Ford pulled their guns and risked severe personal injury to allow the white girls to get to their car and drive out of the park," Harness said.

More than 150 uniformed police, wearing riot helmets and carrying shotguns, rushed into the park and nearby streets.

A CROWD of more than 200 persons quickly arrived at the Wabash Av. station, 48th St. and S. Wabash, to protest the arrest of 12 persons at the park. The crowd ignored a plea by Harness to disperse and tossed rocks, bricks and Molotov cocktails.

The three Wabash Av. District policemen treated for minor injuries at Provident Hospital were Daniel Moran, face cuts from a thrown brick; Leon Shelley, bruised arm, and James Breckenridge, hand bite.

The 34 adults who were arrested will appear May 31 in Boys Court on charges ranging from mob action and interfering with police to disorderly conduct. Some were charged additionally with aggravated battery and damage to police property.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Wick  
Miss Gandy

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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-22-67

Edition: RED DART

Author: EDWARD J. ROONEY

Editor: ROY M. FISHER

Title: RALLY TO HONOR MAL  
COM X SPONSORED BY C.C  
WASHINGTON PARK,  
CHICAGO, ILL.

Character:

or

157-1465

Classification:

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

☐ Being Investigated

UNDER INVESTIGATION

File 5  
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56 JUN 21 1967

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## Around the Nation

### Draftee-Undrafted

**OBERLIN, OHIO**—Oberlin College's President, Dr. Robert K. Carr, said yesterday that the Selective Service System has assured him that a delinquency notice given an Oberlin student who demonstrated against the war in Vietnam will be withdrawn.

John D. Love, 21, a junior, became subject to immediate draft by the notice as a result of his part in a demonstration last Oct. 26 against Navy recruiters.

Dr. Carr said the General Faculty Council had approved a proposal for temporary revocation of the school's policy of making facilities available to military recruiters.

### School "Hate"

**NEW YORK**—Alfred A. Giardino, president of the Board of Education, has directed Superintendent of Schools Bernard E. Donovan to "establish clear control" of Intermediate School 201 in East Harlem and to end "incitements to hate" there.

He said he and other board members were shocked that an antiwhite program was held Wednesday in the school auditorium. It had been billed as a memorial to the third anniversary of the assassination of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

The City Commission on Human Rights "also an-

nounced plans to hold hearings on reports of racism in public schools.

### Hijacker Probed

**MIAMI**—The United States Government probed through Swiss diplomatic channels yesterday to learn whether Lawrence Mahlon Rhodes Jr. would get sanctuary in Cuba or be returned to face Federal piracy and kidnaping charges for hijacking a jet airline and forcing the pilot to take him to Cuba.

The State Department asked the Swiss Embassy to determine whether the Fidel Castro government had granted political asylum to Rhodes, the son of a West Virginia coal miner. Hijacking an aircraft in flight is a death penalty offense under Federal law.



Associated Press  
**BERNARD E. DONOVAN**  
 ... to combat hate

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## TWO STUDIOS PLAN MALCOLM X FILMS

James Baldwin and Louis  
Lomax Writing Scripts

By VINCENT CANBY

Hollywood apparently regards Malcolm X as a hot box-office property. Two motion-picture companies are rushing plans for major films based on the life of the black nationalist leader, born Malcolm Little, who was assassinated here Feb. 21, 1965.

Columbia Pictures, which owns the rights to "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," hopes to begin production in the fall with a script now being written by James Baldwin. Sidney Poitier has been mentioned as the possible star, although all parties connected with the project refuse to comment.

At the same time, 20th Century-Fox is planning to start production late this summer on "Malcolm X" based on an original screenplay being written by Louis Lomax, a newspaperman and television commentator.

The possibility that two films about Malcolm X might be ready for release at about the same time does not seem to be deterring either company.

### 'Hot' Summer Feared

An executive at Fox said Thursday that "the only thing that would persuade us not to go ahead would be our inability to come up with a good script." A Columbia official said simply that "the project is fraught with peril," but this, apparently, was in reference to what might happen to the project should the warnings of violent racial unrest materialize this summer.

The two companies have, however, been sparring rather discreetly over their rival films. Last week an arbitration committee of the Motion Picture Association of America's title registration bureau gave Columbia the right to use the title, "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," for its film although Fox had earlier registered its intention to make a film called "Malcolm X."

The title registration bureau has no legal authority, but the film association's member companies, in an attempt to forestall the use of similar and duplicate film titles (and, indirectly, film stories), register titles with the bureau and receive priority on their use.

The Fox spokesman suggested that the reason that Columbia was given the right to use its title, even though it was registered after Fox's, was because "The Autobiography of Malcolm X" belongs to a copyrighted work. That book, written in collaboration with Alex Haley, was published by Grove Press in October, 1965.

Reached Thursday in Hollywood, Marvin Worth, who will produce "The Autobiography" for Columbia, had another explanation: "I have just one thing to say. I submitted ['The Autobiography of Malcolm X'] to Fox before submitting it to Columbia."

David Brown, a Fox vice president and the director of story operations, confirmed this, but said that at that time Fox already was working on its own original treatment of the Malcolm X story "although that was not conveyed to Mr. Worth at the time."

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, is cooperating with Mr. Baldwin on the preparation of the Columbia screenplay and has given the film company the exclusive right to portray her in the forthcoming film.

Although Columbia executives would not disclose how much had been paid for "The Autobiography," they said that Mrs. Shabazz and her children would also receive part of the film's net profits, which will be paid into a trust fund.

Officials at Fox were reluctant to disclose the scope of the Malcolm X screenplay being written by Mr. Lomax, as well as the names of those persons, associated with the black nationalist from whom they have received legal releases. Paul Monash will produce the Fox film, which, it is expected, will be made without well-known players.

"The Autobiography of Malcolm X" covers his life from his boyhood in Michigan, through his Harlem hoodlum days and his conversion to Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, to his break with Muhammad and his trips to Mecca.

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The Washington Post  
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Date MAR 9 1968

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# BLACK MUSLIMS LOSE ON MURDER APPEAL

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Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, April 16—The Court of Appeals rejected Wednesday an appeal of three Black Muslims sentenced to life in prison for the murder of Malcolm X, leader of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

In a unanimous opinion, the state's highest court ruled there was no reversible error in the first-degree murder conviction of Thomas Hagan, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson.

The appeal asked the reversal of the conviction because the press and public were barred from the courtroom during the testimony of two witnesses. This act, the three claimed, denied them their constitutional right to a public trial.

That contention was rejected, said Associate Judge Francis Bergan, who wrote the opinion, because:

"In the balancing of policy and of interests if, for a good reason related directly to the management of the trial, the judge closes the court room as to the testimony of a witness and otherwise keeps it open to the press and public, a defendant is not necessarily deprived of a 'public' trial."

The judge had closed the court when the attorney for one witness said the life of his witness had been threatened and he feared for his life if he testified. Related testimony by an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was also taken in private.

Malcolm X was murdered Feb. 21, 1965, while addressing a audience in the Audubon Room in New York City.

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## Court Upholds Convictions in Malcolm X Slaying

ALBANY, N.Y. (UPI) — The Court of Appeals today upheld the conviction of three Black Muslims for the slaying of Malcolm X, who was shot while preparing to address some 400 followers in a Manhattan ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965.

In a unanimous opinion, the court held that "the proof that the defendants participated in the assassination of Malcolm X is abundant."

The defendants, Thomas Hayer, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas Johnson, all of New York and all Black Muslims, had contended that exclusion of the news media and the public from the courtroom during a small segment of the trial had deprived them of their rights to public trial.

The opinion, written by Associate Judge Francis Bergen, cited several cases where the press and public had been excluded from the trial and which did not infringe on the defendants' rights.

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## The Sister of Malcolm X Leads 300 in a Pilgrimage to His Grave

By HOMER BIGART

Special to The New York Times

HARTSDALE, N.Y., May 19 —The sister of Malcolm X led a pilgrimage of 300 today to the grave of the slain black militant in Ferncliff Cemetery here, where she said that her brother would have "prevented" black riots had he lived.

The birthday of Malcolm X, who was shot by a band of black assassins in Harlem in 1965, was also marked by the closing of eight junior high and elementary schools in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, and by memorial programs in other predominantly black schools throughout the city.

At the graveside, marked by a metal plaque, Malcolm X's sister, Mrs. Ella Collins, exhorted the crowd: "Learn to stand up like men and defend yourselves."

Eight blacks, robed in white and wearing white turbans, stood guard while two men clad in funeral black unrolled the red, black and green flag of the Republic of New Africa over the grave. A symbolic vacant chair, draped in the African colors and displaying a photo of Malcolm X, was placed beside the grave. An imam chanted prayers in Arabic.

### 'Don't Let Him Down'

"He's been dead five years; don't let him down," said Mrs. Collins. "The way you don't let him down is to develop yourselves."

"Improve your raggedy minds. Stop sleeping all day. Stop trucking and living. Stop being boys. You want my opinion? You're still boys. Learn to do something positive for a change. Don't let him die in vain."

Mark Holden, a young man representing the Black Panthers, read an editorial from the current issue of the Black



Followers of the slain black militant leader Malcolm X drape his grave with the flag of Black Liberation movement.

Panther newspaper saying Malcolm X had "set the stage" for the Black Panthers' "era of the money had ended. He would have prevented riots. He would have revealed the truth to them to something positive."

"History has shown us," Mr. Holden read, "that for the black liberation struggle, it's definitely time to 'get guns and be men.'"

Mrs. Collins called on all black males present to salute the flag, which had been removed from the grave. The men queued up and marched past the flag, each touching it with his right hand.

He believe riots would not be a major factor if he [Mal-

colm X] were alive today," said Mrs. Collins after the ceremony had ended. "He would have prevented riots. He would have revealed the truth to them to something positive."

Mrs. Collins defended the Black Panthers against charges of violence.

"Would you call Panthers violent when you know Nixon would give them a gun and send them overseas to kill people?" she asked. "I can't remember the Black Panthers doing anything that would measure up to dropping bombs on homes in Vietnam."

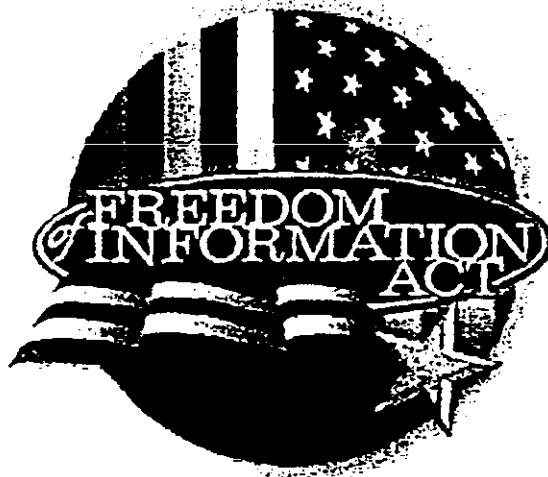
Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date 5-20-70

56 MAY 28 1970

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NOT RECORDED  
133 MAY 26 1970

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**MALCOLM X LITTLE**

**PART 23 OF 24**

**BUFILE:100-399321**

**(ENCLOSURES)**

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 100-399321

Enclosure Behind File 47

\_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_

CLASSIFIED DOCUMENT

Malcolm K. Little

ALSO KNOWN AS:

BIRTHDATE: May 19, 1925

BIRTHPLACE: Omaha, Nebr. (verified)

SPOUSE: Betty Little; nee Sanders

RACE:

LOCALITY: Negro

SUMMARY  
(Correlation)

REMARKS:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/1/83 BY 8269 JEM/wes/dq

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12/1/83

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ANALYTICAL SUMMARY

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MALCOLM LITTLE

ME 100-399321

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Little, Malcolm

MF 100-399321

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✓✓ I 398 End P28, 37, 38, 40, 41,  
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21, 32, 33, 77, 79, 82

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A. Pittsburgh Courier DESTROY ✓ I 1-17-59;  
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A. San Francisco News

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✓ I 100-432886-1 P6

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✓ I 105-24822-13 Pg. 7, 41

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✓ I 105-37680-1 P10, 14, 17, 20

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✓ I 105-37831-1 P11, 12, 13, 17,  
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✓ I 105-50027-11 P 17, 18

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✓ I 100-432581-3

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✓ I 100-423662-2 P10,11,13,14,16,19

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ROY ✓ 25-330971-1740 P-14

LITTLE, MALCOMB

MF 25-367776

ROY ✓ 25-330971-390

LITTLE, MALCON C.

