

SL: RIVALS\$INQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0131 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:44 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:44 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: May. 3, 1984 RIVALS IN DEBATE CRITICI PRINTED: 09:33 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 97 OF 103 STORIES

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The New York Times

May 3, 1984, Thursday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1504 words

HEADLINE: RIVALS IN DEBATE CRITICIZE JACKSON ON BACKER'S ACTS

BYLINE: By HOWELL RAINES, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: GRAPEVINE, Tex., May 2

BODY:

In a debate here tonight, Walter F. Mondale and Gary Hart condemned the Rev. Jesse Jackson for refusing to repudiate the support of Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader who threatened a reporter for disclosing Mr. Jackson's use of anti-Semitic language.

But Mr. Jackson refused to disown Mr. Farrakhan even though Mr. Mondale denounced Mr. Farrakhan's words as ``poison'' and Mr. Hart called for criminal prosecution of Mr. Farrakhan, the leader of a Black Muslim group.

Instead, Mr. Jackson defended Mr. Farrakhan, who in a speech March 11 threatened Milton Coleman, a Washington Post reporter, who revealed Mr. Jackson's use of the term ``Hymie'' in referring to Jews and ``Hymietown'' in referring to New York City.

Refusal to 'Repudiate' Leader

In what was otherwise the mildest of the eight debates this year among the candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Mr. Jackson said it was enough that he had ``disassociated'' himself from the threat. But he said he would not ``repudiate'' Mr. Farrakhan personally.

He said the threat against Mr. Coleman had to be understood in the ``context of the apocalyptic message of the Islamic religion.'' Mr. Mondale and Senator Hart referred to the threat as a ``death threat,'' but Mr. Jackson denied that was the case.

The exchange marked the most direct discussion among the candidates of the issue, which has dogged Mr. Jackson for weeks. The discussion kept him on the defensive through most of the final portion of the one-hour debate televised tonight from this suburb of Dallas.

Agreement on Other Issues
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The candidates agreed on most of the other issues discussed, including the use of military force to protect American interests, although Mr. Hart added his usual caveat about committing American ground troops to protect Persian Gulf oil for United States allies. The candidates jointly condemned legislation calling for identification cards in the enforcement of immigration laws.

The Farrakhan discussion marked the most vigorous challenge yet delivered to Mr. Jackson by Mr. Mondale, who has been accused of treating the black candidate with kid gloves for fear of offending minority voters.

The candidates clashed in a televised debate sponsored by the League of Women Voters four days before the caucuses on Saturday at which Texas Democrats begin the selection of 200 national convention delegates. The contest could play a decisive role in the nomination battle.

Challenge on Runoff Issue

With the approach of the vote in this conservative state, Mr. Mondale picked this time to challenge Mr. Jackson on both the Farrakhan issue and on another matter of importance to the state's Democratic leadership.

Mr. Mondale said he differed with Mr. Jackson's call for outright abolition of all runoff primaries in Texas and nine other Southern states. He said he opposed such runoffs, which are strongly supported by the Democratic leaders in Texas, only when they could be proved to be discriminatory. Mr. Hart, who in the past flatly endorsed Mr. Jackson's call for abolition of runoffs, tonight softened his opposition. The Colorado Senator said he, too, opposed second primaries that were revealed to be discriminatory in ``state by state analysis.'' In their remarks on runoffs, both Mr. Hart and Mr. Mondale appeared to be tailoring their positions to put them closer to Robert Slagle, the Texas Democratic chairman, who is a strong defender of second primaries.

On the Farrakhan issue, the exchanges reached their peak as Mr. Jackson was defending Mr. Farrakhan against criticism from the moderator, Sander Vanocur of ABC News. Mr. Mondale interjected, ``I must say, Mr. Jackson, I really thought that what Mr. Farrakhan said was poison, and I thought I heard him say that he was threatening the life of a reporter.''

Mr. Jackson had previously defended his failure to repudiate Mr. Farrakhan in biblical terms, saying he believed in ``redemption as opposed to punishment.'' He did the same tonight.

``I disassociated myself from the message, but not from the messenger, and there is a distinct difference,'' Mr. Jackson said
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He used the parable of Jesus telling a group stoning a prostitute that the person who had not sinned should throw the first stone.

Mr. Mondale said: ``I'm a preacher's kid. I believe in redemption. But, boy, that was going awful far.''

Hart Takes Sharp Tone

Mr. Hart took an even sharper tone as he questioned the theory, introduced by Mr. Vanocur, that the threat was especially reprehensible because it was lodged against a journalist.

``I think that we should leave the fact aside that Mr. Coleman was a reporter,''

 Mr. Hart said. ``That's immaterial. He was a human being.

``If you threaten the life of a human being, it's a violation of the criminal laws of almost every state. The authorities haven't moved on that,''

 he added, suggesting Mr. Farrakhan should be investigated.

``I must say with all due respect, Jesse, that I don't think it's for you or me or anyone else to forgive Mr. Farrakhan,''

 Mr. Hart said. ``I think it's up to Mr. Coleman, whose life was threatened.''

Investigation Has Opened

According to a report from Chicago in early April, the United States Attorney there has opened a criminal investigation to determine if Federal statutes were violated. The action was taken under a Federal law that prohibits transmission of threats to injure another person over interstate communications media.

Mr. Farrakhan's remarks were broadcast in a nationally syndicated radio program. In it, he threatened Mr. Coleman for what Mr.

