

# **MALCOLM X SPEAKS**

**SELECTED SPEECHES  
AND STATEMENTS  
EDITED WITH  
PREFATORY NOTES  
BY GEORGE BREITMAN**



**GROVE PRESS**  
*New York*

Copyright © 1965 by Merit Publishers and Betty Shabazz

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer, who may quote brief passages in a review. Any members of educational institutions wishing to photocopy part or all of the work for classroom use, or publishers who would like to obtain permission to include the work in an anthology, should send their inquiries to Grove/Atlantic, Inc., 841 Broadway, New York, NY 10003.

*Published simultaneously in Canada  
Printed in the United States of America*

The publisher acknowledges with gratitude the permission of the following companies and individuals to use in this book materials by Malcolm X:

Afro-American Broadcasting Co., Detroit, for "Message to the Grass Roots" and interview by Milton Henry in Cairo, Egypt.

"Pierre Berton Show," CFTO-TV, Toronto, Canada, for excerpts from program taped January 19, 1965.

*The Militant*, for speeches printed in its issues of April 27, 1964, June 8, 1964, January 25, 1965, and May 24, 1965.

Radio Station WBAI-FM, New York City, for excerpts from interview on January 28, 1965.

Radio Station WINS, New York City, for concluding section of *Contact* program, February 18, 1965.

*Village Voice*, for excerpts from February 25, 1965, article by Marlene Nadle, "Malcolm X: The Complexity of a Man in the Jungle."

*Young Socialist*, for excerpts from interview in March-April 1965 issue.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

X, Malcolm, 1925-1965.

[Selections, 1990]

Malcolm X speaks: selected speeches and statements / edited with prefatory notes by George Breitman.

p. cm.

ISBN 0-8021-3213-8

1. United States—Race relations. 2. Afro-Americans—Civil rights. 3. Black Muslims. I. Breitman, George. II. Title.

BP223.Z8L57922 1990

297 .87—dc20

90-30051

Grove Press  
841 Broadway  
New York, NY 10003

05 15 14 13 12 11 10

## CONTENTS

FOREWORD	vii
I. MESSAGE TO THE GRASS ROOTS November 10, 1963, Detroit	3
II. A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE March 12, 1964, New York City	18
III. THE BALLOT OR THE BULLET April 3, 1964, Cleveland	23
IV. THE BLACK REVOLUTION April 8, 1964, New York City	45
V. LETTERS FROM ABROAD April 20, 1964, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia May 10, 1964, Lagos, Nigeria May 11, 1964, Accra, Ghana	58
VI. THE HARLEM "HATE-GANG" SCARE May 29, 1964, New York City	64
VII. APPEAL TO AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE July 17, 1964, Cairo, Egypt	72
VIII. AT THE AUDUBON December 13, 1964, New York City	88

## VII. APPEAL TO AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE

*Throughout June, 1964, Malcolm X spoke, agitated, educated and organized to create a new, non-religious movement to promote black unity and work for freedom "by any means necessary." On June 28, this new movement was born under the name of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, its "statement of basic aims and objectives" was released to the public, and Malcolm was designated chairman.*

*Shortly thereafter, on July 9, Malcolm again left the United States for Africa and the Middle East. His immediate objective was to attend the "African Summit"—the second meeting of the Organization of African Unity, which had been formed in 1963 to bring about joint action by the independent African governments.*

*The OAU conference was held in Cairo July 17–21, and was attended by nearly all the heads of the thirty-four member states. The welcoming address was made by President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic who, while reviewing the events of the previous year, hailed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that had recently been enacted in the United States.*

*Malcolm was accepted as an observer at the conference. In this capacity he was permitted to submit to the delegates an eight-page memorandum urging their support of the Negro struggle in the United States and their help in bringing the plight of the American Negro before the United Nations. The memorandum, which follows, was delivered to the delegates on July 17, one day before the events that came to be called "the Harlem riots."*

Your Excellencies:

The Organization of Afro-American Unity has sent me to attend this historic African summit conference as

an observer to represent the interests of 22 million African-Americans whose *human rights* are being violated daily by the racism of American imperialists.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) has been formed by a cross-section of America's African-American community, and is patterned after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Just as the Organization of African Unity has called upon all African leaders to submerge their differences and unite on common objectives for the common good of all Africans — in America the Organization of Afro-American Unity has called upon Afro-American leaders to submerge their differences and find areas of agreement wherein we can work in unity for the good of the entire 22 million African-Americans.