IR [REDACTED] b7c

LITTLE, RYTHMN Red

MF 100-399321

SECRET



ARLTON, JACK

~~SECRET~~

ANALY

100-399321

25-330971-368

100-135-2-228

~~SECRET~~

MALIK, EL SHABAZZ

MF 100-399321

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ ✓ I 105-24822-73

~~SECRET~~

EL SHABAZZ MALIK

MF100-399321

SECRET

DESTROY

✓ 105.24822-73

DESTROY

✓ SHABAZZ, - JOHN

████████████████████ b7C

DESTROY

✓ SHABASZ, JOSEPH

████████████████████ b7C

SECRET

X, MALCOLM ~~SECRET~~

DESTROY ✓ 125-330971-4372

X, MALCOMB

DESTROY ✓ 125-330971-390

DESTROY ✓ 125-330971-2446-P3

X, MALCOLM

DESTROY ✓ 105-34712-11

Little, Shabazz

DESTROY ✓ 105-60601-3

DESTROY ✓ [REDACTED] 67C

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FILE DESCRIPTION  
BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 100-399321-478 Enclosure

Behind File

100-349321-478

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
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Malcolm K. Little  
100-399321

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

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ANALYTICAL Suppl.

#REF. 173

UTDconsum 4/10/63

LITTLE, MALCOLM ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321 *UTD 10/10/63*

DO NOT DESTROY

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DO NOT DESTROY

I Publications, ALPHABETICAL Sect. "COMBAT" 5/15/71 PH

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DO NOT DESTROY

~~DESTROY~~ [REDACTED] (S) 64



~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

100-432415-A per S.I.

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~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

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100-441765-24

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~~I~~ 100-441765-143

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~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED] 678

~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

670

~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

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~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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~~SI~~

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[REDACTED]

676

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~~SI~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] b7c

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~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

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~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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I [REDACTED] b7c

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I [REDACTED]

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I [REDACTED] b7c  
(2 CARDS)

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[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

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[REDACTED]

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~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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~~I~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

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~~SECRET~~

UTD consum 4/10/63  
Analytical Suppl.  
#ref 7

Little, Malcolm K. ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

~~DESTROY~~

I 62-46855-250

~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical Suppl  
#ref 3  
DTD consum 4/10/63

Little, Malcolm Shabazz ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

✓  
DESTROY

I 25-330971-15-66

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical Suppl.  
# *ref. 8*  
D.D. consum 4/10/63

Little, Malcolm X. ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~ 67c

~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

(per. consolidation)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical Supp  
# ref 2  
UTD com sum 4/10/63

Little, Malcom ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 com sum 4/10/63

Analytical Supp  
# ref 3  
UTD com sum 4/10/63

Little, Malcomb ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 25-367776

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321 ~~SECRET~~

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 com sum 4/10/63

~~SECRET~~

*All Reference  
#ref 1*

*Little, Big Red ✓*

~~DESTROY~~

*I*

[REDACTED]

*b7D*

*Analytical Suppl  
#ref 2  
UTD consum 4/4/63*

*Little, Detroit Red ✓*

DO NOT DESTROY

*MF 100-399321*

DO NOT DESTROY

*MF 100-399321-71 consum 4/6/63*

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical Suppl.  
#ref 2  
UJ Consum 4/10/63

Little, RythmRed ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-7/1 consum 4/10/63

Analytical Suppl.  
#ref 2  
UJ Consum 4/10/63

Little, Shabazz ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-7/1 consum 4/10/63

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~~SECRET~~

ANALYTICAL ~~Suppl~~  
#REFS. 56  
CTD consum 4/10/63

SHABAZZ, JOHN ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

For your information

b7c

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 Correlation Summary - 4/10/63

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

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DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

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NR [REDACTED]

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED] per BT

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

67C

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

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b7c

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

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NR [REDACTED]

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

per consultation

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED]

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~~SECRET~~

*All Reference  
#ref 4*

*Shabazz, Johnny*

DO NOT DESTROY

*NI* [REDACTED]

DO NOT DESTROY

*NI* [REDACTED]

*b7c*

DO NOT DESTROY

*NI* [REDACTED]

DO NOT DESTROY

*NR* [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical Suppl.  
#ref 2  
JTD consum 4/10/63

Shabazz, Malcolm ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

~~DESTROY~~

I 25-330971-6724

~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441765-29

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-442684-28-20p 3

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical Suppl.  
#ref 3  
U/D consum 4/10/63

Shabazz, M ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-442235-66

Analytical Suppl.  
#ref 2  
U/D consum 4/10/63

Shabazz, Malachi ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical  
#ref 2

Shabazz, Malik ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321 NR 97/63 above per. 60

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#ref 1

Shabazz, Malik AI ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

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~~SECRET~~

UTD consum 4/10/63  
Analytical Suppl.  
#ref 2

Shabazz, Malik E1 ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

✓ DESTROY

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All Reference Suppl.  
#ref 2  
UTD consum 4/10/63

Shabazz, Malikel ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical Suppl.  
#ref. 2  
U#Dconsum 4/4/63

Shabazz, Maluchi ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

NF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

NF 100-399321-7/corr sum 4/10/63

Analytical  
#ref. 2

Shabazz, Muhammad

DO NOT DESTROY

NR 25-330971-7718p III

DO NOT DESTROY

NR 25-330971-6-142

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

*all Reference  
#ref*

Shabbaz, Alha Ji Malik ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

11/5/67 above 106

*all Reference  
#ref 1*

Shabbaz, John

DO NOT DESTROY

NR

[REDACTED]

b7C

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

*all references  
#ref*

*Shabazz, El Hajj Halik*

**DO NOT DESTROY**

*I see: Publications  
"Combat" May 15, 1971 p. 4*

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

<sup>suppl</sup>  
all Reference  
#ref 2  
UJ consum 4/10/63

Shabazz, Joseph ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF/00-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF/00-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

all Reference  
#ref 1

Shabbazz, Mohammed

DO NOT DESTROY

NI

[REDACTED]

b7c

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*All Reference  
#ref 1*

Shabezz, John

DO NOT DESTROY

*NR*

[REDACTED]

**b7D**

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~~SECRET~~

ANALYTICAL Suppl.

# REFS. 381

UTDcom sum 4/10/63

X, MALCOLM ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 9-35568

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 44-21493

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 Correlation Summary 4/10/63

DO NOT DESTROY

SI BUREAU LIBRARY: AUTHOR OF AUTODIOGRAPHY  
OF MALCOLM X MF 100-399321-445

~~SECRET~~

PUBLICATIONS: ALPHABETICAL SECTION

DO NOT DESTROY

I "THE MILITANT" 2/8/65 p.3

~~DO NOT DESTROY~~

~~I~~ Publications, Alphabetical Section: "Combat" 5/15/71 p. 4

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 25-330971-6501

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 6513

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 6518 p. 3, 10, 11, 43, 48-50, 60, 62, 64, 74,  
78-80, 116, 117, 125, 144, 145, 147,  
149, 159

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 6593

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ changed to 25-330971-11-48X  
6792

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 6850

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 6885 p. 4, 51, 95-111, 113

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ changed to 25-330971-15-100X  
7006

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 7013

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 7099 p. 4, 34-36, 38, 39, 69, 76, 104, 106, 112, 113,  
119, 128, 134, 144, 152-158, 160-170

~~SECRET~~



*eliminate  
for Classification*

~~SECRET~~

<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>	<del>25-330971-8186</del>	
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>	25-330971-A	"The Daily Tar Heel" 4-18-63
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>	25-330971-4-11	
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>	25-330971-5-40	(card not found)
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>		41
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>		47 p. 8
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>		47 p. 8, 9, 12-16
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>		62
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>	25-330971-5-A	WASH. CAPITAL News Bulletin 10-7-63
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>	25-330971-6-42	
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>		49 p. 8
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>		85
<del>DESTROY</del>	<del>I</del>	25-330971-10-34	

} 3 cards

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 25-330971-11-48X

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

58 p.1, 8-10

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

25-330971-15-64

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

67

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

100X

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

25-330971-21-31 p.19, 20

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

25-330971-26-92 p.13

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

25-330971-30-19

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

21 p.11

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

25-330971-31-21 p.21, 23

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

30

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

55

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

25-330971-32-22

~~SECRET~~

-40-

~~DESTROY~~

I 25-330971-34-78

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

82

~~DESTROY~~

I

88

~~DESTROY~~

I

89

~~DESTROY~~

I

94

~~DESTROY~~

I

95

~~DESTROY~~

I

97

~~DESTROY~~

I

119 p.6

~~DESTROY~~

I

123

~~DESTROY~~

I

127

~~DESTROY~~

I

140

~~DESTROY~~

I

150

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

154 p.6, 10-13, 15-18, 22, 24, 27, 28, 38,  
40-42, 44, 45

~~DESTROY~~

I 25-330971-34-175

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

175 Encl. p.1

} 2 cards

~~DESTROY~~

I

176

~~DESTROY~~

I

193

~~DESTROY~~

I

~~62~~  
~~6470~~ per consultation (could not find)

~~DESTROY~~

I

25-330971-38-68

~~DESTROY~~

I

116

~~DESTROY~~

I

118

~~DESTROY~~

I

146

~~DESTROY~~

I

25-330971-41-15 p. 42, 43, 65, 69, 73

~~DESTROY~~

I

27

~~DESTROY~~

I

29 p. 40

~~DESTROY~~

I

25-330971-42-17 p. 15

~~SECRET~~

- 42 -

~~DESTROY~~

I 25-330971-46-9 p. 23

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I 25-330971-47-23 p. 12-22, 38, 39, 41-43

~~DESTROY~~

I 25-330971-49-19

~~DESTROY~~

I \_\_\_\_\_ 21

~~25-330971-55~~ eliminate  
for consolidation

~~DESTROY~~

I 25-330971-53-33

~~DESTROY~~

I \_\_\_\_\_ 39

~~DESTROY~~

I \_\_\_\_\_ 40 p. 6, 11, 14-16

~~DESTROY~~

I \_\_\_\_\_ 53 p. 13

~~DESTROY~~

I 25-330971-53-A "WASH. Post & Times Herald" 5-13-63

~~DESTROY~~

I 25-330971-56-10

~~DESTROY~~

I 25-330971-64-6 p. 4-6, 14

~~DESTROY~~

I \_\_\_\_\_ 11 p. 15  
- 43

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 44-12831-303

**SECRET**

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 324 Encl. p. 14

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 393

~~44-46821-1~~ *eliminated  
per. Consolidation*

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 62-46855-250

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED] (C) b1

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 62-106800-A "N.Y. JOURNAL-AMERICAN" No DATE  
3/27/64 D.O.C. 4-13-64

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED] b1c

~~DESTROY~~

~~SI~~ [REDACTED] MF100-399321-74 p. 28

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 62-108854-1

~~DESTROY~~

~~SI~~ 62-109090-236 Encl. Vol. II p. 333 to

MF100-399321-1067 + Record 17/12/64  
and 57/1/64 find above serial 1053

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 62-109119-720

**SECRET**

~~DESTROY~~

~~SI~~ 62-109555-26 MF100-399321-4187.38,39  
-441-

~~DESTROY~~

I 62-111181-912

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I 64-175-366-40

b1

~~DO NOT DESTROY~~

[REDACTED]

(S)

Kept in special file Room  
Tillett Communications Div.

~~DESTROY~~

I 94-48955-8

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

b7c

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-3-7785 p.55,97

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-3-81-10206

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-3-106-835

b1

~~DO NOT DESTROY~~

[REDACTED]

(S)

~~DESTROY~~

I

1587

~~DESTROY~~

I

1729

(u)

~~DESTROY~~

I

1824

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

1948

-45-

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-3-116-2016

~~DESTROY~~

I 2077 p.15, 79-81, 106, 151

~~DESTROY~~

I 2084

~~DESTROY~~

I 2199

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-3-116-A "N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN" 4/26/64

~~DESTROY~~

I " "N.Y. Times" 8/10/64 p.4

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-16-2026 p.19

~~DESTROY~~

I 2069

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-16-35-1170 p.20

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

SI 100-99729-227 MF100-399321-15/ep.1

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-106670-900

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-182800-95

~~SECRET~~

-46-



~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED]

b7C

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

SI 100-357762-81 p. 19, 20 MF 100-399321-  
100-399321-  
4/7/64 2p. 1, 2  
above ser. 98

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED] b7C

~~DESTROY~~

DI 100-397390-668 p. 7 (per HMC)

~~DESTROY~~

MF 100-399321-60 p. 31

~~DESTROY~~

MF 67

~~DESTROY~~

MF 100-399321-A "N.Y. Times" 3/2/65

~~DESTROY~~

SI 100-405600-21 MF 100-399321-125 p. 15

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED] b7C  
"Challenge" 10/3/64

~~DESTROY~~

SI 100-412692-26 MF 100-399321-74 p. 7

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-415473-46 p. 13

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-426407-53

~~SECRET~~

b1

(S)

DO NOT DESTROY

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

b7c

~~DESTROY~~

~~SI~~

100-431140-11 p. 6 MF 100-397321-74 p. 24

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

b7c

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

b7c

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

b7c

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

100-434344-18

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED]

b7c  
~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 100-435975-15

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 100-436039-13

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ [REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 100-437041-639 p.40

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 100-437041-A "Challenge" 12-22-64

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ "SECRET" Challenge" 1-12-65  
-49-

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-437041-6-26 p.17

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED] b7C

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED] b7C

~~100-439190-9-66~~

~~61~~

} eliminated  
per Consolidation

DO NOT DESTROY

100-439190-12-12

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-439190-26-16 p.35

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

b7C

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-439704-4 p.17

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

ITC

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

b7C

~~DESTROY~~

I

100-441164-45-17p.16

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

100-441765-6

~~DESTROY~~

I

7

~~DESTROY~~

I

24

~~DESTROY~~

I

27

~~DESTROY~~

I

29

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441765-33

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

40

~~DESTROY~~

I

67

~~DESTROY~~

I

89 p.1-19, 14-25, 27, 29-37.