Farrakhan considered a betrayal of the black Presidential candidate.

Although Mr. Hart and Mr. Mondale teamed up on Mr. Jackson, they avoided several chances to resume the sharp criticisms of each other that have characterized earlier debates and that have figured in Mr. Hart's stump speeches here this week.

Mr. Hart, whose strategists believe he must rebound here and in the Ohio primary next Tuesday, has been condemning Mr. Mondale's ties to the Carter Administration and to organized labor. But Mr. Mondale tonight passed up an opportunity to rebut Mr. Hart's accusation that the Carter Administration's action in the Iran hostage crisis had left a legacy of impotence in foreign policy.

Avoidance of Confrontation

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Mr. Mondale, coming off his victory in the Tennessee primary on Tuesday, now has 1,212 of the 1,967 delegates needed for the nomination, according to United Press International.

Mr. Mondale's lead over Mr. Hart, who has 644 delegates, apparently contributed to his willingness to avoid confrontation with the Colorado Senator tonight.

Mr. Mondale also declined to respond in the debate tonight to Mr. Hart's accusation in a speech today that Mr. Mondale was trying to

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trick Texas voters by passing himself off as a friend of the oil industry.

Mr. Hart, however, came in for criticism from Mr. Jackson, as the latter tried to defend himself in the Farrakhan exchange.

"You're reacting to a situation you don't know the details on," Mr. Jackson said testily, insisting that Mr. Hart had not heard Mr. Farrakhan or read the transcript of his remarks.

Retort Draws Applause

"I was asked to give an answer and I did," Mr. Hart retorted, to a burst of applause from the audience.

Most Democratic campaign strategists believe that Mr. Mondale can claim a commanding lead in the nomination race by finishing first in Texas Saturday and in the Ohio primary next Tuesday.

Texas 'Very Important'

"The Texas victory, if I receive it, would obviously be very important," Mr. Mondale said today in Fort Worth. "I now have a chance of getting enough delegates before the convention starts."

In Tennessee the final vote tally showed Mr. Mondale with 131,836 votes for 41 percent of the total, Mr. Hart with 93,092 or 29 percent and Mr. Jackson with 80,847 or 25 percent. He won 29 delegates in Tennessee, Mr. Hart won 21 and Mr. Jackson 15.

In the District of Columbia the final tally had Mr. Jackson with 67,091 votes or 67.4 percent, Mr. Mondale with 25,345 votes or 25.5 percent and Mr. Hart with 7,053 votes or 7.1 percent. The delegate totals from the district were 11 for Mr. Jackson and 4 for Mr. Mondale.

Hart Assails Rival in Speech

Mr. Hart, addressing a civic group in Dallas today, asserted that Mr. Mondale, in speeches to primary voters in the North, used the oil and natural oil industries as "a political whipping boy."

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"But Walter Mondale wants you to forget what he said in the North, because he's got a new policy, now that Texans are getting ready to vote," Mr. Hart said.

In Texas Saturday night an estimated 100,000 Democrats are expected to attend 6,634 precinct caucuses. But with the exception of party loyalists and campaign workers who are highly motivated to attend the caucuses, Texans are showing little excitement about the contest.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: DEMOCR\$01QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0096 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:42 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:42 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Jun. 30, 1984 DEMOCRATS ~~The New York Times~~ PRINTED: 09:33 04-DEC-95
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

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June 30, 1984, Saturday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 1; Page 1, Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1187 words

HEADLINE: DEMOCRATS HAIL JACKSON SHIFT ON MUSLIM, BUT FEARS PERSIST

BYLINE: By PHIL GAILEY, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, June 29

BODY:

The Rev. Jesse Jackson's disavowal of the anti-Jewish statements made by Louis Farrakhan was regarded by Democratic leaders today as a major step toward redeeming his political standing in the party.

But many privately expressed concern that serious damage might already have been inflicted on their efforts to halt an erosion of Jewish support.

Spokesmen for a number of Jewish organizations joined Democratic leaders, including Walter F. Mondale, the party's expected Presidential nominee, in praising Mr. Jackson for his denunciation of Mr.

Farrakhan's latest statements.

Some Democrats said that the move had put Mr. Jackson on political probation and that his conduct in the coming weeks, especially at the Democratic National Convention next month, would determine whether he could rehabilitate himself within the party.

Mr. Jackson, meanwhile, refused today to repeat for reporters any part of the statement his campaign issued Thursday while he was out of the country. In the statement, he denounced remarks about Jews and Israel made by Mr. Farrakhan, a black Muslim leader, as "reprehensible and morally indefensible."

The statement addressed the assertion by Mr. Farrakhan, made in a radio broadcast last Sunday, that the creation of the state of Israel was an "outlaw act." It did not deal with the part of the broadcast that described Judaism as a "gutter religion." Mr. Jackson has expressed uncertainty that Mr. Farrakhan actually made the remark.

Today, as Mr. Jackson moved about Washington to brief members of Congress and State Department officials on his trip to Central America and Cuba, the candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination cut off attempts by reporters to question him further on the Farrakhan matter. "My position on the Farrakhan issue is stated quite clearly in a formal position," Mr. Jackson said.

Asked if his friendship with the Muslim leader was over, Mr. Jackson replied, "Our politics are distinct." He said he had not spoken to

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Mr. Farrakhan in two months.

Some Democratic leaders said they were concerned that the controversy would linger as long as Mr. Jackson insisted on letting the statement stand as his last word on the matter.