Since the 22 million of us were originally Africans, who are now in America not by choice but only by a cruel accident in our history, we strongly believe that African problems are our problems and our problems are African problems.

Your Excellencies:

We also believe that as heads of the Independent African states you are the shepherd of *all* African peoples everywhere, whether they are still at home on the mother continent or have been scattered abroad.

Some African leaders at this conference have implied that they have enough problems here on the mother continent without adding the Afro-American problem.

With all due respect to your esteemed positions, I must remind all of you that the good shepherd will leave ninety-nine sheep, who are safe at home, to go to the aid of the one who is lost and has fallen into the clutches of the imperialist wolf.

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 other than we seek the recognition and respect granted other human beings in America.

Your Excellencies:

The American government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of your 22 million African-American brothers and sisters. We stand defenseless, at the mercy of American racists who murder us at will for no reason other than we are black and of African descent.

Two black bodies were found in the Mississippi River this week; last week an unarmed African-American educator was murdered in cold blood in Georgia; a few days before that three civil-rights workers disappeared completely, perhaps murdered also, only because they were teaching our people in Mississippi how to vote and how to secure their political rights.

Our problems are your problems. We have lived for over 300 years in that American den of racist wolves in constant fear of losing life and limb. Recently, three students from Kenya were mistaken for American Negroes and were brutally beaten by New York police. Shortly after that, two diplomats from Uganda were also beaten by the New York City police, who mistook them for American Negroes.

If Africans are brutally beaten while only visiting in America, imagine the physical and psychological suffering received by your brothers and sisters who have lived there for over 300 years.

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, when you visit America, you may be mistaken for one of us and suffer the same psychological humiliation 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.

Our problem is your problem. It is not a Negro problem, nor an American problem. This is a world problem; a problem for humanity. It is not a problem of civil rights but a problem of human rights.

If the United States Supreme Court justice, Arthur Goldberg, a few weeks ago, could find legal grounds to threaten to bring Russia before the United Nations and charge her with violating the human rights of less than three million Russian Jews, what makes our African brothers hesitate to bring the United States government before the United Nations and charge her with violating the human rights of 22 million African-Americans?

We pray that our African brothers have not freed themselves of European colonialism only to be overcome and held in check now by American *dollarism*. Don't let American racism be "legalized" by American dollarism.

America is worse than South Africa, because not only is America racist, but she also is deceitful and hypocritical. South Africa preaches segregation and practices segregation. She, at least, practices what she preaches. America preaches integration and practices segregation. She preaches one thing while deceitfully practicing another.

South Africa is like a vicious wolf, openly hostile towards black humanity. But America is cunning like a fox, friendly and smiling, but even more vicious and deadly than the wolf.

The wolf and the fox are both enemies of humanity; both are canine; both humiliate and mutilate their victims. Both have the same objectives, but differ only in methods.

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.

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 African-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?

These are nothing but tricks of the century's leading neo-colonialist power. Surely, our intellectually mature African brothers will not fall for this trickery.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity, in cooperation with a coalition of other Negro leaders and organizations, has decided to elevate our freedom struggle above the domestic level of civil rights. We intend to "internationalize" it by placing it at the level of human rights. Our freedom struggle for human dignity is no longer confined to the domestic jurisdiction of the United States government.

We beseech the independent African states to help us bring our problem before the United Nations, on the grounds that the United States government is morally incapable of protecting the lives and the property of 22 million African-Americans. And on the grounds that our deteriorating plight is definitely becoming a threat to world peace.