~~DESTROY~~

I

97

~~DESTROY~~

I

103

~~DESTROY~~

I

122

~~DESTROY~~

I

125

~~DESTROY~~

I

134

~~DESTROY~~

I

135

~~DESTROY~~

I

143

~~DESTROY~~

I

146 Encl. p.2

~~DESTROY~~

I

160

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~ 100-441765-161

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

162

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

176

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

186

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

197

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

221

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

254

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

257

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

315

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

348 p. 1, 1A, 2-9, 11-20, 22, 23, 27-32,  
35-45, 48, 49

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

354

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

372

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441765-408

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

468 p.13

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441765-A Wash. Capital News Service 7-22-64

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441874-129

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441968-2

~~DESTROY~~

I

10

~~DESTROY~~

I

19

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-442235-6

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

9

-54-



DESTROY

I 100-442235-14

~~SECRET~~

DESTROY

I

16

DESTROY

I

20

DESTROY

I

-23

DESTROY

I

27

DESTROY

I

31 p.c

DESTROY

I

32

DESTROY

I

35

DESTROY

I

41

DESTROY

I

45

DESTROY

I

49

DESTROY

I

56

~~SECRET~~

DESTROY

I

66

-55-

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-442529-265 p. 692

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

269 p. 91

~~DESTROY~~

I

275 p. 22

~~DESTROY~~

I

286 p. 225

~~DESTROY~~

I

726 p. 38, 82, 87

~~DESTROY~~

I

959 p. 9, 10

~~DO NOT DESTROY~~

NR

1201 Encl. p. 4

~~DESTROY~~

I

100-442684-9-9 Encl. p. 8, 11, 17, 26

~~DESTROY~~

I

100-442684-28-20 p. 3

~~DESTROY~~

I

100-442684-34-4

~~DESTROY~~

I

100-442684-37-11 Encl. p. 8

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

b7c

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

b7D

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

b7D

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

b7C

~~100-446761-63-57~~ *eliminated per. classification*

~~100-448564-19~~ *eliminated per. D.I.*

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

b7C

~~DESTROY  
DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

b7C

(2 CARDS)

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

105-24822-169 p. 6-8, 19, 23-26

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

b7C

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

b7C

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

b7C

~~DESTROY~~

SI

[REDACTED]

b7C

MF 100-397321-215 p. 22, 23

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

b7C

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED] b7c

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

b7c

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I 105-71196-15 p.1

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED] b1

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED] b7c

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

b7c ~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

b7c

~~DESTROY~~

I

105-123706-43

~~DESTROY~~

I

164

~~DESTROY~~

SI

105-131370-15

MF100-379321-130 outg. p. 2;  
1814.5; 2150 p. 147

~~DESTROY~~

SI

21

~~DESTROY~~

I

105-133287-8

~~DESTROY~~

I

70

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

b7c

~~DESTROY~~

I

105-146802-189 Encl. p. 10

~~DESTROY~~

I

105-153941-18

~~SECRET~~

~~105-155453-68 p. 2~~

- eliminated  
Per. Conce. Validation

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

b7c

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

109-12-287-124

~~DESTROY~~

SI

109-12-323-44 MF 100-399321-Not Recorded 5/2/64 filed above serial 105

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

(2 CARDS)

b7c

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

b7D

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

51D

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

6

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

7

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

6

~~DESTROY~~

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[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~DESTROY~~

~~I~~

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~



DESTROY

I [REDACTED]

DESTROY

I [REDACTED]

DESTROY

I [REDACTED]

DESTROY

I [REDACTED] per D.I.

DESTROY

I 157-6-4-955  
~~157-6-4-955~~ per consolidation

DESTROY

I 157-00-54

DO NOT DESTROY

NR [REDACTED] b7c

DESTROY

SI 157-4-34-50 MF 100-399321-125 p. 51

DESTROY

I 157-6-81

DESTROY

I 157-6-3-1279 Encl. p. 2

DESTROY

I

3165

DESTROY

I

157-6-4-954

DESTROY

I

157-6-4-983

SECRET

SECRET

~~DESTROY~~

I 157-6-4-1002

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~  
~~DESTROY~~

I 157-6-5-836 (2 cards)

~~157-6-8-3453~~ <sup>eliminated</sup> ~~Excl. p. 16~~ per Consolidation

~~157-6-9-6047~~ <sup>eliminated</sup> per Consolidation

~~6668~~ <sup>eliminated</sup> per Consolidation

~~6706~~ <sup>eliminated</sup> per Consolidation

~~DESTROY~~

I 157-6-10-1096

~~1635~~ <sup>eliminated</sup> per Consolidation

~~DESTROY~~

I 157-6-15-423

~~DESTROY~~

I 928

~~DESTROY~~

I 157-6-29-1761

~~DESTROY~~

I 157-6-34-213

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I 214

~~DESTROY~~

I 157-6-34-255

~~SECRET~~

~~DESTROY~~

I

287

~~DESTROY~~

I

1086

~~DESTROY~~

I

1098

~~DESTROY~~

I

1198

~~DESTROY~~

I

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DO NOT DESTROY

NR

3403

DO NOT DESTROY

NR

3415

~~DESTROY~~

I

157-6-42-588

~~DESTROY~~

I

157-6-46-94

*eliminated*  
~~515~~ per consolidation

~~DESTROY~~

I

157-6-52-1599

~~SECRET~~

*eliminated*  
~~1778~~ per consolidation  
- 65 -

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172

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~~DESTROY~~

I

67C

~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

SI 157-970-972 Encl. p.55 MF 100-397321-74 p.27

~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

I 157-1526-8

~~DESTROY~~

I

9

~~DESTROY~~

I

12

~~DESTROY~~

I 157-2448-A

NO NEWSPAPER OR DATE DOC 2/18/68  
NEW YORK JOURNAL - AMERICAN - 1/23/5

~~DESTROY~~

SI 157-3130-16 MF 100-397321- Not Recorded 9/1/64 p.1  
filed above ser. 149

~~157-8154-9~~ eliminated  
per consolidation

**SECRET**

~~157 8594 22~~

eliminated.  
per consolidation

~~22~~

~~SECRET~~

DO NOT DESTROY

NI

[REDACTED]

67C

DESTROY

I

[REDACTED]

67C

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical  
#ref 2  
U/D consum 4/10/63

X, Malcolm ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF/00-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF/00-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

All Reference  
#ref. 1

X, Malcolm ✓

~~DESTROY~~

I

[REDACTED]

b7D

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

*All Reference  
#ref*

X, Malcolm Little ✓

~~DESTROY~~

I 25-330971-34-142

UTD consum 4/10/63  
Analytical  
#ref 2

X, Malcomb ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

~~SECRET~~

**SECRET**

*Analytical Suppl.*  
# *ref* 17  
*UT consum 4/10/63*

*X, Malcom ✓*

**DO NOT DESTROY**

*MF 44-21493*

**DO NOT DESTROY**

*MF 100-399321*

**DO NOT DESTROY**

*MF 100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63*

**DESTROY**

*I 25-330971-38-A ARIZONA Republic*  
*3/4/63*

**DESTROY**

*I 25-330971-45-8*

**DESTROY**

*SI 94-42957-19 MF 100-399321-74 p.20*

**DESTROY**

*I 100-16-51-353 p.26*

*~~100-487826-47-15~~ eliminated  
per Com. l. tra.*

**SECRET**

*see p. 67  
-70- b7c*



~~DESTROY~~

I ~~████████████████████~~ 61C

~~SECRET~~

~~105-165766-5-252~~ eliminated  
per Consolidation

~~DESTROY~~

I ~~████████████████████~~

~~DESTROY~~

I 157-6-34-224

~~DESTROY~~

I 157-6-37-812

~~157-6-46-458~~ eliminated  
per Consolidation

~~DESTROY~~

I 157-2448-2

~~157-9886-86~~ eliminated  
per Consolidation

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

*analytical  
#ref 3*

X, Malcolm ✓

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441765-389

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

**67D**

~~DESTROY~~

I [REDACTED]

*All Reference  
#ref 1*

X, MALCOM ✓

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-16-2002 p 20

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

*all Reference  
#ref 1*

*X, Malcolm ✓*

~~DESTROY~~

*I [REDACTED]  
b7D*

*Analytical  
#ref 2  
UDD consum 4/10/63*

*X, Malcolm ✓*

DO NOT DESTROY

*MF100-399321*

DO NOT DESTROY

*MF100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63*

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical Suppl.  
#ref 6  
WJDCor sum 4/10/63

Malcolm, One ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF/00-399331-7/cor sum 4/10/63

DESTROY ✓

I 25-330971-5-40

DESTROY ✓

I 25-330971-38-114

DESTROY ✓

I 148

DESTROY ✓

I [REDACTED] b7c

b1

DO NOT DESTROY

[REDACTED] (s)

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

All Reference  
#ref 2

Malcolm X

Not Available

DO NOT DESTROY

Bureau Library

Author of

By ANY Means Necessary

~~157-6-8-7883~~ eliminated  
per consolidation.

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

Analytical Supp  
#ref 3

UTD consum 4/10/63

Carlton, Jack ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321-71 consum 4/10/63

DO NOT DESTROY

NT  
b7c

[REDACTED]

Analytical  
#ref 1

Khalil, M. ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

NR 4/10/65 consum 607

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical Suppl.  
#ref 2  
DDcom sum 4/4/63

Malik, El Shabazz ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF100-399321-71 com sum 4/4/63

Analytical Suppl.  
#ref 2  
DDcom sum 4/4/63

El, Shabazz Malik ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF100-399321

DO NOT DESTROY

MF100-399321-71 com sum 4/4/63

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

*All Reference  
#ref*

EI, Shabazz Al HaJJ Malik ✓

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441765-468 p15

*All Reference  
#ref*

Shabazz, Al HaJJ Malik EI ✓

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441765-468 p15

~~SECRET~~



all Reference  
#ref 1

~~SECRET~~

Al, HaJJ Malik El Shabazz ✓

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441765-468 p15 ✓

all Reference  
#ref 1

HaJJ, Malik El Shabazz Al ✓

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441765-468 p15

all Reference  
#ref 1

Malik, El Shabazz Al HaJJ ✓

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-441765-468 p15

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical  
#ref 2

EI, HaJJ Malik EI Shabazz ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

NR 2/19/64 above 105

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-442235 - 12 encl p 3

Analytical  
#ref 2

HaJJ, Malik EI Shabazz EI ✓

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

NR 2/19/64 above 105

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-442235 - 12 encl p 3

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Analytical  
#ref 2

Malik, El Shabazz El HaJJ

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

NK 2/19/64 volume 105

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-442235-12 encl p 3

Analytical  
#ref 2

El, Shabazz El HaJJ Malik

DO NOT DESTROY

MF 100-399321

NK 2/19/64 volume 105

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-442235-12 encl p 3

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

*Analytical  
#ref 2*

*Shabazz, EI HaJJ Malik EI ✓*

DO NOT DESTROY

*MF 100-399321 NK 2/19/64 above 105*

~~DESTROY~~

*I 100-442235-12 encl 3*

*All Reference  
#ref 1*

*Shabazz, EI HaJJ Malik LeI*

DO NOT DESTROY

*b7c  
NI* 

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

*all Reference  
#ref*

EI, HaJJ Malik Lei Shabazz

*b7c  
NI*

[REDACTED]

DO NOT DESTROY

*all Reference  
#ref 1*

HaJJ, Malik Lei Shabazz EI

*b7c  
NI*

[REDACTED]

DO NOT DESTROY

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

*All Reference  
#ref 1*

Malik, Le1 Shabazz El HaJJ

DO NOT DESTROY

b7C

NI

[REDACTED]