"I don't think it's over," said one party official who did not want to be identified. "I think Jackson has to say it again and again, if necessary, until this thing cools down."

This official also said that Mr. Jackson's trip to Cuba, where he embraced President Fidel Castro, and to Nicaragua, where he praised the Sandinista Government and criticized United States policy toward that country, was not sitting well with many Democrats of conservative to moderate views, even though Mr. Jackson obtained agreement from Mr. Castro to release 48 American and Cuban prisoners.

At Mr. Mondale's campaign headquarters, officials were relieved by Mr. Jackson's decision to distance himself from Mr. Farrakhan.

"There has been a positive response to Mr. Mondale's handling of this thing," said David Ifshin, the campaign's general counsel, who also unofficially handles liaison with Jewish groups. Mr. Farrakhan's remarks, and Mr. Jackson's delay in responding to them, had set off a political furor that threatened not only to disrupt the Democratic convention but also to complicate Mr. Mondale's efforts to put together a winning coalition in the fall election.

Action Taken by Senate

On Thursday night the Senate, by a vote of 95 to 0, approved a Republican-sponsored resolution calling on both party chairmen to issue written repudiations of Mr. Farrakhan.

While the Senate was taking that action, Vice President Bush, in a speech here, said: "Recent statements by Louis Farrakhan have no place in America. The President and I condemn in the strongest terms those who preach hate, racism and anti-Semitism."

Today, without mentioning Mr. Farrakhan by name, President Reagan said there was no room in the Republican Party for those who preach "bigotry and ugly rhetoric."

Some black leaders, meanwhile, reacted angrily to a warning earlier this week by top Democratic officials that Mr. Jackson might not be allowed to speak at the convention unless he repudiated Mr.

Farrakhan's statements on Judaism.

'Blackmail' Seen by Bond

State Senator Julian Bond of Georgia, a Mondale supporter, said in an interview today that it was "ridiculous and foolish" for Charles T. Manatt, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and other party officials to raise such a possibility. He also said that pressure from Jewish leaders and others for Mr. Mondale to dissociate himself

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from Mr. Jackson was "blackmail of the worst kind."

Mr. Bond said many Jews had been drifting away from the Democratic Party for some time and that "some Jews seized on the Jackson-Farrakhan thing to justify their natural inclination." He

added, ``That's going to happen when people become affluent and comfortable.''

In the 1976 Presidential election, according to a CBS News poll, Jimmy Carter won 64 percent of the Jewish vote, to 34 percent for President Ford. In 1980, a New York Times/CBS News Poll showed, Mr. Carter's share of the Jewish vote was 44 percent. Mr. Reagan won 39 percent and John B. Anderson, an independent candidate, 15 percent.

One Jewish leader said that he talked by telephone with Mr. Mondale from Atlanta Thursday night, after Mr. Jackson issued his statement, and that the former Vice President said ``he had been contacted by many black leaders who said, 'This is it - Jackson has to act.' ``

Young Said to Seek Consensus

Throughout the controversy, many black leaders, privately appalled by Mr. Jackson's association with Mr. Farrakhan, declined to criticize Mr. Jackson publicly.

Earlier this week, Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta began privately talking to black mayors of big cities and others in an effort to reach a consensus on how to deal with the Farrakhan problem, according to an aide.

One option Mr. Young was exploring, the aide said, was having the mayors explain to Mr. Farrakhan the political impact of his statements and the necessity for him to keep out of the news through the November election.

Although Mr. Jackson's statement was welcomed by Jewish leaders and party officials, some expressed the hope that he would go further and sever his personal association with the Muslim leader.

Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, said Mr. Jackson now should take ``the next step and repudiate not only Farrakhan's ideas but Farrakhan himself.''

Howard Squadron, a New York lawyer who is a former president of the American Jewish Congress, said: ``The Democratic Party is facing a serious dilemma. How Jackson performs at the convention will be as significant as what he said yesterday.''

In a telephone interview, Mr. Squadron, a member of the Democratic platform committee, said the civil rights leader, depending on how he conducted himself, could perform a service for the party this fall by turning out his black constituency, especially in the South

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LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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SL: SEVERAL\$BQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0042 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:42 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:42 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Jul. 5, 1984 SEVERAL BLACK MUSLIMS DENOUNCE FARRAKHAN PRINTED: 09:34 04-DEC-95
The New York Times
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 88 OF 103 STORIES
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July 5, 1984, Thursday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 10, Column 2; National Desk

LENGTH: 461 words

HEADLINE: SEVERAL BLACK MUSLIMS DENOUNCE FARRAKHAN

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, July 4

BODY:

Black Muslim leaders and Muhammad Ali, the former heavyweight boxing champion, denounced the Rev. Jesse Jackson today for associating with the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, leader of a Black Muslim sect.

Mr. Ali attacked the news media as implying Mr. Farrakhan's views against Jews and Israel were held by all Muslims. "I'm not with Farrakhan - none of these people are with Farrakhan," he said, referring to himself and the other Black Muslims at a news conference in front of the home of Frederick Douglass, the 19th century abolitionist.

W. Deen Muhammad, leader of the American Muslim Mission, the larger of the two primary Black Muslim sects, said that Mr. Jackson, as a Christian minister, should never have associated with such a person. He added that a "very wicked matchmaker" had brought the two black leaders together.