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.

From here on in, if we must die anyway, we will die fighting back and we will not die alone. We intend to see that our racist oppressors also get a taste of death.

We are well aware that our future efforts to defend ourselves by retaliating — by meeting violence with violence, eye for eye and tooth for tooth — could create the type of racial conflict in America that could easily escalate into a violent, world-wide, bloody race war.

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.

If this humble plea that I am voicing at this conference is not properly worded, then let our elder brothers, who know the legal language, come to our aid and word our plea in the proper language necessary for it to be heard.

One last word, my beloved brothers at this African summit:

"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.

May Allah's blessings of good health and wisdom be upon you all. Salaam Alaikum.

Malcolm X, Chairman  
Organization of Afro-American Unity

*Shortly after the OAU conference, Malcolm was interviewed in Cairo by Milton Henry, attorney, former city councilman in Pontiac, Michigan, and president of the Afro-American Broadcasting and Recording Company in Detroit. From this interview, which was originally played over the Group On Advanced Leadership (GOAL) radio*

*program in Detroit, the following extracts about the conference have been taken:*

*Milton Henry:* Once again the GOAL Show microphones have with us our brother, Malcolm X. This time we are on the other side of the world. We're at Cairo, Egypt, where the independent African states have met in serious confrontation for the last week. One of the significant additions to the confrontation here was the presence of Malcolm X as a black American delegate to the conference of black peoples here in Africa. Malcolm, would you tell us something about the conference? First of all, we'd like to know about your appearance — how did it happen that you as an American were permitted to appear at this conference of African people?

*Malcolm:* First, I want to point out that we are sitting here along the banks of the Nile, and the last time I spoke to you we were in Harlem. Here along the banks of the Nile it's not much different from Harlem — same people, same feeling, same pulse.

About my appearing here at the conference: At first it did create a great deal of controversy, and, as you probably know, apprehension on the part of the powers that be in America, because they realize that if any direct contact, communication and understanding and working agreement are ever developed between the 22 million or 30 million Afro-Americans and the Africans here on the continent, there's nothing we couldn't accomplish. When I arrived here, there was a great deal of publicity in all of the press over here concerning my coming. It was historic in a sense because no American Negroes had ever made any effort in the past to try and get their problems placed in the same category as the African problems, nor had they tried to internationalize it. So this was something new, it was unique, and everyone wondered what the reaction of the Africans would be.

It is true that at first there were stumbling blocks placed in my path in regards to being accepted into the conference, or into the meetings. But I'd rather not say what happened in specific details. Thanks to Allah, I was

admitted as an observer and I was able to submit a memorandum to each one of the heads of state, which was read and thoroughly analyzed by them. It pointed out the conditions of our people in America and the necessity of something being done and said at this conference toward letting the world know, at least letting the United States know, that our African brothers over here identified themselves with our problems in the States.

*Henry:* Now, Malcolm, I have read the speech [memorandum] which was presented . . . . Basically, as you say, it did deal with the abuses that the American Negroes have suffered in America and it asked the consideration of the African states of this problem. Now, will you tell us, was this actually passed upon, and did any action come out of the Cairo conference with reference to the American Negro?

*Malcolm:* Yes, a resolution came out, acknowledging the fact that America has passed a civil-rights bill, but at the same time pointing out that, despite the passage of the civil-rights bill, continued abuses of the human rights of the black people in America still existed. And it called upon — I forget the wording; when I read the resolution it was 2:30 in the morning, under very adverse conditions; but I was so happy to read it. In essence, I remember that it outright condemned the racism that existed in America and the continued abuses that our people suffered despite the passage of the civil-rights bill. It was a very good resolution.

*Henry:* In other words, this type of resolution coming out of a conference of thirty-four African states should certainly make the United States take a new look at the American Negro?