*All Reference  
#ref 1*

Le1, Shabazz El HaJJ Malik

DO NOT DESTROY

b7C

NI

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

ALL LOGICAL BUILDUPS, BREAKDOWNS, AND VARIATIONS  
OF NAME AND ALIAS WERE SEARCHED AND NO RECORD  
WAS FOUND EXCEPT THOSE LISTED.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/20/83 BY 61516/DA/DB  
AKA: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
BIRTHDATE: 5/19/25  
BIRTHPLACE: Omaha, Nebraska (verified)  
SPOUSE: Betty Little nee Sanders  
LOCALITY: (verified)  
SEARCHED ON: 3/7/72  
100-399321  
(Decensed)



FILE DESCRIPTION  
BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 100-399321

Enclosure Behind File (EBF) 71

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

100-399321-71

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/1/83 BY 82-67 JHE/jmg/ll

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b7C

Search 4/10/63

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/14/83 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/dd

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DESTROY ✓

6016 photograph changed

to

I ✓ 25-330971-34-22 photograph

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Kept in

Div 4 Special File Room

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✓

3215

DESTROY

✓

4852

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✓

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✓ I ✓

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✓ I ✓

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✓ I ✓

52

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✓ I ✓

14

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✓ I ✓

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~~DESTROY~~ ✓

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b7C

b7D

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DESTROY

✓ I

✓ [REDACTED] b7C

DESTROY

✓ I

✓ 105-28892-12

NR

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DESTROY

✓ I

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DESTROY

✓ I

✓ [REDACTED] b7C

DESTROY

✓ SI

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DESTROY

[REDACTED]

b7c

DESTROY

✓ 105-52953-10 MF 4SP9

DESTROY

✓ 105-54854-9

DESTROY

✓ [REDACTED] b7c

DESTROY

✓ [REDACTED]

b7c

DESTROY

✓ [REDACTED]

DESTROY

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DESTROY

✓ 105-61898-23

b7D

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DESTROY

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DESTROY

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DESTROY

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DESTROY

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DESTROY

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DESTROY

✓ I ✓ 105-67931-11

DESTROY

✓ I ✓ [REDACTED] b7c

DESTROY

✓ I ✓ 105-71062-20

DESTROY

✓ I ✓ [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] b7c

DESTROY

✓ I ✓ [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] (c)

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✓ I ✓ 105-76182-20

DESTROY

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~~DESTROY~~

✓ 105-95976-35

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 40

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 50

~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

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~~DESTROY~~

✓ [REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

✓ [REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 140-21101-14

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 15-

~~DESTROY~~

✓ [REDACTED] b7c

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 157-6-34-61

#100

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UTD 12-21-60

correlation Summary 2-21-61

One Malcolm

100-399321-47 corr. Sum. 2-21-61

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 25-330971-4973

~~DESTROY~~

✓

4978

~~DESTROY~~

✓

Sub A - Chicago San Francisco

2-27-61

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 100-425114-11

DESTROY

✓ 100-429780-6

DESTROY

✓ 100-432581-6

DESTROY

✓ 100-432683-5

DESTROY

✓ 1 ✓

8

DESTROY

✓ 100-433239-10

DESTROY

✓ 100-433688-1 card not found

DESTROY

✓ 100-433688-5

DESTROY

✓ 100-433856-4

DESTROY

✓ 105-32351-15

DESTROY

✓ 105-33552-22

DESTROY

✓ 1 ✓

23

DESTROY

✓ 1 ✓

b2c

DESTROY

✓ 105-59720-35

DESTROY

✓ 105-95976-43

LITTLE, MALCOLM K.

ALL REF

MF 100-399321

100-399321-47 CORR SUMMARY 2-21-61

100-399321-5 SUMM. 3-16-54

DESTROY

✓ 105-330971-26-11

DESTROY

✓ 105-330971-5637

LITTLE, M.

ANALY.

AI

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

AI

105-41704-3

spoke at <sup>meeting</sup> meeting in Phila 6/20/66  
PE

~~100-399321-47~~

ALL REF

~~100-399321-47~~

LITTLE, MALCOLM

b7C

~~100-399321-47~~

Malcolm in file: see SS page 9  
changed by Cans 7/19/63

LITTLE, MALCOLM SHABAZZ

REF 100-399321

REF 100-399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

LITTLE, MALCOLM X.

REF 100-399321

100-399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

DESTROY

✓ 25-330971-A. BUFFALO COURIER EXPRESS  
10-24-62

117

ALL REF.

LITTLE, MALCOM

100-399321

100-399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

✓  
DESIRE

 b7c

✓  
DESIRE

✓  
105-66626-10

LITTLE, MALCOMB

MF 25-367776

MF 100-399321

100-399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

LITTLE, DETROIT Red

MF 100-399321

MF 100-399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

LITTLE, RYTHMN Red

100-399321

100-399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

LITTLE, SHABA33

100-399321

100-399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61



LITTLE, M. K

N.R. No Ref.

APPROX. 75 CARDS ON  
NOT SENT

b7c

#100

Ref's -12

correlation Summary 2-21-61

with 12-21-60

John H. Bazz

100-399321

do not destroy

100-399321-47 Cor. Summary 2-21-61

NR

25-330971-A - L.A. Herald Register

2-25-63 Mergers #27 L.A.

NR

A - card dated 4-1-63  
The L.A. Herald Register 3/18/63  
per Cons 7/11/63

NR

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NR 25-330971-42-9

NR 12

NR 25-330971-47-1 p. 12

NR 5-

NR 100-149163-1083

NR 100-439977-2

b7c  
probably [redacted]  
aka Temple #77  
Los Angeles

NI 105-43881-8 spoke at NOI meeting  
Baltimore on 6/21/61

ALL REF.

SHABAZZI, M.

ME 100-399321

do not destroy

100-399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

SHABAZZI, MALACHI

ME 100-399321

do not destroy

ME 100-399321 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

SHABAZZI, MALCOLM

ME 100-399321

do not destroy

ME 100-399321-47. CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

DESTROY

✓ 105-330971-30-1 R1

SHABAZZ, MALIK EL

100 - 399321

100 - 399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

SHABAZZ, MALIKEL

DESTROY

✓ 157-433-A PITTSBURG COURIER 10-7-61

SHABAZZ, MALUCHI

100 - 399321

not destroyed  
PIT

100 - 399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

JOHN SHABAZZ

NR 105-73287

b7C  
[REDACTED]  
Los Angeles on 2/11/62

SHABASZ, Joseph

MF 100-399321

with A. T. MF 100-399321-47 CORREL SUMM 2-21-61

EL, SHABAZZ MALIK

100-399321

do not delete

100-399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61



MALIK, EL SHABAZZ

100-399321

MF 100-399321-<sup>A</sup> CORREL. SUMM 2-21-61

CARLTON, JACK

NF 100-399321

utd. 12-21-60

NF 100-399321-47 CORR. SUMM. 2-21-61

#100

RF5-225

Analytical

all -

~~Matamor~~ X, MALCOLM

MF

9-35565

MF

44-21493

MF

101-399321

do not destroy

I ✓ 25-330971-5551 photog

do not destroy

I ✓

L.A. - L.A. Minors

4-14-61 photog

do not destroy 100-399321-47 C.M. Sec. 2-21-61

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 25-330971-4852

~~DESTROY~~

✓

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~~DESTROY~~

✓

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~~DESTROY~~

✓

4918

~~DESTROY~~

✓

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~~DESTROY~~

✓

4931

~~DESTROY~~

✓

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~~DESTROY~~

✓

5014 p. 14

~~DESTROY~~

✓

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Sub A - L.A. Herald-Examiner

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Sub A - N.Y. World Telegram

2-21-61

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Sub A - New Chronicle

12-30-61

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Sub A - N.Y. Post. 7-27-62

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Sub A - cont. dtds - 10-31-62  
"Buffalo Courier Express" 10/19/62  
plus Cont. 7/19/62

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A- Card date 4-7-63

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Numéro spécial

SUR 102 PAGES MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION, DE LA CULTURE ET DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE

# Révolution

AFRIQUE : 2,5 DIRHAMS, 2,5 DINARS, 1,50 C.F.A. EUROPE : 4,50 F.

Guerre civile à  
New-York



# Guerre coloniale aux U.S.A.

Une interview exclusive de MALCOLM X par A.B. Spellman

Birmingham, Alabama..., ces noms des grandes villes américaines du Sud évoquent la violence qui règne aux États-Unis depuis plusieurs mois. Plus de vingt millions de noirs américains sont engagés dans une lutte pour la liberté et la justice sociale. Si le soutien et la sympathie de la bourgeoisie libérale et de la gauche américaine leur sont acquis, il n'en est pas de même des ouvriers blancs, dont ils étaient pourtant en droit d'attendre une solidarité aussi naturelle qu'effective. Ce paradoxe a évidemment amené les dirigeants du mouvement noir américain à poser et à analyser en termes nouveaux les voies et les perspectives de leur lutte.

*Révolution* dès son premier numéro a démontré, lors des révoltes de Birmingham en été dernier, que le problème noir posait en fait celui de la lutte des classes aux États-Unis, et devait tôt ou tard mettre en cause les structures mêmes de la société capitaliste américaine. L'hostilité et l'incompréhension des ouvriers blancs à l'égard de leurs frères de classe n'en font que souligner fortement les contradictions. Ainsi, l'automatisation qui devrait, selon les termes de James Boggs, créer une ère d'abondance pour l'homme, entraîne au contraire l'élimination des ouvriers noirs et blancs non qualifiés. L'insécurité et l'instabilité de l'emploi pèsent, menaçantes, sur la vie quotidienne de l'ouvrier blanc, qui voit en l'ouvrier noir son rival possible. Cette lutte pour la vie, dans la société capitaliste la plus puissante, est aggravée et masquée par le racisme savamment entretenu par les forces capitalistes les plus réactionnaires et les plus conservatrices des U.S.A. Elle révèle aussi l'impuissance des cercles dirigeants "éclairés" des U.S.A. à résoudre le problème noir, même si, en maints endroits, ils avaient réussi à imposer l'intégration raciale à la population blanche.

La révolte noire américaine est, en dernière analyse, celle d'une minorité exploitée, humiliée, pour laquelle la solution ne peut venir que d'un bouleversement radical et profond des structures capitalistes. Minorité nationale aussi, dans la mesure où, au travers de l'expérience pratique de la lutte et de la constatation douloureuse des réactions négatives des ouvriers blancs, une conscience nationale se forge à un rythme extrêmement rapide et de façon originale, sinon unique, qui ressuscite cette aspiration utopique à un retour aux origines des années 1920 et qui donna naissance au mouvement de Marcus Garvey de "Retour en Afrique" (Back to Africa).

Cette nostalgie des origines, qui a inspiré de si beaux *Negro spirituals*, semble s'incarner avec le plus de force dans l'organisation religieuse des Noirs américains, celle des Black Muslims. Une crise récente l'a gravement secouée et a abouti à une scission de fait au sein des Black Muslims. L'un de ses deux leaders, le plus jeune, le plus dynamique, Malcolm X, vient de créer un mouvement politique qui semble avoir toutes les chances de drainer dans ses rangs les éléments les plus actifs de la jeunesse noire américaine. L'importance et la portée de cet événement n'ont pas échappé à la presse américaine et internationale qui lui consacre des analyses abondantes. L'interview exclusive que Malcolm X a bien voulu nous accorder, et qui a été recueillie par notre ami A.B. Spellman, est une pièce importante à ajouter au dossier de l'oppression nationale au cœur de la forteresse de l'impérialisme.

**RÉVOLUTION :** On vous a souvent accusé d'être aussi raciste qu'Hitler ou que le Ku Klux Klan, d'être antisémite, de prêcher la violence... Qu'en pensez-vous ?

**Malcolm X :** Non, nous ne sommes pas racistes du tout. Notre solidarité est fondée sur le fait que nous sommes tous noirs, bruns, rouges ou jaunes. On ne peut pas appeler cela du racisme.

Vous n'avez qu'à penser au Marché Commun Européen : il est formé d'Européens, donc de gens à la peau blanche — et pourtant on ne le considère pas comme une ligue raciste — c'est un groupe économique, qui n'a rien à voir avec Hitler, ni avec le K.K.K. En fait, le K.K.K. aux États-Unis, avait pour but de perpétuer l'injustice dont les Noirs étaient victimes, tandis que les

"Muslims" ont pour tâche d'éliminer cette même injustice.

Nous sommes contre l'exploitation ; et dans ce pays où nous vivons, les Juifs ont été les marchands et les hommes d'affaires de la "communauté noire" depuis si longtemps qu'il est normal qu'ils se sentent coupables lorsque l'on dit que les exploités des Noirs sont des Juifs. Cela ne veut pas

dire que nous sommes antisémites. Nous sommes simplement contre l'exploitation.

Pour ce qui est de la violence, nous ne l'avons jamais employée. Nous ne nous en sommes jamais servis contre qui que ce soit, mais nous croyons que si l'on emploie la violence contre nous, nous devons nous défendre. Nous ne croyons pas qu'il faille tendre l'autre joue.

