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Malcolm X, Muslim strong man, shows his power over an audience with a demand for money to finance transportation to rallies.

ridden racial ghettos in Omaha, Lansing, Michigan, Boston and New York. He has bitter memories of each.

When Malcolm was six his father, whom a group of whites considered "too aggressive in racial matters," was found under a Lansing streetcar, "his head bashed in and his body mangled. After that we almost starved."

Little left home and school after the eighth grade to become a waiter on a railroad dining car. Bored and frustrated, he soon gravitated to Harlem as a numbers runner, then a hustler of bootleg whiskey and dope. Prominent whites paid "Big Red" large fees to be squired to vice in Harlem. White police demanded bribes which he peeled from the \$1,000 bankroll he always carried.

Then, in 1946, at the age of 19, he was convicted of grand larceny in Boston, and a white judge sentenced him to 10 years in prison. While in jail, he learned of Poole's doctrine. "When I heard the white man was a devil," he told us, "it clicked."

Articulate, single-minded, the fire of bitterness still burning his soul, Malcolm X travels the country—organizing, encouraging, trouble-shooting in local Muslim organizations. He appears on radio-TV interviews and speaks and debates on street corners, in Muslim temples and on college campuses. Malcolm X and his wife, a former nurse, are so dedicated to militant accomplishment of Muslim goals that they named one daughter Attila (for the leader of the Huns) and another Qubillah (after Kublai Khan). While Muhammad appears to be training his son Wallace to succeed him when he retires or dies, many Muslims feel that Malcolm is too powerful to be denied the leadership if he wants it.

But as remarkable and typical as Malcolm's transformation has been, law-enforcement officials feel that the dedicated Muslim may be a worse threat to society than the criminal. "There is no way to measure the long-term effect of the race hatred they preach," a New York police official told us.

Equally insidious, we were told repeatedly, are the results of Muslim teachings about violence. Although Muslims profess to abhor violence, pointing to their regulations against carrying weapons, they are often in the thick of it. When a riot in Los Angeles last April resulted in the gunshot death of one person and the wounding of 14 others, Muslims were involved. When twin riots

partially wrecked a youth reformatory outside Washington, D.C., last summer, Muslims were prominent. Prison riots involving Muslims have broken out in California, Michigan, Maryland and elsewhere.

A look at Muslim statements shows what inspires this violence. "We must take things into our own hands," Muhammad said in one speech. "We must return to the Mosaic law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. What does it matter if ten million of us die?"

Malcolm X is even more provocative on the subject. "If anyone attacks you," he told one audience, "lay down your life! If anyone so much as touches your finger, his place is in the graveyard!"

"I got a wire from God"

Malcolm shocked even sympathetic Negroes with a statement made last June after receiving a message that 121 white civic and cultural leaders from Atlanta had been killed in the crash of a chartered airliner outside Paris.

"I would like to announce a very beautiful thing that has just happened," he told his audience. "I got a wire from God today. . . . Somebody came and told me that He really had answered our prayers in France. He dropped an airplane out of the sky with over 120 white people on it. . . . we will continue to pray and we hope that every day another plane falls out of the sky."

How does this fanatical doctrine fit in with the tenets of the orthodox Muslim faith, which has 500,000,000 followers throughout the world?

"Elijah Poole's teachings, his dogma and doctrine of hatred, are utterly non-Muslim," says Ahmad Kamal, a recognized authority on the faith who has written a noted pilgrimage guidebook and heads the worldwide Islamic relief agency, Jami'at al Islam. "It is anti-Muslim. We feel a great compassion for all Negroes who have been duped by the Black Muslims."

Muhammad himself has no known tie with orthodox Islam. One of 13 children of a rural Baptist preacher, he worked as a Georgia field hand, on railroad gangs, at a sawmill, in a brickyard and in factories in Detroit. Apparently, he had his first experience with this twisted form of Muhammadanism when he met a silk peddler named W. D. Fard in Detroit about 1930. Fard claimed to have come from Mecca. If indeed he did, he made

two recorded stopovers: one in California, where as "Wallie Ford" he was sentenced to San Quentin State Prison on the narcotics charge; and then in Chicago, where a cultist known as Noble Drew Ali suggested that Fard become a "Prophet of Islam." Ali gave Fard the concept of a "Nation of Islam," and terminology like "so-called American Negroes."

In 1931 in Detroit Poole helped Fard found Temple of Islam No. 1, the Fruit of Islam Guard, and the first University of Islam. Fard bestowed on Poole the name "Muhammad" and the title, "First Minister of Islam." When Fard disappeared in 1934, Poole took over the sect.

Today, despite the Spartan discipline which governs the lives of the mass of Muslims, Elijah Poole is reaping the benefits of his life of struggle. He and his Georgia-born wife Clara commute between an 18-room mansion in Chicago and a four-bedroom winter home, complete with a swimming pool, in Phoenix. All eight of their children have positions in the movement, and all are apparently dedicated to their father's extremism. In a visit to his Chicago home, the Negro member of our team noted that Muhammad's fanaticism extends even to the symbolic use of brown bread instead of white and of African coffee packaged by a Muslim in New Jersey.

Like most racists, Poole believes unshakably in the righteousness of his cause and the inevitability of his eventual triumph. When asked about planned investigations into his movement by Congress, the FBI, and local, state and Federal tax officials, Poole replied stubbornly, "Let them come. I have all I need. I have the truth!"

What is the truth? Just how strong are the Black Muslims?

To begin with, most published reports number Muslim membership as between 100,000 and 250,000. This, authoritative sources told us, is vastly exaggerated. Actually, of approximately 20,000,000 American Negroes, only a hard core of 5,500 to 6,000 have actually become temple members. This figure, of course, does not include an estimated 50,000 others who are sympathetic.

The Muslims' financial power also is exaggerated. Their businesses, though clean and well-run, are low-profit neighborhood enterprises. Most are owned by the members, not by the movement. The total amount of aggregate property accumulated by the sect is only a fraction

of that owned by the late Daddy Grace, or Father Divine.

The Muslims have found that prisons and slums are their most fertile breeding ground. It is hopeful to note that whenever there is strong Negro leadership and good race relations in a community, the sect has flopped miserably.

"The average Negro," says noted Negro psychologist Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York City, "readily realizes that there is no point in talking about whether the Negro wants to integrate in America. He has no choice. He is involved with America—inextricably so—and America with him."

How important are they?

Like counterpart white supremacist groups the Black Muslims are not on the Attorney General's subversive list. Federal investigators report no evidence of foreign domination.

Of what significance, then, are the Muslims? "In this difficult period of social transition," says Burke Marshall, Assistant U.S. Attorney General for Civil Rights, "no group with this discipline and dogma can be ignored." In the event of real trouble, says Los Angeles police chief William Parker, "they could become the shock troops in a conflict between races."

On the other hand, some authorities believe that, unintentionally, the Muslims have had some good effects. Says Ralph McGill, famed publisher of the Atlanta *Constitution*, "Now that real Negro extremists have appeared, possibly there will be an end to irresponsible charges that moderate, responsible organizations like the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League are unreasonable—or, more absurdly, Communist-run."

Little Rock's Harry S. Ashmore, a Pulitzer Prize-winning editor and a practical expert in race relations, puts it this way: "The Black Muslims are a warning to which churches, community leaders and public officials had better pay heed. That is, that the masses of Negro people no longer are willing to stand still, that injustice has been done, and change is going to come. The only question is, will the change come through men and women working together regardless of race, or will the field be left to extremists?"

"The Black Muslims and White Citizens councils offer one answer. Let us hope that responsible Americans will begin working for another." THE END