Mr. Farrakhan is the leader of the Nation of Islam, which split off from Mr. Muhammad's group in 1977. Mr. Farrakhan has been a strong supporter of Mr. Jackson's Presidential aspirations but has evoked sharp criticism from Jewish groups, political leaders and the Reagan Administration for remarks he has made denigrating Jews and Israel.

Mr. Jackson, under pressure from the Democratic Party, last week formally denounced Mr. Farrakhan's assertions that the creation of Israel was an "outlaw act" and nations supporting it "part of a criminal conspiracy."

Silent on 'Gutter Religion'

Mr. Jackson did not repudiate another comment by Mr. Farrakhan in that speech, that Judaism was a "gutter religion." Mr. Jackson said he was unsure whether Mr. Farrakhan had made the remark.

"What he teaches is not at all what we believe in," Mr. Muhammad said. "We believe that Jews, Christians and Muslims share an affinity, we believe in one and the same God, we represent one humanity."

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The Black Muslim movement was founded in this country 50 years ago.

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Its longtime leader was Elijah Muhammad, father of W. Deen Muhammad. After his father's death in 1975, Mr. Muhammad moved away from the religion's separatist doctrines, which he considered contrary to Islamic teachings. The sect now claims 100,000 active members.

When Mr. Farrakhan split he took several thousand followers with him and retained the separatist doctrine. He refuses to say exactly how many adherents his sect has.

Mr. Muhammad said Mr. Farrakhan ``represents the same kind of thing that Hitler taught.''

Mr. Muhammad said Mr. Farrakhan's followers were few but nevertheless represented a ``significant number.''

``We cannot ignore him,''' Mr. Muhammad said, adding that he feared that undue attention could fuel Mr. Farrakhan's movement because ``it is not only the media that have to live off sensationalism.''

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: INVITATIOQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0078 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:42 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:42 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Oct. 9, 1984 INVITATION **The New York Times** PRINTED: 09:34 04-DEC-95
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Your Search Request: **HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)**

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October 9, 1984, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section B; Page 2, Column 5; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 913 words

HEADLINE: INVITATION TO FARRAKHAN CAUSES RIFT AT WESLEYAN

BYLINE: By JEFFREY SCHMALZ

DATELINE: MIDDLETOWN, Conn., Oct. 8

BODY:

A student group's invitation to Louis Farrakhan to speak at Wesleyan University has sparked an angry dispute over freedom of speech that has split the campus.

The group - Ujamaa (pronounced oo-jah-MAH), an organization of black students whose name means "family" in Swahili - asked the student government to spend \$2,000 from a general fund for an appearance by Mr. Farrakhan, the leader of a black Muslim sect known as the Nation of Islam.

But many students - especially Jewish ones, who are estimated to make up between a quarter and a third of the university enrollment - object to the giving of some of their money to a man they consider anti-Semitic and racist. A smaller but no less vocal group objects to Mr. Farrakhan's very presence on campus, regardless of who pays for it.

Considered an Attack

Mr. Farrakhan came to national attention this year as a supporter of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination. In one speech, Mr. Farrakhan termed Judaism a "gutter religion." In another speech, referring to Adolf Hitler's rebuilding of Germany after World War I, he called the Nazi dictator a "great man." Mr. Jackson eventually disavowed some controversial statements by Mr. Farrakhan.

"This is an attack on Jewish students," Jessica Seigel, a 22-year-old senior from Manhattan, said of the invitation. "It's a lack of understanding. The blacks are so wrapped up in their own feelings of oppression that they don't see oppression against other groups. I feel we're being provoked. Even after Ujamaa realized how offensive it was to the Jewish community - that it really was not cool - they still didn't drop it."

But Ujamaa, which claims an active membership of about 150 students out of a total black enrollment at Wesleyan of about 250, feels it has been unfairly singled out. It points out that other controversial speakers have appeared over the years despite wide campus protest

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including G. Gordon Liddy, a convicted Watergate conspirator.
Feel He Should Be Heard

Mr. Farrakhan ``has been promulgated as one of the black leaders of our time," said Craig A. Hazel, a 21-year-old senior from the Bronx who is co-coordinator of Ujamaa. ``We feel we ought to hear what he has to say, whether we agree with his policy or not."

"The reaction here has been a complete shock," Mr. Hazel went on. ``We feel moral arguments have no founding in the decision whether to spend the money for him. Moral considerations aren't made when other speakers are brought forth. We think raising the moral question in our case is unfair. To deny the money is to deny Farrakhan's right to come here. But he has a right to be heard like everyone else."

Wesleyan, which has 2,600 students and is 25 miles south of Hartford, has long prided itself as a bastion of liberal thinking and freedom of expression, and the dispute has raised numerous questions about whether there are limits to who can speak on a university campus.
Decision Left to Students

"My personal hunch is that there must be some limits," said Edgar R. Beckham, a dean of the college who has met with both black and Jewish students to try to resolve the dispute. ``But we want them to be as far out there as possible."

Despite strong protests from some alumni against a speech by Mr. Farrakhan, the Wesleyan administration has not objected to his appearance. It has left up to the students whether the general campus-activity fund should be used to pay him. Each student pays \$52.50 a semester to the fund.

As the dispute has been carried on throughout the campus - in letters to the university's newspaper, in meetings, in petitions - the language has sometimes been sharp. But there have been no reported acts of intimidation. And, while the debate has been primarily between Jewish and black students, not every Jewish student opposes paying Mr. Farrakhan to come here and not every black wants him here.