R. — Pour quelles raisons avez-vous rompu avec la Nation of Islam?

M. X. — J'ai dû faire face à une certaine opposition au sein de la Nation of Islam. On m'y a créé de grandes difficultés, pas l'Honorable Elijah Mohammed, mais d'autres éléments de son entourage. Comme j'étais convaincu que son analyse du problème racial est la meilleure qui soit, et que la solution qu'il propose est la bonne, il m'a semblé que, pour vaincre ces difficultés, et pour réaliser son propre programme, je devais agir en dehors de la Nation of Islam et former un groupe Muslim d'action qui se donne comme but la suppression des injustices dénoncées par les enseignements de l'Honorable Elijah Mohammed.

R. — Comment s'appelle l'organisation que vous avez fondée?

M. X. — Son nom est *The Muslim Mosque Inc.*, ce qui veut dire que nous sommes toujours Musulmans, mais que nous nous posons comme un groupement religieux.

R. — Est-ce que d'autres Musulmans peuvent collaborer avec la Muslim Mosque Inc. sans quitter la Nation of Islam?

M. X. — Bien entendu. Tous ceux qui sont dans la Nation of Islam et qui désirent travailler avec nous tout en y restant, sont les bienvenus. Je suis un

disciple de l'Honorable Elijah Mohammed. Je crois en l'Honorable Elijah Mohammed. Si j'ai organisé la Muslim Mosque Inc., c'est justement pour pouvoir réaliser son programme à lui, sans être gêné par les obstacles que j'ai trouvés dans la Nation of Islam.

R. — Aurez-vous accès à l'hebdomadaire de la Nation of Islam, *Muhammad Speaks*?

M. X. — Je ne crois pas. Il est probable que les forces qui m'ont obligé à quitter le mouvement, m'interdiront également l'accès du *Muhammad Speaks*, bien que j'aie été le fondateur de ce journal. C'est une chose qu'on ignore généralement : j'ai été un des fondateurs du *Muhammad Speaks*. C'est moi qui ai écrit entièrement les premiers numéros.

R. — Allez-vous lancer un autre journal?

M. X. — Oui. Pour propager une idée, il faut une publication, et si Allah nous protège, nous allons lancer un autre journal. Il s'appellera probablement *The Flaming Crescent* ("le Croissant de Feu"), car nous voulons tout enflammer.

R. — Dans quelle mesure l'orientation de la *Muslim Mosque Inc.* sera-t-elle plus politique que religieuse?

M. X. — La base religieuse de la *Muslim Mosque Inc.* sera l'Islam, et son rôle sera d'élever le niveau moral de la communauté noire en éliminant les vices et tout ce qui corrompt notre communauté. Mais la philosophie politique de la Muslim Mosque sera le nationalisme noir, sa philosophie économique sera le nationalisme noir, et sa philosophie sociale sera le nationalisme noir. En matière de philosophie politique, nous sommes partisans de la solution préconisée par l'Honorable Elijah

Mohammed, soit la séparation complète des blancs et des noirs. Les 22 millions de "Noirs" doivent être totalement séparés des Blancs américains et on doit, dans un programme à long terme, envisager leur retour dans leur patrie africaine. Notre programme immédiat, c'est que nous voulons manger là où nous vivons actuellement, nous voulons avoir un endroit pour dormir, nous voulons avoir des vêtements pour nous habiller, nous voulons de meilleurs emplois, nous voulons une meilleure éducation. Même si notre programme à long terme est de revenir dans notre patrie africaine, notre programme immédiat doit comporter tout ce qui nous permettra de vivre mieux tant que nous sommes encore aux États-Unis. Nous devons contrôler totalement la vie politique de la "communauté noire"; nous devons contrôler totalement tous les politiciens noirs, afin qu'aucun étranger à la "communauté noire" ne puisse y faire entendre sa voix. Nous devons nous occuper nous-mêmes de nos affaires.

R. — Quel genre de public espérez-vous toucher en organisant ce mouvement politique?

M. X. — Tout le monde... n'importe qui. Mais nous mettrons l'accent sur la jeunesse. Nous avons déjà fait appel aux étudiants dans les Collèges et les Universités dans tout le pays, pour qu'ils étudient eux-mêmes le problème racial et qu'ils nous apportent leurs suggestions, leurs analyses personnelles, ce qui nous permettra d'élaborer ensemble un programme qui reflète leur pensée. Nous mettons l'accent sur la jeunesse, parce que la jeunesse n'a pas des intérêts acquis dans ce système pourri et qu'elle peut voir les choses avec plus d'objectivité, tandis



que les adultes en sont incapables, parce qu'ils sont déjà gangrenés par le système.

**R.** — Pensez-vous recruter parmi les Garvey Groups (1)?

**M. X.** — Parmi tous les groupes — Nationalistes, Chrétiens, Musulmans, Agnostiques, Athées, n'importe lesquels. Tous les gens qui veulent vraiment résoudre le problème sont invités à présenter leurs suggestions ou à donner leurs idées.

**R.** — L'organisation sera-t-elle nationale?

**M. X.** — Nationale : des groupes d'étudiants de tous les collèges du pays m'ont écrit pour exprimer le désir de participer à la formation de ce vaste front uni.

**R.** — Quelles alliances pensez-vous conclure? Acceptez-vous les Blancs dans votre mouvement?

**M. X.** — Non, les Blancs ne peuvent pas s'unir à nous. Chaque fois que les Blancs ont participé à une organisation noire, cela s'est terminé par un fiasco. Les Blancs finissent toujours par contrôler les organisations noires auxquelles ils participent. Si les Blancs veulent nous aider financièrement, nous accepterons leur aide, mais nous ne les laisserons jamais participer à notre organisation.

**R.** — Alors, il vous faut une direction entièrement noire?

**M. X.** — Exactement. Une direction noire.

**R.** — Pensez-vous collaborer avec les organisations pour les droits civiques?

**M. X.** — Nous collaborerons avec ces organisations dans les domaines et

pour les objectifs qui n'entrent pas en contradiction avec nos idées politiques, économiques, qui se résument en deux mots : nationalisme noir. Je dois indiquer ici que j'ai été invité à participer à un meeting pour les droits civiques où assistaient plusieurs de ces organisations. C'était à Chester; il y avait là Pa. Gloria Richardson, Landrey, le chef de la Chicago School Boycott, il y avait aussi Dick Gregory et beaucoup d'autres encore; il y avait le Rochdale Movement. Dans mon discours, je leur ai dit qu'ils devraient élargir le mouvement pour les droits civiques et en faire un mouvement pour les droits de l'homme, de façon à l'internationaliser. En tant que mouvement pour les droits civiques, toutes ces organisations restent dans les limites de la politique intérieure nord-américaine, et aucune des nations indépendantes d'Afrique ne peut dire quoi que ce soit sur le problème; mais si ce mouvement devenait un véritable mouvement pour les droits de l'homme en général, alors, ces nations pourraient porter le cas des Noirs américains devant les Nations-Unies, exactement comme le cas de l'Angola ou de l'Afrique du Sud. Si le mouvement pour les droits civiques était élargi dans cette perspective, nos frères d'Afrique, nos frères d'Asie, nos frères d'Amérique Latine pourraient inscrire le problème noir à l'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée Générale des Nations-Unies sans que l'Oncle Sam puisse y trouver quoi que ce soit à redire. D'ailleurs, en dehors des Nations-Unies, nous avons aussi l'appui de 800 millions de Chinois qui sont prêts à lutter et à mourir pour les droits de l'humanité.

**R.** — Avez-vous l'intention de collaborer avec d'autres groupes comme

des organisations syndicales, des groupes socialistes ou d'autres groupes de tendance radicale?

**M. X.** — Nous collaborerons avec tous ceux qui veulent réellement faire cesser les injustices dont les Noirs sont victimes dans le pays de l'Oncle Sam.

**R.** — A votre avis, quelles sont les perspectives du mouvement pour les droits civiques?

**M. X.** — Il a donné tout ce qu'il pouvait donner. Il est au bout du rouleau.

**R.** — Certains dirigeants de sections locales des droits civiques ont dit que votre appui serait pour eux une aide précieuse, et d'autres dirigeants, sur le plan national, ont affirmé qu'ils n'accepteraient aucune collaboration. Quel est votre avis sur ce point?

**M. X.** — Les dirigeants locaux se trouvent d'ordinaire plongés en pleine réalité. Ils voient les choses beaucoup plus clairement, et ils comprennent que la collaboration des groupes est nécessaire pour résoudre le problème; d'autre part, la plupart des dirigeants locaux jouissent d'une assez grande indépendance et ils sont en contact plus étroit avec le peuple. Au contraire, les dirigeants nationaux sont coupés de la réalité, ce sont généralement des permanents, des dirigeants professionnels. Les dirigeants locaux, eux, doivent travailler, et, ainsi, ils connaissent bien les problèmes réels. Les dirigeants nationaux, je le répète, sont des dirigeants à plein temps, et les gens qui leur versent leurs salaires ont naturellement leur mot à dire dans l'affaire; et il ne faut pas oublier que les gens qui paient les dirigeants noirs professionnels sont justement les libéraux blancs; et les libéraux blancs n'ont pas la moindre sympathie pour tout ce qui rappelle un certain X.

(1) Éléments qui acceptaient les enseignements nationalistes noirs de "back-to-Africa", de Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), fondateur de la Universal Negro Improvement Association



R. — Quelle attitude adoptez-vous vis-à-vis des groupes chrétiens et ghandistes ?

M. X. — Chrétiens, Ghandistes ? Toutes ces histoires de non-violence et de tendre l'autre joue, ce n'est pas pour nous. Je ne vois vraiment pas comment une révolution... Je n'ai jamais entendu parler d'une révolution non-violente, ou d'une révolution qui ait réussi en tendant l'autre joue ; c'est pour cela que je crois que c'est un crime que de conseiller à quelqu'un qu'on est en train de brutaliser, de supporter la violence qu'on lui fait sans rien faire pour se défendre. Si c'est ça que prêchent la doctrine chrétienne et ghandiste, c'est criminel, ce sont des doctrines criminelles.

R. — Est-ce que la *Muslim Mosque Inc.* s'oppose à l'intégration et au mariage mixte ?

M. X. — Il est inutile que nous nous opposions à l'intégration, car les intégrationnistes blancs s'en chargent eux-mêmes. La preuve, c'est que partout où les Blancs sont pour, elle n'existe pas. L'intégration, elle n'existe nulle part. Quant au mariage mixte, nous sommes contre, comme nous sommes contre toutes les autres injustices dont notre peuple est victime.

R. — Quels sont les différents points que comporte votre programme de séparation ?

M.C. — Il serait plus juste de dire indépendance, que séparation. Ce mot de séparation ne veut plus dire grand chose. Les treize colonies se sont séparées de l'Angleterre, mais elles ont fait la Déclaration d'Indépendance ; elles n'ont pas appelé ça la Déclaration de Séparation, elles l'ont appelé la Déclaration d'Indépendance. Quand vous êtes indépendant de quelqu'un,

vous pouvez vous en séparer. Si vous ne pouvez pas vous en séparer, cela signifie que vous n'êtes pas indépendant. Alors, quelle était au juste votre question?

R. — Quel est votre programme pour obtenir l'indépendance?

M. X. — Quand l'homme noir de ce pays se réveillera, quand il deviendra adulte intellectuellement et quand il sera capable de penser par lui-même, vous verrez qu'il ne pourra devenir indépendant et être traité comme un être humain par les autres êtres humains, que s'il possède les mêmes choses qu'eux et que s'il fait les mêmes choses qu'eux. C'est pourquoi la première chose à faire, c'est de le réveiller. C'est sur ce point que la religion islamique l'aide à se débarrasser de tous les vices et de tous les défauts qu'il doit à cette société immorale, et, d'un autre côté, la philosophie politique, économique et sociale du nationalisme noir lui donnera la dignité raciale et lui enseignera qu'il doit ne compter que sur lui-même.

R. — Pensez-vous employer l'action de masse?

M. X. — Certainement.

R. — Quel type d'action?

M. X. — Il vaut mieux ne pas parler de ça pour l'instant, mais il est certain que nous pensons lancer les masses dans l'action.

R. — Et au sujet des élections? Est-ce que la *Muslim Mosque Inc.* présentera ses propres candidats, ou est-ce que vous voterez pour d'autres candidats?

M. X. — Étant donné que les structures politiques actuelles n'ont servi qu'à perpétuer l'exploitation des Noirs, nous nous efforçons de rassembler tous les étudiants les plus remarquables;

pas les politiciens adultes qui ont intérêt à prolonger ce système pourri, mais les étudiants en sciences politiques. Ce que nous voulons, c'est contacter et réunir tous ces étudiants, utiliser leurs suggestions, leurs analyses, et, à partir de leurs idées, élaborer une tactique qui nous permettra de trouver le point faible des politiciens et des structures politiques actuelles, pour pouvoir tout changer.