*Malcolm:* Well, I have to say this, that the United States has been looking at the American Negro. When I arrived here I did a great deal of lobbying. I had to do a great deal of lobbying between the lobby of the Hotel Hilton, the lobby of the Sheppard and even the lobby of the "Isis," the ship where the African liberation movement was housed. Lobbying was necessary because the various agencies that the United States has abroad had successfully convinced most Africans that the American Negro

in no way identified with Africa, and that the African would be foolish to involve himself in the problems of the American Negroes. And some African leaders were saying this.

So in the memorandum I submitted to them at the conference I pointed out to them that as independent heads of states we looked upon them as the shepherds not only of the African people on the continent, but all people of African descent abroad; and that a good shepherd is more concerned with the sheep that have gone astray and fallen into the hands of the imperialist wolf than the sheep that are still at home. That the 22 million or 30 million, whatever the case may be, Afro-Americans in the United States were still Africans, and that we felt that the African heads of state were as much responsible for us as they were responsible for the people right here on the continent. This was a sort of a challenge to them and I think that most of them realize it today, more so than they did prior to the conference.

*Henry:* Malcolm, I think you are to be greatly applauded because actually you were the only American recognized as a participant of the conference, and of course you had the badge which permitted you access to all of the rooms and so forth. The Americans here, including myself, did not have that privilege, but you had the privilege of actually being with the other black brothers. I had the feeling that there will be a great change in emphasis because you have been here, and because you presented our position — the position of the black man in America — so well, in a way that no one but an American could.

*Malcolm:* One thing that made most Africans see the necessity of their intervening on our behalf was [their learning] a bit of the historic steps since 1939 in the so-called rise of the black American . . . . It was the world pressure, brought about by Hitler, that enabled the Negro to rise above where he was [in 1939]. After Hitler was destroyed, there was the threat of Stalin, but it was always the world pressure that was upon America that enabled black people to go forward. It was not the initiative internally that the Negro put forth in America, nor was it a change of moral heart on the part of Uncle Sam — it was world pressure.

Once this is realized as a basic fact, then the present American Negro leaders will be more aware that any gain, even in token form, that they get, isn't coming from any goodness out of Washington, D.C., or from their own initiative — it is coming because of the international situation. And when they see it like this, in cold facts, then they will see the necessity of placing their problem at the world level, internationalizing the Negro struggle and calling upon our brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia and Latin America, and even in some of the European countries, to bring pressure upon the United States government in order to get our problems solved. And this was only the first of a series of steps that the OAAU has in mind to internationalize the black man's problem, and make it not a Negro problem or an American problem, but a world problem, a problem for humanity.

\* \* \*

*Henry:* I think of another real benefit from this conference, Malcolm. You are living in a very advantageous spot, because it so happens, as you intimated just a minute ago, that you are living with all of the freedom fighters from all of the liberated and unliberated parts of the world down there on the "Isis" — is that the name of the boat?

*Malcolm:* Well, I don't know if I should say this, but it is true. The "Isis," a beautiful yacht that floats on the Nile River, was set aside for all the liberation movements that exist on the African continent. The leaders of these movements from places like Angola, the Angola freedom fighters; freedom fighters from Mozambique; freedom fighters from Zambia, known as Northern Rhodesia, which is just on its way toward independence; freedom fighters from Zimbabwe, known in America as Southern Rhodesia; freedom fighters from Southwest Africa; from Swaziland; Basutoland; and South Africa itself — all of the representatives of these different groups of freedom fighters were housed on this yacht called the "Isis."

I was very honored to be permitted to be housed right along with them. Spending so much time with them gave me a real feeling of the pulse of a true revolutionary, and it gave me an opportunity also to listen to them tell

of the real brutal atmosphere in which they live in these colonized areas. It also gave me somewhat of a better idea of our problem in America, and what is going to be necessary to bring an end to the brutality and the suffering that we undergo every day.

*Henry:* I think that this is one of the advantages of a conference like the one we have just experienced. The fact is that it is important for people to get together to exchange ideas. Even apart from the speeches and the organizational activities which go on with the formal organization, it would seem that, as you indicated, the opportunity for the leaders of each of these parts of the world to get together becomes an invaluable asset to the total freedom struggle. Because without this, leaders very often feel they work by themselves; and with it, they can see the whole picture.