"I think Farrakhan's invitation here is nothing more than a slap in the face to the Jewish members of the community," Clarence E. Walker, an associate professor of history and a black, wrote in a letter published in The Wesleyan Argus. ``As such, it is both malicious and mean spirited."

Compromise on Payment

Mr. Walker went on to ask how black students would feel if a Jewish group invited the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan.

Two weeks ago, the Student Budget Committee, which decides on the allocation of the \$270,000 student activities fund, rejected Ujamaa's FOCUS

request for money to pay Mr. Farrakhan. But, after the group appealed, the committee agreed to a compromise. It voted \$1,000 as a speaker's fee, agreed to lend Ujamaa another \$1,000 to be paid back

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from revenues collected at the event and voted to pay about \$500 for technical and security expenses.

That compromise agreement was approved Sunday by the student legislative body, the Wesleyan Student Assembly. But the dispute is not over.

Jewish students, saying that they are willing to pay security and technical expenses but not one cent for Mr. Farrakhan's profit, today began collecting the 260 signatures they need on a petition to place the the whole budget on a campuswide referendum.

"The compromise doesn't make sense - the point isn't whether it's \$1,000 or \$2,000 that's going to Farrakhan," said Peter Glusker, a 22-year-old senior from Manhattan. "It's not the level, it's the principle."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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SL: CHICAGO\$MQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0052 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:41 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:41 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: May. 4, 1985 CHICAGO MUSLIM **The New York Times** PRINTED: 09:34 04-DEC-95
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Your Search Request: **HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)**

FOCUS - 84 OF 103 STORIES

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May 4, 1985, Saturday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 1; Page 8, Column 2; National Desk

LENGTH: 625 words

HEADLINE: CHICAGO MUSLIM GETS QADDAFI LOAN

BYLINE: By E. R. SHIPP, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: CHICAGO, May 3

BODY:

Louis Farrakhan, leader of a Black Muslim sect based here, says he has accepted a \$5 million loan from Libya's Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, a man he has called "a fellow struggler in the cause of liberation of our people."

Mr. Farrakhan said in a speech in Washington Wednesday night that he had received the loan interest-free. He noted that it had to be repaid, but did not say by when.

In addition, he said, "there are many more Muslim nations that are going to help us" besides Libya.

"I am not a terrorist," he told an audience of about 3,000, "and don't you say I've taken this money to make bombs." The money, Mr.

Farrakhan said, will be used to foster economic independence among black Americans. His program, called People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth, or Power, is to be a national corporation selling goods and services to blacks.

Mr. Farrakhan gained notoriety last year for making anti-Semitic remarks while he was supporting the Presidential candidacy of the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson. The ensuing controversy plagued Mr. Jackson, who refused to reject the Muslim's support. Mr. Jackson, through a spokesman today in New York, declined to comment on the loan.

Another Group Disbanding

While Mr. Farrakhan was announcing plans that could thrust his group into a more prominent role among blacks, a larger group of Black Muslims, the American Muslim Mission, was taking steps to disband its formal structure in favor of "an open, free Islamic society."

These developments highlight the changes that have occurred in what was once the Nation of Islam, built into a nationwide network of "temples" by Elijah Muhammad and led to its peak by the charismatic minister Malcolm X.

Malcolm X, who later broke with Mr. Muhammad and embraced orthodox Islam, was assassinated in Harlem 20 years ago by followers of Elijah FOCUS

Muhammad. Mr. Muhammad died 10 years ago.

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By then, his Nation of Islam had lost thousands of members and its financial empire, which included real estate, a newspaper, restaurants and a fish importing business, was on the wane.

When his son, Wallace Deen Muhammad, took over as leader of the organization, it changed names twice, repudiated many of its black separatist beliefs and gradually began the transformation into an orthodox Muslim religious community. Now it plans to sell what real estate it still owns and to leave private enterprise to individual followers.

'A Different Direction'

"It took a different direction, so those of us who loved the teaching and way of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, we quietly faded, so to speak, into the night," Mr. Farrakhan once said in an interview.

In 1977, Mr. Farrakhan broke away with a splinter group ``to rebuild the work'' of Mr. Muhammad.'' He adopted the old name, Nation of Islam, the strict dress codes, the militaristic trappings and the old teachings. His followers believe that God came to blacks in Detroit in the 1930's and, using the name Fard Muhammad, established the religion. They celebrate his birthday, Saviour's Day, each February.

Colonel Qaddafi began his relationship with the Black Muslims while Elijah Muhammad was alive. He made a loan of \$3 million to them, but refused another request for the same amount.

At this year's Saviour's Day celebration, Colonel Qaddafi spoke via a satellite hookup. The Libyan, who described Mr. Farrakhan as ``a gift of God for you,'' urged blacks to leave the United States armed forces, to form their own army and to fight for their own separate nation. He offered to supply the arms.

In his speech on Wednesday, Mr. Farrakhan said he had thanked Colonel Qaddafi for the offer of weapons, but told him that ``we need help to get this economic program off the ground.''

GRAPHIC: Photo of Louis Farrakhan (NYT/Don Hogan Charles)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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SL: KLAN\$FIGUQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0063 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:40 OP: DDD, :11/28,11:40 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Oct. 3, 1985 KLAN FIGURE ~~The New York Times~~ PRINTED: 09:34 04-DEC-95
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

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October 3, 1985, Thursday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 19, Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 735 words

HEADLINE: KLAN FIGURE MET WITH FARRAKHAN

BYLINE: By JUDITH CUMMINGS, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: LOS ANGELES, Oct. 2

BODY:

The former head of the Ku Klux Klan in California said today that he headed a ``white nationalist'' delegation that attended a speech here last month by Louis Farrakhan, leader of a Black Muslim group, and that talks between the black and white groups have been going on for a year.