R. — Si la *Muslim Mosque Inc.* participe à une manifestation patronnée par une organisation non-violente, et si les Blancs répondent par la violence, comment réagira votre organisation?

M. X. — Nous sommes non-violents en face des non-violents — je suis non-violent tant que personne d'autre n'est violent — mais, si on se met à employer la violence contre moi, ma non-violence n'a plus aucun sens.

R. — De nombreux dirigeants des autres organisations ont déclaré qu'ils accepteraient volontiers votre appui, à la condition que vous acceptiez leur philosophie. Accepteriez-vous de collaborer dans ces conditions?

M. X. — Nous ne voyons aucun inconvénient à collaborer avec tous les groupes, mais en aucun cas, nous ne pouvons renoncer à notre droit d'auto-défense. Nous ne nous laisserons jamais entraîner dans une action qui nous interdise de nous défendre en cas d'attaque.

R. — Quelle aurait été la réaction de la *Muslim Mosque Inc.*, quelle aurait été votre réaction, dans une situation analogue à celle de Birmingham, de Danville ou de Cambridge?

M. X. — A Birmingham, par exemple, étant donné que le gouvernement avait prouvé son incapacité, ou sa mauvaise volonté, à prendre les choses en main

et à traîner les coupables devant les tribunaux, c'était alors au Noir qui était la victime de l'injustice de se charger de la réparer, et ce faisant, il n'aurait fait qu'observer l'Article 2 de la Constitution qui dit la chose suivante au sujet du droit de porter des armes: "Une milice responsable étant nécessaire à la sécurité d'un état libre, le droit du peuple à posséder et à porter les armes ne doit pas être restreint". Les Noirs n'ont pas encore compris qu'ils ne font qu'observer leurs droits constitutionnels en possédant un fusil, ou une carabine; et lorsque les Blancs imbus de leur supériorité se rendront compte qu'ils ont affaire à des Noirs qui sont prêts à donner leur vie pour se défendre, eh bien, ces Blancs modifieront leur stratégie et leur attitude habituelle.

R. — Vous avez dit que cette année sera l'année la plus violente dans l'histoire des relations raciales aux États-Unis. Expliquez-vous.

M. X. — Oui. Les Noirs en ont assez de la non-violence. Les Noirs commencent à comprendre que lorsqu'ils manifestent pour des objectifs que le gouvernement lui-même a déclaré légitimes, alors ils ont la loi pour eux. Tous ceux qui se dresseront alors contre eux seront dans une position illégale. A ce moment-là, il y aura donc un élément "illégal" qui s'efforcera d'empêcher les Noirs de faire valoir leurs droits; quand les Noirs verront ce qu'il en est, ils commenceront à riposter. En 1964, les Noirs vont riposter, car, pour eux, la non-violence a fait son temps.

R. — Quelle est votre opinion sur Monroe? (2)

(2) Monroe Defense Committee: Comité fondé par Robert F. Williams, aujourd'hui exilé à Cuba.

**M. X.** — Je ne suis pas tellement au courant de la situation à Monroe, N.C. Ce que je sais, c'est que Robert Williams a dû s'exiler, simplement parce qu'il essayait de persuader nos frères de se défendre eux-mêmes contre le Ku Klux Klan et contre d'autres groupements blancs. Je sais aussi que May Mallory a été condamnée à 20 ans, ou quelque chose comme ça, parce qu'elle avait lutté pour notre peuple; tout cela vous donne une idée de ce qui se passe dans une démocratie — dans ce qu'on appelle une démocratie — lorsque le peuple essaie de la faire fonctionner pour de bon.

**R.** — Vous employez souvent le mot révolution; y a-t-il une révolution en marche aux États-Unis à l'heure actuelle?

**M. X.** — Pas pour l'instant. La révolution, c'est comme un feu de forêt. Cela brûle tout sur son passage. Les gens qui font la révolution n'acceptent pas de participer au système — ils détruisent le système, ils changent le système. Le mot allemand pour révolution est *Umwälzung*, ce qui veut dire un bouleversement complet; et la révolution noire, pour l'instant, n'est pas une révolution, parce qu'elle condamne le système et qu'après l'avoir condamné, elle lui demande d'intégrer les Noirs. Une révolution, ce n'est pas ça — une révolution détruit le système, et le remplace par un système meilleur. Comme pour l'incendie de forêt, la seule façon de l'arrêter, c'est d'allumer vous-même un autre feu que vous contrôlez, et dont vous vous servez pour éteindre et arrêter l'autre feu qui échappe à votre contrôle. Ce qui s'est passé en Amérique, c'est que les Blancs se sont rendus compte qu'il y avait dans le monde entier



un incendie terrible, une révolution noire mondiale; ils ont vu que l'incendie s'approchait de l'Amérique, et pour l'arrêter, ils y ont allumé un feu artificiel qui s'appelle la Révolte Noire, et ils s'en servent pour arrêter la véritable Révolution Noire qui se développe dans le monde entier.

**R.** — Le problème racial aux États-Unis peut-il être résolu dans le cadre du système économique et social existant?

**M. X.** — Non.

**R.** — Alors, comment le résoudre?

**M. X.** — Il se résoudra de lui-même.

**R.** — Peut-il y avoir un changement révolutionnaire tant que durera l'hostilité entre la classe ouvrière blanche et la classe ouvrière noire? Les Noirs peuvent-ils provoquer ce changement tout seuls?

**M. X.** — Oui. Ils n'arriveront à rien avec la classe ouvrière blanche. L'histoire de l'Amérique démontre qu'il a toujours existé un antagonisme entre les ouvriers blancs et les ouvriers noirs, ce qui revient à dire qu'il y a toujours eu une opposition entre les ouvriers blancs et l'ensemble des Noirs, puisque tous les Noirs font partie de la classe ouvrière. Le Noir le plus riche fait aussi partie de la classe ouvrière. Il n'y a jamais eu de bonnes relations entre les ouvriers noirs et les ouvriers blancs. Il n'y aura pas de solidarité ouvrière tant qu'il n'y aura pas au moins une solidarité noire. Il n'y aura pas de solidarité noire-blanche, tant qu'il n'y aura pas d'abord une solidarité noire. Nous devons d'abord résoudre nos propres problèmes et après, s'il nous reste du temps et des forces, nous nous occuperons des problèmes des blancs; en tout cas, je crois qu'une des erreurs que commettent les Noirs portent justement sur la question de la solidarité.

**R.** — Est-ce que la *Muslim Mosque Inc.* se déclarera solidaire des mouvements révolutionnaires non-blancs d'Afrique, d'Asie et d'Amérique Latine?

**M. X.** — Nous sommes tous frères dans l'oppression, et, à l'heure actuelle, tous les opprimés du monde sont solidaires.

**R.** — Avez-vous quelque chose à ajouter?

**M. X.** — Non. J'en ai dit suffisamment — peut-être même trop!



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**MALCOLM X LITTLE**

**PART 24 OF 24**

**BUFILE:100-399321**

**(JUNE FILE)**

**(MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCE)**

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 100-399321

June File

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

23 June



NY 105-8999

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

It is felt that a tesur on his telephone would provide invaluable information relative to his proposed activities in his new role, his supporters if any, and whether or not he will in fact establish his own organization. ~~Qu~~

Because of his split with the NOI, Bureau sources therein are of no value relative to LITTLE. Further, by this split he has deprived himself of working space and it is felt that most of his business will be conducted at his home and over his telephone. ~~u~~

The NYO requests authority to conduct a survey to determine the feasibility of placing a tesur on the telephone of LITTLE. ~~Qu~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

3/16/64

Airtel

EX-115  
JAN 11 1964  
REC 40

1 - [REDACTED] MC  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, New York (105-8999)

JUNE

From: Director, FBI (100-399321) - 86

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

CONFIDENTIAL

Reurairtel 3/11/64. U

Provided full security is assured, you are authorized to conduct a survey looking toward the installation of a technical surveillance on telephone OL 1-6320 at the home of Malcolm K. Little, 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York. X u

Promptly advise results of same together with your recommendation regarding the installation of the technical surveillance. X u

## NOTE:

11/30/83  
Classified by SP8 JHE/WEB/da  
Declassify on: OADR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

MAILED 20  
MAR 16 1964  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Hosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

[REDACTED] Subject is former minister of Muslim Mosque Number 7, New York City, of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who was indefinitely suspended by Muhammad, national NOI leader, for his remarks concerning the assassination of President Kennedy. Little has now announced he will form a politically oriented organization more militant than the NOI which will participate in civil rights activities. The New York Office believes technical surveillance on Little's residence would provide valuable information concerning his activities in this connection which would not otherwise be available. X

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by 6855  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

6 MAR 23 1964 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (Bufile 100-399321) DATE: JUNE 3/30/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATION FOR INSTALLATION OF TECHNICAL OR MICROPHONE SURVEILLANCE

RE: Title MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka

Character of Case IS - NOI  
Field Office New York  
Symbol Number  
Type of Surveillance (Technical or Microphone)

1. Name and address of subject:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, NY

2. Location of technical operation:

3. Other technical surveillances on same subject:

None

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by 8269 JHE/wEB/dd  
Declassify on: OADR  
11/30/83

4. Cost and manpower involved:

Cost not known until installed.  
Manpower -

5. Adequacy of security:

Believed to be secured. u

1 - Bureau  
1 - New York (#412)  
bam

Classified by  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

REC-6

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-399321-92

MAR 31 1964

30 MAR 31 1964

33

DO NOT WRITE

6. Type of case involved:

CONFIDENTIAL

Internal security case on Muslim Mosque, Inc., the newly formed black nationalist organization U

7. Connection or status of subject in the case:

Leader and founder of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. U

8. Specific information being sought: .

Information concerning contacts and activity of LITTLE, and activity and growth of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. U

9. Reasons for believing the specific information will be obtained by the technical surveillance: Xu

LITTLE conducts business from his residence.

10. Importance of case and subject:

Organization has philosophy of black nationalism, and has entered racial field where it suggests formation of rifle clubs by Negroes to defend themselves.

CONFIDENTIAL

- X
11. Possibilities of obtaining desired information by other means  
(Explain in detail):

b7D Only other plausible means is [REDACTED]  
Since the organization is new (announced on 3/12/54) [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] h

12. Risks of detection involved:

Negligible to none. u

13. Probable length of technical surveillance: u

Unknown

14. Request made for technical surveillance by any outside agency  
(name specific official, title and agency): u

Not known.

X

15. Remarks:

Recommend approval of installation.

84

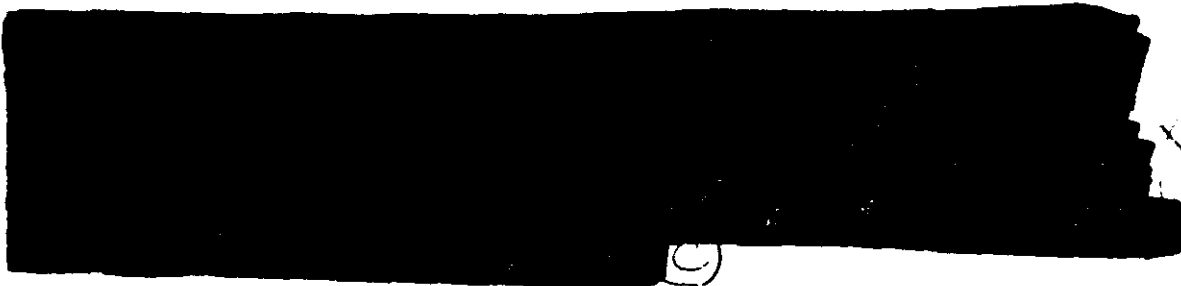
16. Recommendation of Assistant Director:

4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Subject MALCOLM K. LITTLE

INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI



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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by 8269 JHE/4 ER/d  
Declassify on: OADR  
11/30/83

Removed By 343 Date 11/30/73

Complete File and Serial Number 100-399321-94

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

4/22/64

Airtel

b1c 1: [REDACTED]

To: SAC, New York (105-8999)  
From: Director, FBI (100-399321)

JUNE

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

CONFIDENTIAL

Provided full security is assured, authority is granted to install tesur on the residence of Little, 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York, telephone number OL 1-6320. Advise time and date of installation and symbol number. Sulet justification 30 days after installation and each three months thereafter. [REDACTED] *Eu*

b7D  
b7E

NOTE: [REDACTED]

b1

b7C (5) icb *ich*

CONFIDENTIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

MAILED 8  
APR 23 1964  
COMM-FBI

Classified by *8269 JHE/wch/da*  
Declassify on: OADR

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

REC-103

100-399321-95

MAILED

APR 28 1964

6 APR 30 1964

Classified by *6855 DMC/4H*  
Exempt from GDS Category 2

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - [REDACTED]

b7c

April 24, 1964

PERSONAL ATTENTION

3/1/68

Mr. J. F. Malone  
Assistant Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
201 East 69th Street  
New York, New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Mr. Malone:

[REDACTED]

(C) You should arrange for a representative of your office to [REDACTED]

If for any reason you do not utilize these surveillances, the Bureau should be notified in order that its records may be maintained in a current status.