*Malcolm:* Yes, this is one thing that I have learned since being out of the Black Muslim movement. It's difficult to look at a thing through the narrow scope of an organizational eye oftentimes and see it in its proper perspective. If the various groups in America had been less selfish and had permitted different representatives from the groups to travel into foreign countries, and broaden their own scope, and come back and educate the movements they represented, not only would this have made the groups to which they belonged more enlightened and more worldly in the international sense, but it also would have given the independent African states abroad a better understanding of the groups in the United States, and what they stand for, what they represent.

In my opinion, a very narrow, backward, almost childish approach has been made by the groups in the United States, and especially the religious groups; very narrow minded. Whenever you belong to a group that just can't work with another group, then that group itself is selfish. Any group, any group that can't work with all other groups, if they are genuinely interested in solving the problems of the Negro collectively — why, I don't think that that group is really sincerely motivated toward reaching a solution. This Organization of African Unity, this summit conference, is the best example of what can be

accomplished when people come together and their motives aren't selfish.

\* \* \*

*Henry:* Yes, it doesn't seem that it should be so difficult for Negroes, if they are sincere, to get together.

*Malcolm:* If they are sincere, it is easy for them to get together.

*Henry:* Perhaps those leaders will be passed by now, in the events as they move forward. I am enthused about the OAAU, and I expect that there will be some very concrete things happening with respect to that organization that will make the so-called civil-rights movement just a thing of the past almost.

*Malcolm:* Well, one of the main objectives of the OAAU is to join the civil-rights struggle and lift it above civil rights to the level of human rights. As long as our people wage a struggle for freedom and label it civil rights, it means that we are under the domestic jurisdiction of Uncle Sam continually, and no outside nation can make any effort whatsoever to help us. As soon as we lift it above civil rights to the level of human rights, the problem becomes internationalized; all of those who belong to the United Nations automatically can take sides with us and help us in condemning, at least charging, Uncle Sam with violation of our human rights.

*Henry:* Yes, Malcolm, there is one other thing before we leave. What do you think of this city of Cairo?

*Malcolm:* Cairo is probably one of the best examples for the American Negro. More so than any other city on the African continent, the people of Cairo look like the American Negroes — in the sense that we have all complexions, we range in America from the darkest black to the lightest light, and here in Cairo it is the same thing; throughout Egypt, it is the same thing. All of the complexions are blended together here in a truly harmonious society. You know, if ever there was a people who should know how to practice brotherhood, it is the American Negro and it is the people of Egypt. Negroes just can't judge each other according to color, because we are all colors, all complexions. And as Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois pointed out, the problems today are too vast. Just as on

the African continent, you have this wide range of complexions — so much so that you can't call it a brown struggle, a red struggle, or a black struggle . . . .

*Henry:* By the way, Brother Malcolm, before we close, did you receive any promises of assistance or help from any of the African nations?

*Malcolm:* Oh, yes, several of them promised officially that, come the next session of the UN, any effort on our part to bring our problem before the UN — I think it is the Commission on Human Rights — will get support and help from them. They will assist us in showing us how to bring it up legally. So I am very, very happy over the whole result of my trip here.

*Henry:* So this conference has been an unqualified success from all standpoints?

*Malcolm:* From all standpoints it has been an unqualified success, and one which should change the whole direction of our struggle in America for human dignity as well as human rights.

*Henry:* Thank you very much, Brother Malcolm.