The former Klan leader, Thomas Metzger of San Diego, said that he and nine members of his organization attended the Farrakhan rally here Sept. 14 as guests of Mr. Farrakhan and that they contributed \$100 to support the Muslim's cause.

Mr. Farrakhan, who heads the Nation of Islam, has been widely attacked in the past two years for statements that many consider anti-Semitic, among them assertions that Judaism is ``a gutter religion'' and that Hitler was a ``great man.''

The Muslim leader, who preaches on political and economic self-determination for blacks, has attracted 15,000 people to the Los Angeles speech and about 10,000 to an appearance in Washington last July, drawing heavy criticism from Jewish leaders in both cities. Prominent civil rights and political leaders in both cities were criticized by Jewish leaders as not denouncing Mr. Farrakhan's visits in advance.

Mr. Farrakhan is scheduled to speak Monday at Madison Square Garden in New York, where he has been repudiated in recent days by Mayor Koch and a range of civic, religious and government leaders. Contacts Between Groups

Mr. Metzger said he now heads the White People's Political Association, which he described as a ``white nationalist'' organization.

He said that contacts between his association and Mr. Farrakhan's organization, which has an estimated 5,000 to 10,000 members, have been going on about a year. This included ``two or three occasions'' when his group gave the Farrakhan people information on ``the movements of Jewish terrorist groups that could have caused damage to Jesse
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Jackson's campaign'' and to Mr. Farrakhan. Last year Mr. Farrakhan for a time supplied bodyguards to the Rev. Jesse Jackson when he was seeking the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Mr. Jackson severed ties with Mr. Farrakhan in the wake of growing protest.

Mr. Metzger said groups he was concerned with were the Jewish Defense League and the Jewish Defense Organization in California. Offered Muslim's Assurances

''We wanted to assure the Nation of Islam that white nationalists generally would not be part of any attacks on the Jackson campaign, and that if it happened it would be a result of somebody else trying to make it look like us,'' he said.

Two top lieutenants of Mr. Farrakhan, Abdul Akbar Muhammad of the sect's headquarters in Chicago, and Abdul Allah Muhammad, minister of the group's New York temple, in Brooklyn, did not return calls to them today. Abdul Allah Muhammad has been quoted in publications in Los Angeles as confirming the contacts between the two groups.

Mr. Metzger said the invitation to the Sept. 14 event had been extended to the group by a member of Mr. Farrakhan's organization in Washington, who he declined to name.

In an interview Mr. Metzger, who says he represents the white working class, denied that either his group's views or Mr.

Farrakhan's were anti-Semitic. Instead, he said they shared a common interest in throwing off what he termed white ``elitist'' domination in the hands of corporations and the Federal Government.

Jewish spokesmen said they saw in the incident new justification for their calls for Farrakhan's repudiation.

''Mr. Farrakhan, by making common cause with Mr. Metzger, betrays his message of hate and prejudice,'' said Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council in New York. ``You judge a man by the company he keeps. For those who sought to excuse or to otherwise interpret Farrakhan's message, I think this spells it out very clearly.''

Mr. Hoenlein said civic, government and religious leaders would meet Thursday in New York to denounce Mr. Farrakhan's planned visit.

Rabbi Marvin Hier, dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies in Los Angeles, said, ``I consider Louis Farrakhan to be the most dangerous anti-Semite in the United States today, far more dangerous than the lunatic fringe of the K.K.K. because they would never dare to fill an auditorium and get the turnout Louis Farrakhan has. This best explains to the black community why Louis Farrakhan had to be repudiated immediately.''

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GRAPHIC: photo of Thomas Metzger (UPI)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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NOTE: Sep. 16, 1985 DIVERSE C

PRINTED: 09:34 04-DEC-95

229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 82 OF 103 STORIES

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The New York Times

September 16, 1985, Monday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 10, Column 2; National Desk

LENGTH: 1889 words

HEADLINE: DIVERSE CROWD HEARS FARRAKHAN IN LOS ANGELES

BYLINE: By JUDITH CUMMINGS, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: LOS ANGELES, Sept. 15

BODY:

The cars parked at the Forum sports arena, Chevrolets and Toyotas, Mercedes-Benzes and BMW's, family sedans and clunkers, represented the whole spectrum of southern California incomes and lifestyles. They were driven by people who turned out Saturday night to hear a speech by Louis Farrakhan, the leader of a Black Muslim sect.

Mr. Farrakhan drew nearly 15,000 people, evidence that in the last year he has gained recognition, if not followers, substantially beyond the Nation of Islam, a small extremist religious sect he heads. The sect is one of two competing branches of the Black Muslims.

James and Cleo Moore, both retired civil servants, brought guests from San Diego to hear Mr. Farrakhan's talk. They blended into a crowd that ranged from small children to the over-60 group, clad in everything from blue jeans to business suits.

'A Lot Are Not His Followers'

Mr. Moore noted the ``nice cross section of people here'' and said of Mr. Farrakhan's drawing power: ``A lot of these people are not his followers and we're not his followers. But there's a lot in his message that I do relate to.''