Very truly yours,

Classified by 8269 JEH/web/dd

Declassify on: OADR

11/30/83

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosures (6)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Case File

[REDACTED]

(D) - Malcolm K. Riddle

[REDACTED]

(8) dm

Classified by 6858 DM/4/4  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5-12-77

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6<sup>th</sup> APR 30 1964

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

b1  
b7D

6-1  
100-399521-1393

b1  
b7c



# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Mr. J. F. Malone

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOTE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Technical surveillances authorized by AG 4-21-64.  
New York Office notified by airtels dated 4-22-64.

[REDACTED]

*Qu*

**b7D**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 23, 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In connection with investigations being conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under its lawful and established jurisdiction.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

- 1 - Case File
- ① - Malcolm K. Little

Very truly yours,

Classified by 260 THE/102  
Declassify on: OADR

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED  
145 APR 27 1964

Classified by 6835 DML/df  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5-12-77

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOTE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 3/26/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)(P)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
IS - NOI

(OO:NEW YORK)

JUNEReBuairtel dated 3/16/64, authorizing survey on telephone number OL 1-6320 of MALCOLM K. LITTLE at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, NY. *Qu*Survey reflects tesur feasible. Bureau authority requested to install. *Qu*

Full security assured.

FD-142 will follow.  
*4*DECLASSIFIED BY *SP8BJS/da*REC. ON *11/30/83**100-399321-99**1 MAR 27 1964**30*

CONFIDENTIAL

(3) Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York (412)*bam*  
(5)Classified by *6858 DM/1/14*  
Exempt from GDS Category *2*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
*5-18-77*SUGGESTED CONTROL *67C*Approved: *E C. Wick*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~

REC-18  
(SC)

100-899321-97

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JUNE

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. J.D. Donohue  
1 - Mr. Haack  
1 - Mr. Rosack

April 1, 1964

1 - Mr. Glascock

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

REC'D READING ROOM  
FBI  
APR 1 2 13 PM '64

Malcolm K. Little who resides at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York, is the former minister of Muslim Mosque Number 7 of the Nation of Islam who was suspended by Elijah Muhammad, national leader of the all-Negro semireligious group which teaches Negro supremacy. Little has now completed his break with the Nation of Islam and is forming a new group to be known as Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, in New York which he states will be more aggressive than the Nation of Islam and will participate in racial demonstrations and civil rights activities. He has recommended the possession of firearms by members for their self-protection.

Technical coverage of Little's residence will materially assist in the investigation of Little and his new organization.

I recommend that authority be granted to install a technical surveillance at the residence of Malcolm K. Little, 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York, or at any address to which he may move in the future.

Classified by 6039 DML/K  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5-12-77

SENT FROM D. O.  
TIME 3:35 PM  
DATE 4-1-64  
BY [signature]

Respectfully,

DECLASSIFIED BY 8269 JHE/WEB/ds  
ON 11/30/83

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

APPROVED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE

JHG:lcb (10)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

6 MAY 4 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D - READING ROOM  
FEB 1 1961

  
Memorandum for the Attorney General

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**NOTE:**

See memorandum Bland to W. C. Sullivan dated 3/31/64, captioned "Malcolm K. Little, Internal Security - NOI." This memorandum is classified "Secret" because it contains information concerning a proposed technical surveillance, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in serious damage to the Bureau's security coverage. *XU*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GO

**Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 3/31/64

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland *JFB*JUNE~~CONFIDENTIAL~~SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

1— Mr. Belmont  
1— Mr. Sullivan  
1— Mr. Bland  
1— Mr. J. D. Donohue  
1— Mr. Haack  
1— Mr. Rosack  
1— Mr. Glascock

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The New York Office has requested authority to install a technical surveillance on the residence telephone of Malcolm K. Little at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York, telephone number OL 1-6320. *Qu*

Malcolm Little, also known as Malcolm X, is the former minister of Muslim Mosque Number 7, New York City, who was one of the Nation of Islam's (NOI) most voluble speakers. He described the assassination of President Kennedy as "chickens coming home to roost" and was muzzled and suspended by Elijah Muhammad, national leader of the NOI. Little has separated himself from the NOI and is setting up a new group in New York to be known as Muslim Mosque, Incorporated. The NOI is an all-Negro semireligious organization which preaches Negro supremacy. Little states the new group will be more aggressive and will participate in racial demonstrations and civil rights activities. He has recommended the possession of firearms by its members for purposes of self-defense. *u*

Technical coverage of his residence telephone can be expected to furnish information concerning both Little and the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated. *Qu*

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum be sent to the Attorney General requesting authority for the proposed installation. *Qu*

100-399321.

EX-103 CONFIDENTIAL

Enclosure

JHG:icb/nea  
(8)

6 MAY 5 1964

Classified by 685  
Exempt from GDS Category 2

11 APR 30 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/1/01 BY 60321  
WHEN SHOWN OTHERWISE.



F B I

Date: 6/4/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka JUNE  
IS - NOI  
(OO:NEW YORK)

ReBuairtel dated 4/22/64. U

Tesur on MALCOLM K. LITTLE, 23-11 97th Street,  
East Elmhurst, Queens, NY, telephone number OL 1-6320, installed  
at 4:00 p.m., 6/3/64, [REDACTED]

~~CONF. INFO~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 8069JEH/WEB/88  
ON 11/30/93

REC-34

100-399321-113

C C. Wick

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JUN 5 1964

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York

Classified by 6658 DMV/104  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5-12-57

[REDACTED]:bam  
(5)

SUB CONTROL

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M  
Special Agent in Charge

6 JUN 16 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

JUNE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

(Bufile 100-39932 ) DATE: 7/2/64

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUATION OF TECHNICAL OR MICROPHONE SURVEILLANCE

RE: Title MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka

Character of Case IS-MMI  
Field Office New York  
Symbol Number [REDACTED]  
Type of Surveillance: (Technical) or  
Microphone [REDACTED]

1. Name of person or organization on whom surveillance placed:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE

2. Address where installation made. Also give exact room number or area covered:  
23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York  
(single family dwelling)

3. Location of monitoring plant:

Classified by 8269 JHE/wja  
Declassify on: OADR

4. Dates of initial authorization and installation:

Authorized 4/22/64

Installed 4:00 p.m., 6/3/64

5. Previous and other installations on the same subject (with dates and places):

None

6. If installation is a technical surveillance, answer following questions:

a. [REDACTED]

b. [REDACTED]

c. [REDACTED]

Registered Mail

100-39932-129  
New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

67E

7. If a microphone surveillance involved, state number of microphones actually used and location of each:

No

u

67E

8. Is the installation part of [REDACTED] If so, give symbol of other side of the combination:

No

u

9. Specific examples of valuable information obtained since previous report with indication of specific value of each item and the date information received. State what use was made of each item involved: (Add insert pages)

See attached

10. Could above information have been obtained from other sources and by other means?

No

67D

11. [REDACTED]

12. Has security factor changed since installation?

No

13. Any request for the surveillance by outside agency (give name, title and agency):

No

14. [REDACTED]

67E

61

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

c.

[REDACTED]

U

b7E

b7E 15.

[REDACTED]

U

16. Personnel Costs:

a.

[REDACTED]

C

b1  
b7E

b.

[REDACTED]

C

b1  
b7E

c.

[REDACTED]

b1

b7E

d.

[REDACTED]

U

C

17. Remarks (By SAC):

It is recommended that this source be continued in view of the prominence of LITTLE as a militant figure in the civil rights field, particularly as the leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. and the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

18. Recommendation by Assistant Director:

(If this surveillance involves cryptanalysis, include statement that decrypted material is or is not sufficiently important to continue decrypting.)

This technical surveillance is in the single family dwelling occupied by Malcolm K. Little, 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York. It was first installed on 6/3/64. X

Little is a former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with that organization on 3/8/64 and formed Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) which he announced would be a broadly based black nationalist movement for Negroes only. Little has urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of nonviolence and advocated that Negroes should form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property. At MMI rallies, Little has surrounded himself by guards armed with rifles and there have been numerous incidents recently involving gun-wielding MMI members where violence has been averted only by timely police action. At an MMI rally on 6/28/64, Little announced the formation of a new nonwhite civil rights action group called the "Organization of Afro-American Unity" with headquarters at MMI headquarters in New York City the aim of which would be to bring the United States racial problem before the United Nations and which would engage in civil rights demonstrations using the theme "by any means necessary." u

In the past 30 days this technical surveillance has furnished valuable information on Little's travel plans, on the new Organization of Afro-American Unity, facts concerning the arrest of MMI members in Boston on a weapons charge following an altercation with Boston NOI members and information on a threat to Little's life by a person unknown. It also furnished information that Little was sending an assistant to Phoenix and Los Angeles to contact two women who had illegitimate children by Elijah Muhammad, NOI leader. Public announcement of these children by Little has caused the virtual state of war now existant between the NOI and MMI. On 6/30/64 information was received that Little sent telegrams to civil rights leaders Dr. Martin Luther King and James Foreman offering to send his followers to teach self-defense to Negroes if the Government did not provide Federal troops for protection. u

All of the above information was furnished immediately to the Bureau and was disseminated to the Department and interested agencies. The Domestic Intelligence Division concurs with the recommendation of the SAC, New York, that this installation be continued for an additional three months. X u

67C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9. Source furnished the following valuable information on the indicated dates:

- 6/6/64 Information that MALCOLM X was sending an assistant to Phoenix and Los Angeles to contact two women who had illegitimate children by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. They planned to publicize this and institute legal action against MUHAMMAD. (Teletype to Bureau, Chicago, Los Angeles and Phoenix 6/6/64) U
- 6/14/64 Information on the arrest of some of MALCOLM's followers in Boston on a weapons charge following an altercation with NOI members there. (Teletype to Bureau and Boston 6/14/64, airtel and LHM 6/15/64) U
- 6/15/64 Information on a threat to MALCOLM's life by an unknown person. U  
b7D (Teletype to Bureau 6/15/64, [REDACTED] advised, 6/15/64)
- 6/22/64 Information on a new civil rights organization being formed by MALCOLM; subsequently determined to be Organization of Afro-American Unity. U  
(Airtel to Bureau and Philadelphia, 6/23/64.)
- 6/23/64 Information on travel plans of MALCOLM to go to Washington, D.C. on 6/24/64, and be an observer at the NAACP convention there. U  
(Airtel to Bureau and WFO 6/24/64.)
- 6/28/64 Details on MALCOLM's trip to Omaha, Nebraska on 6/30/64, where he was to speak. U  
(Teletype to Omaha 6/29/64)
- 6/30/64 Information that MALCOLM sent telegrams to civil rights leaders Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING and JAMES FOREMAN offering to send his followers to teach self defense to Negroes if government does not provide federal troops for protection. U  
(Teletype to Bureau, Jacksonville and New Orleans, 6/30/64, airtel and LHM 7/1/64)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: July 28, 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Donohue
- 1 - Mr. Rosack

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

Reference is made to memorandum C. D. DeLoach to Mr. Mohr, dated 7/25/64, captioned "Racial Riots," and specifically to the last recommendation concerning establishment of additional technical and photographic surveillance coverage of Malcolm X Little and the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). *Xu*

In connection with this matter it is noted Malcolm X Little is out of the U.S. on a tour of African nations and is not expected to return until about 8/15/64. We presently have technical coverage on the residence of Malcolm X Little which is producing considerable valuable information. The New York Office has conducted surveys to determine whether additional installations are feasible.