*In the preceding interview, Malcolm expressed satisfaction with the OAU's resolution on "Racial Discrimination in the United States of America." This may have meant it was better than he had expected, or better than it would have been without his intervention. The actual wording of the resolution was moderate. It noted "with satisfaction the recent enactment of the Civil Rights Act designed to secure for American Negroes their basic human rights," while declaring that the OAU conference was "deeply disturbed, however, by continuing manifestations of racial bigotry and racial oppression against Negro citizens of the United States of America." The resolution concluded by reaffirming the OAU's "belief that the existence of discriminatory practices is a matter of deep concern to member states of the Organization of African Unity," and by urging "the government authorities in the United States of America to intensify their efforts to ensure the total elimination of all forms of discrimination based on race, color, or ethnic origin."*

*Malcolm's effect on Africa should not be judged merely by the OAU resolution. Following the conference, he made a second, longer and more intensive tour of the continent, continuing his own education but contributing in no small degree to the education of many Africans, in and out of government.*

*Independent testimony to Malcolm's impact on Africa was provided by John Lewis and Donald Harris, who visited several African countries as representatives of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in the fall of 1964, when Malcolm was nearing the end of his tour of fourteen countries. The following is taken from a written report by Lewis and Harris to SNCC, dated December 14, 1964:*

*"Among the first days we were in Accra, someone said, 'Look, you guys might really be doing something — I don't know, but if you are to the right of Malcolm, you might as well start packing right now 'cause no one'll listen to you.' Among the first questions we were continually asked was, 'What's your organization's relationship with Malcolm's?' We ultimately found that this situation was not peculiar to Ghana; the pattern repeated itself in every country. After a day of this we found that we must, immediately on meeting people, state our own position in regard to where we stood on certain issues — Cuba, Vietnam, the Congo, Red China and the UN, and what SNCC's role, guidelines, and involvement in the rights struggle was. Malcolm's impact on Africa was just fantastic. In every country he was known and served as the main criteria for categorizing other Afro-Americans and their political views."*

*Malcolm's activities in Africa also had impact on high officials in Washington, D.C. On August 13, 1964, the New York Times printed a dispatch by M. S. Handler from Washington, which said in part:*

*"The State Department and the Justice Department have begun to take an interest in Malcolm's campaign to convince African states to raise the question of persecution of American Negroes at the United Nations . . . ."*

*"Malcolm's eight-page memorandum to the heads of state at the Cairo conference requesting their support*

became available here only recently. After studying it, officials said that if Malcolm succeeded in convincing just one African government to bring up the charge at the United Nations, the United States government would be faced with a touchy problem.

"The United States, officials here believe, would find itself in the same category as South Africa, Hungary and other countries whose domestic policies have become debating issues at the United Nations. The issue, officials say, would be of service to critics of the United States, Communist and non-Communist, and contribute to the undermining of the position the United States has asserted for itself as the leader of the West in the advocacy of human rights.

"In a letter from Cairo to a friend, Malcolm wrote:

'I have gotten several promises of support in bringing our plight before the UN this year.'

"According to one diplomatic report, Malcolm had not met with success, but the report was not documented and officials here today conceded the possibility that Malcolm might have succeeded . . . .

"Although the State Department's interest in Malcolm's activities in Africa is obvious, that of the Justice Department is shrouded in discretion. Malcolm is regarded as an implacable leader with deep roots in the Negro sub-merged classes. At one point in the Harlem riots, the same people who booed Bayard Rustin and James Farmer of CORE shouted, 'We want Malcolm.'

"Malcolm's identification with the 'streets in Harlem' and his big following among Negro writers, actors, musicians and entertainers is well known. He has confided in friends that he has been under constant surveillance in New York by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and by the intelligence section of the New York Police Department . . . ."

Malcolm's proposal was not acted on at the United Nations session that began in the fall of 1964, partly because of the deadlock (over the "dues" question) that developed at that session and partly because of the lack of support for Malcolm's proposal by the major American civil-rights organizations.

But Malcolm's influence at the United Nations was seen in the sharp denunciations of American racial policy at home and abroad that were voiced by several African delegations in the UN debate over the Congo in December, 1964. M. S. Handler in the New York Times of January 2, 1965, noted that Malcolm had been urging the Africans to employ "the racial situation in the United States as an instrument of attack in discussing international problems," because "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." Handler continued:

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

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

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