By that, he said, he meant ``the promise of financial stability for blacks.''

''Really,'' Cleo Moore added, ``it's what power can do.''

Mr. Farrakhan, who is based in Chicago, has earned notoriety for statements in public appearances since last year when he called Judaism a ``gutter religion.'' He has been denounced by a broad range of individuals and organizations as an anti-Semite and promoter of racial divisiveness.

Mr. Farrakhan affiliated himself early with the Presidential campaign of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, and accompanied him to Syria to help negotiate the release of a captured Navy airman, Lieut. Robert O. Goodman Jr. Later he was dropped from the Jackson campaign

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Plans for his speaking engagement here set off a storm of protest

last week by Jewish groups who called for black civil rights and political leaders to repudiate Mr. Farrakhan before his speech for his past "anti-Semitic and anti-American" remarks.

The controversy divided much of the black and Jewish leadership. Some black leaders responded by swiftly renouncing Mr. Farrakhan; others did not. A spokesman for Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, who is black, said the Mayor had "made a commitment" to black leaders not to address the Farrakhan issue until after Mr. Farrakhan's speech.

They Are 'Poles Apart'

Today, at a news conference held under unusually tight security, Mr. Bradley explained his reasons for remaining silent. He said that he and Mr. Farrakhan were "poles apart" in their beliefs and that he had been concerned about black-Jewish divisions that resulted from a Farrakhan appearance in Washington in July.

Mr. Bradley said Los Angeles black leaders met at his request with Mr. Farrakhan's representatives to convey an offer: If Mr.

Farrakhan would delete "the rhetoric of racism and hate" in his Los Angeles speech, the Mayor and the black leaders would not comment on his visit until after his speech.

Calling his strategy a "calculated risk," Mr. Bradley said today that it was a "partial success" in that Mr. Farrakhan had toned down his remarks. But the Mayor said he still found a "strong, dangerous undercurrent of anti-Semitism" in them.

"I repeat again today that I repudiate racism, hatred, violence and bigotry whenever it occurs and by whoever utters or practices it against any race, religion, group or individual," Mr. Bradley said. "This includes Minister Farrakhan."

In his speech Saturday night, Mr. Farrakhan made note of the controversy and, to frequent standing cheers, challenged black leaders to think and act independently of pressure from others.

Opposition Is Cited

"I did not come here to Los Angeles to attack Jews or to attack anyone, but to tell the truth," he said. He said Jewish groups opposing him had gone "to black leaders with an already signed statement telling them to sign it or else."

He said that some black leaders had bowed to pressure from Jews to repudiate him. He also said that those who did not were told by the Jews that they would not forget it. Then he added: "We will never forget who sold our fathers into slavery. Don't push your six million down our throats when we lost 100 million" in slavery

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At another point he said: "I have a problem with Jewish people and it is not because I am hateful of Jewish people, not at all."

"But I have a problem because I am declaring to the world that they are not the chosen people of God. I am declaring to the world that you, the black people of America and the Western Hemisphere," are the chosen people.

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Talking about ``oppressed peoples'' in America gaining economic and political power, he said: ``With political power 40 million blacks can be as wise and manipulative as the Jews in America are today.''

He also said he was not anti-American and that he could not speak out as he was doing if he were not in America.

Describes Economic Program

He also spoke of his black economic self-help organization known as People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth, or Power. He acknowledged the organization was being assisted by a \$5 million loan from the Libyan leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi.

He said the organization could contribute to solving a litany of ills that afflict many blacks in America -high unemployment, a high rate of single-parent households and teen-age pregnancies, and a proliferation of illicit drugs in black neighborhoods. And he called for ``an exodus'' of blacks to self-reliance in their own communities.

Next year, he said, the organization would begin producing and marketing to black Americans a line of soaps, toothpastes, detergents and other toilet and household goods, aimed at harnessing what he said was an annual \$200 billion in spending by blacks that could generate jobs and economic independence.

Leo Bates, a 51-year-old correction officer who was in the audience, said of Mr. Farrakhan's remarks: ``When he mentioned an exodus, I knew he wasn't talking about leaving here. Black people have contributed too much here; as far as contributions go, this is our country.''

Mr. Farrakhan also announced a plan to join with American Indian leaders to prevent any encroachment on Indian lands and natural resources, saying he was looking to blacks to lay their lives on the line if the Government attempted to take over Indian lands. Several representatives of Indian groups, including Russell Means of the American Indian Movement, sat on the platnd, which has dragged on for years, sharpened last month when the tribe notified 150 non-Indian homeowners that it wanted them to move off land that was once the bed of the Puyallup River. Federal courts have held that the tribe owned the river bed and owns the land that was reclaimed when the river course was rerouted decades ago.

In addition to the old river bottom, the Puyallups claimed ownership of a tract in the Port of Tacoma area, as well as much of downtown FOCUS Tacoma.

The agreement was negotiated over the last month and culminated in a session convened this week by Representative Norman D. Dicks, Democrat of Washington. It remains for the 1,200 members of the tribe to vote on the agreement at a date to be set.

The proposed settlement calls for the Indians to give up their land claims in the Tacoma area and in return receive about \$112 million. They would also get 360 acres of land, Federal funds for a revolving loan program and a new bridge, money for economic development and a job

training program. About 40 percent of the Indians who live in the Tacoma area are unemployed.

Mr. Dicks says he is committed to pushing through a Federal appropriation to pay half the cost of the settlement. The remainder is to come from local business and government sources.