*67A*

[REDACTED]

A survey was also conducted by New York regarding the feasibility of installing microphone surveillances both at Little's residence and at the hotel. New York points out that the headquarters of MMI will be moved as soon as Little returns to the U.S. and such installations at this time would be impractical. New York also points out that microphone surveillances could not be monitored at the hotel or nearby

*DE*

[REDACTED]

New York points out that the wife and child of Little are constantly at his residence and there are a number of Negroes constantly around the residence. Little has also maintained guards at his residence since receiving threats of bodily harm. Monitoring of microphone surveillances on the residence of Little could not be handled in the immediate neighborhood. Microphone coverage is not feasible at his residence. *Xu*

1 - 100-399321

100-441765

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 8269 JHE/web/ddt  
ON 11/30/83

100-399321-  
NOT RECORDED  
170 AUG 7 1964

TPR:chs/lmj

(9) AUG 10 1964

Classified by 4855 Dink  
Exempt from automatic  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: MURKIN LOSQUE, INCORPORATED  
100-441705

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Surveys conducted in locate that photographic surveillances both at the residence of Little and at the Hotel Theresa are not feasible. There is no physical location available from which a productive photographic surveillance could be maintained at the Hotel Theresa. This is in the Harlem Section of New York City and there are large colored restaurants located in the lobby of the Hotel which produce heavy traffic in and out of the Hotel entrance. It is also not feasible to conduct such a photographic surveillance from another hotel room since full security could not be assured. U

Little's residence is located in a predominantly Negro neighborhood in the Queens Section of New York City. Spot photographic surveillances could be conducted but not on a full-time basis for security reasons. The dwellings in this neighborhood consist mostly of two-family houses and it is considered a middle income Negro neighborhood. Efforts are being made by the Nation of Islam (NOI) to force Little to move from his residence, which was purchased with NOI funds. This action is currently pending in the New York City courts. In the event he is forced to move, we may be in a better position to obtain more coverage of this type. U

OBSERVATIONS:

New York recommends no additional technical or photographic surveillances at this time. New York has been instructed to re-evaluate this situation when Little returns to the U.S. and new headquarters are obtained for the MHI. New York has also been instructed to be alert for any court action forcing Little to move and to then reconsider additional coverage on his residence. New York has been instructed to remain alert for instances when spot photographic surveillances may be used. U

RECOMMENDATION:

That no additional technical or microphone coverage be authorized at this time and that no continuous photographic surveillance be initiated. U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



10/2/64

Airtel

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Bland

b7C

To: SAC, New York (105-8999)

JUNE

From: Director, FBI (100-399321)

Classified by 6885  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5-12-77

MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP69 JHE/WEP/old  
ON 11/30/83

b7D

Immediately discontinue services [redacted]  
at residence of subject, 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst,  
Queens, New York, and advise Bureau immediately time and  
date discontinuance completed.

NOTE:

Little's name is included in Security Index. He was minister of Temple Number 7, New York City of the Nation of Islam and one of the principal speakers for Elijah Muhammad until Little was expelled from the Nation of Islam for making a statement concerning the assassination of former President Kennedy. Thereafter Little organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, a quasi-religious all black organization which has taken a militant part in racial disorders in the New York City area. On 9/2/64, the Department advised that it had requested the Department of State to determine whether Little had violated the Logan Act. This statute has to do with a citizen's contact with diplomats of foreign countries to the detriment of the United States and to a point of interfering with the foreign policies of the United States. The Bureau was requested to furnish the Internal Security Division of the Department any information which comes to its attention which might have a bearing upon such a violation. By letter dated 9/28/64, captioned "Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, Internal Security - MMI, Registration Act - Middle East - Africa," the Internal Security Division advised that it had reviewed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, (MMI) file relative to a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. It pointed out that if the MMI is receiving funds from Arab or African Governments or is acting at the order, request, and/or direction of a foreign government, it may be obligated to file a registration statement. The Bureau was requested to continue watching for such evidence during its investigation of the MMI.

MAILED 8  
OCT 8 1964  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

OCT 8

JEG:all  
MAIL ROOM  
TELETYPE UNIT

REC 61

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Airtel to New York  
RE: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
100-399321

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOTE CONTINUED:

In view of the possibility of prosecution of Little under the Logan Act and the prosecution of the WHI under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, it is deemed advisable to remove technical coverage on Little so as to eliminate tainted evidence from this source. *Qu*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 10/3/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)  
SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MMI

JUNE

ReBuairtel 10/2/64, captioned as above.

[REDACTED] discontinued 12:00 noon 10/3/64.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/30/83 BY 8269 JAE/WEB/dcl

REC-31 100-399321-159 [REDACTED]

18 OCT 1964

EX 109

SUB CONTROL 62c  
DISCHUE

8- Bureau (RM)  
1- New York

[REDACTED] etc  
(5)

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

6 - OCT 9 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

JUNE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (Bufile 100-399321) DATE: 10/2/64  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUATION OF TECHNICAL OR MICROPHONE SURVEILLANCE

RE: Title MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka

Character of Case IS-MH

Field Office New York

Symbol Number [REDACTED]

Type of Surveillance: (Technical or Microphone)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 6825  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

1. Name of person or organization on whom surveillance placed:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE

Classified by 8269 JHE

Declassify on: OADR  
11/30/83 WEB/d

2. Address where installation made. Also give exact room number or area covered: 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York  
(single family dwelling)

3. Location of monitoring plant:

4. Dates of initial authorization and installation:

Authorized 4/22/64

Installed 4:00 p.m., 6/3/64

Previous and other installations on the same subject (with dates and places):

None

If installation is a technical surveillance, answer following questions:

Registered Mail

1 - Bureau

1 - New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

79 OCT 14 1964

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7E

7. If a microphone surveillance involved, state number of microphones actually used and location of each:

No

u

b7E

8. Is the installation part of [REDACTED] If so, give symbol of other side of the combination:

No

u

9. Specific examples of valuable information obtained since previous report with indication of specific value of each item and the date information received. State what use was made of each item involved: (Add insert pages)

See attached

u

10. Could above information have been obtained from other sources and by other means?

No

u

11.

[REDACTED]

b1  
b7D

12. Has security factor changed since installation?

No

u

13. Any request for the surveillance by outside agency (give name, title and agency):

No

u

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7E

b1

c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7E

c. [REDACTED]

b7E

[REDACTED] & u

16. Personnel Costs:

b1, b7E

a. [REDACTED] c

b1, b7E

b. [REDACTED] ct

b1, b7E

c. [REDACTED]

b1

d. [REDACTED] ct  
[REDACTED] u  
[REDACTED] c

17. Remarks (By SAC):

It is recommended that this source be continued in view of the prominence of LITTLE as a militant figure in the civil rights field, particularly as the leader of the Muslim Mosque Inc., and the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Plus the fact that source recently advised that MALCOLM, who has been in Egypt since July, 1964, at the expense of the Egyptian Government, and expected to return to New York on 11/15/64, has been appointed to the board of the Supreme Council governing Islamic affairs and is qualified to "spread Islam in America among the Afro-Americans". u

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

18. Recommendation by Assistant Director:

*(If this surveillance involves cryptanalysis, include statement that decrypted material is or is not sufficiently important to continue decrypting.)*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9. Source has furnished the following valuable information on dates indicated:

- 7/3/64 Information that MALCOLM notified New York City Police Department that an attempt was made on his life. U
- 7/4/64 Information that MALCOLM and his followers were attempting to make a big issue out of the reported attempt on MALCOLM's life in order to get the Negro people to support him. (Police believed complaint on an attempt on MALCOLM's life was a publicity stunt by MALCOLM.) U  
(Teletype to Bureau 7/4/64)
- 7/6/64 Information that [REDACTED] attempted to contact MALCOLM. U
- 7/6/64 Information that Malcolm was leaving JFK International Airport, New York on 7/5/64, for Cairo Egypt, with a one day stop over in London where he was to meet with a representative of the Islamic Center of London. While in Cairo, Egypt he was to be met by one [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
(Airtel and LHM to Bureau 7/7/64) U
- 7/7/64 Information that one of two women who had illegitimate children by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD contacted MALCOLM by phone from Los Angeles, collect, to advise him that another illegitimate child was born on 7/7/64 and ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was named as the father. U  
(Airtel to Bureau, Chicago, Phoenix and Los Angeles, 7/8/64)
- 7/21/64 Article in "New York Journal American" newspaper dated 7/20/64, stated MALCOLM is or has returned to the U.S. from Africa and will form a rifle club. Information from source refuted newspaper article and advised MALCOLM was not returning to the U.S. until August, 1964.  
(Teletype to Bureau 7/21/64. U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



**b7c** 7/23/64

Information that [REDACTED]

(Letter to Chicago dated 8/12/64) U

7/30/64

Article in "New York Daily News" dated 7/30/64, which stated MALCOLM was returning to the United States to hold a mass rally and to urge the Negro to fight against the police with no holds barred.

**b7c**

Source advised 7/30/64, that [REDACTED] no information that MALCOLM planned to return before the middle of August, 1964, thus refuting the above newspaper article. U

(Teletype to Bureau 7/30/64)

8/7/64

Information about MALCOLM traveling to Alexandria, Egypt and attending a banquet given by the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs. He gave a speech against the U.S. Government's treatment of the Negro people in the U.S. and urged Muslim students to persuade their governments to bring the U.S. before the United Nations for mistreating the American Negroes. U

(Teletype to Bureau 8/7/64 and airtel and LHM 8/10/64)

9/2/64

Information that MALCOLM was being evicted from his residence and was given until January, 1965, to leave the residence owned by the NOI.

(Airtel to Bureau 9/3/64)

Information received that MALCOLM was staying at the Hotel Shepherd, Cairo, Egypt and he is having a book about himself published. U

(Airtel to Bureau and Philadelphia 9/6/64)

9/10/64

Information that MALCOLM sent a letter from Egypt that was to be read at a Muslim Mosque Inc. meeting at New York on 9/9/64. According to the letter MALCOLM informed an unknown delegate to the Organization of African Unity conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, that he, MALCOLM, could supply 10,000 recruits from Harlem if needed to fight in the Congo against Moise Tshombe. U

(Airtel and LHM to Bureau dated 9/10/64.)

**EX-111**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 5/26/64 Information that MALCOLM will return to the U.S. on 11/15/64 having toured Africa since July, 1964, with the Egypt Government paying his hotel bills and Supreme Council governing Islamic Affairs paying for his plane expenses. U
- 9/28/64 Information that MALCOLM and his wife are now "Orthodox Muslims" and MALCOLM was appointed to the board of the Supreme Council governing Islamic Affairs, and, therefore, qualified himself to "spread Islam in America among the Afro-Americans". U  
(Airtel to Bureau 9/29/64 and LHM 10/2/64)

The information received from this source has been used to supplement and corroborate information from live informants and has been channelized to appropriate files. U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCE

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 19 1971

NR 007 CI PLAIN (NITEL)

6:30 PM TO DIRECTOR ATTENTION; DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
FROM CINCINNATI 2P

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Mr. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Mr. Gandy	_____

DEMONSTRATION TO COMMEMORATE MALCOLM X AT FRANKLIN PARK, ALSO KNOWN  
AS MARTIN LUTHER KING PARK, COLUMBUS, OHIO, MAY NINETEEN, SEVENTY-ONE

RM.

RACIAL MATTERS

ON MAY NINETEEN, INSTANT

ADVISED THAT APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED  
BLACKS GATHERED IN FRANKLIN PARK, COLUMBUS, OHIO, TO COMMEMORATE  
MALCOLM X AND IN THE MORNING HOURS LISTENED TO SPEECHES BY THE  
REVEREND ARTHUR ZEBBS AND CHARLES O. CROSS, DIRECTOR OF THE BLACK  
STUDENTS DIVISION AT OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

STATED THAT THE CROWD GATHERED TO APPROXIMATELY ONE  
THOUSAND BLACKS CONSISTING MAINLY OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WHO  
LISTENED TO SPEECHES DURING THE EARLY AFTERNOON HOURS BY VARIOUS  
INDIVIDUALS INCLUDING JAMES EDWARD BROWN, AKA NONMOVX, LEADER OF  
AFRO-SET, A BLACK NATIONALIST GROUP LOCATED IN COLUMBUS, OHIO.

STATED THAT THE DEMONSTRATION WAS PEACEFUL, THERE WERE NO  
ARRESTS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEMONSTRATION.

THAT ALEX HALEY, BIOGRAPHER OF A BOOK ON MALCOLM X, IS SCHEDULED  
TO SPEAK AT THE EVENING MEMORIAL FOR MALCOLM X. HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

END PAGE ONE

EX-104 DATE 2/20/86 BY SP8BHD/ld  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/5/85 BY SP8BHD/ld  
DATE 12/5/85 BY SP8BHD/ld  
DATE 12/5/85 BY SP8BHD/ld

54 JUN 2 1971

PAGE TWO

ON MAY NINETEEN, INSTANT, CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES, WHO HAVE FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THAT THE CROWD WHICH GATHERED IN FRANKLIN PARK, COLUMBUS, OHIO, ON THE AFTERNOON OF MAY NINETEEN CONSISTED ALMOST ENTIRELY OF BLACKS OF JUNIOR HIGH OR HIGH SCHOOL AGE. THE CROWD WAS PEACEFUL. NO INCIDENTS WERE OBSERVED. SOURCES STATED THAT THERE WERE NO PLANS FOR ANY TYPE OF DISRUPTION AND THAT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE WAS TO CONCLUDE WITH A MOTORCADE THROUGH THE EAST SIDE OF COLUMBUS, OHIO.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RENYTELS MAY EIGHTEEN AND NINETEEN, SEVENTYONE.

APPROPRIATE

AGENCIES ADVISED. NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

TRC FBI WDC

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 712A 920