The land that was awarded to the Puyallups in the 19th century gradually passed into non-Indian hands until, by 1965, only the 35-acre tribal cemetery remained. Then last year the Supreme Court gave 12 acres of the former riverbed to the tribe and raised the prospect of extensive litigation that could have clouded land titles in Tacoma for years.

In a special election Tuesday, Oregon will again vote on a state sales tax, and voter opinion polls show the proposal probably will be defeated for the seventh time since 1933.

Only four other states have no sales tax. Three of them are Delaware, Montana and New Hampshire. The fourth, Alaska, is a special case because heavy income from state oil reserves has allowed the state to abandon most taxes and instead distribute millions of dollars each year as "dividends" to state residents.

Oregon now has an income tax that is among the highest of any state, and soaring property taxes in the last decade have led to a potent tax-revolt movement.

The Oregon income tax begins at 4 percent and rises to 10 percent. Currently, income in excess of \$10,000 is taxed at the maximum rate. A study circulated by supporters of a sales tax shows that property taxes in Oregon average \$21.30 for each \$1,000 of assessed value. The study contrasted this with property taxes across the Columbia River in Washington State, which average \$10.83 per \$1,000 of assessed value.

There is a certain irony in using Washington's property tax for comparison, since Washington has no income tax and relies mostly on a 6.5 percent sales tax, to which many local governments add an additional percentage point. Gov. Booth Gardner of Washington has called this tax system "dysfunctional." He said he believed Washington should adopt an income tax, but he added that "an army of people" working for it would be required "to convince the semi-believers."

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The Oregon Legislature tailored its sales tax proposal to attract the support of a maximum number of interest groups. The plan would lower income taxes by shifting the progressive rates so that a new maximum tax of 9.5 percent would not be reached until taxable income exceeded \$25,000. Landlords would be ordered to give a 6 percent rebate of rents, and property taxes would be cut 35 percent statewide. Education is guaranteed a big slice of the new revenue, and retailers would be allowed to keep 2 percent of the sales taxes they collect as state agents.

The sales tax effort is led by Gov. Victor G. Atiyeh and Senator Mark O. Hatfield, both Republicans, and former Gov. Robert Straub, a

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Democrat. Supporters include educators, business leaders and the League of Women Voters.

Opponents include the Oregon State Grange, elements of the Democratic Party and several groups that oppose most taxes.

The discovery last week of a young woman's skeleton in Seward Park in Seattle has raised the possibility that the so-called Green River Killer, who is suspected in 29 slayings committed in 1982 and 1983, may still be active.

The victim was identified as Mary Exzetta West, who was 16 years old when her family last saw her in April 1984. Not since 1983 have the police added any names to the suspected victims of the serial killer, whose first victims were found buried in shallow graves in the Green River area near Seattle.

Two other young women who lived near Miss West in the Seattle area are also missing, and the police have begun to search the heavily wooded park for more graves.

GRAPHIC: photo of Louis Farrakhan (UPI)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:38 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:38 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Oct. 12, 1985 WHITE SUPREMACISTS VOICE SUPPORT OF FARRAKHAN
PRINTED: 09:35 04-DEC-95
The New York Times
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 73 OF 103 STORIES
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October 12, 1985, Saturday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 1; Page 12, Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 935 words

HEADLINE: WHITE SUPREMACISTS VOICE SUPPORT OF FARRAKHAN

BYLINE: By WAYNE KING, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: HOUSTON, Oct. 10

BODY:

Leaders of neo-Nazi and other white supremacist groups met in a gesture of solidarity against Jews last weekend and talked of an accommodation with Louis Farrakhan, leader of a Black Muslim group who has been accused of anti-Semitism.

The meeting of 200 leaders and their supporters was held at the Michigan farm of Robert Miles, a former Ku Klux Klan leader. According to people who attended the meeting, several speakers talked favorably about Mr. Farrakhan.

One, Art Jones, a white supremacist in Chicago, declared: ``The enemy of my enemy he is my friend. I salute Louis Farrakhan and anyone else who stands up against the Jews.''

'A Rotting Carcass'

Another, Thomas Metzger, a former Klan leader in California, was quoted as saying in an address Saturday night: ``America is like a rotting carcass. The Jews are living off the carcass like the parasites they are. Farrakhan understands this.''

Neither Mr. Jones nor Mr. Metzger could be reached by telephone for elaboration, but Mr. Miles confirmed that they had spoken at the meeting.

Mr. Metzger is the former grand dragon of the California Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and now heads the White American Political Association, which he describes as a ``white nationalist'' organization.

Mr. Metzger said recently that his group had made a \$100 contribution to Mr. Farrakhan at a rally and had held talks with the Muslim group. But a Farrakhan spokesman, Abdul Akbar Muhammad, has said the Muslim group's national leadership in Chicago never knowingly conferred with ``any people who identified themselves'' as white nationalists.

Common Ground in Separatism
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Although Klan and neo-Nazi groups are antiblack, they share

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considerable common ground with Mr. Farrakhan and his Black Muslim sect, the Nation of Islam. All believe that blacks and whites should have separate nations and governments, and all maintain that Jews are evil and have taken control of the United States.

Mr. Farrakhan denies he is anti-Semitic, but he has made a number of remarks that others consider anti-Semitic, including a statement that Judaism was a "gutter religion."

He was quoted last year in an Ohio weekly as saying: "Jews were not the chosen people - black people are -and the people that call themselves Jews today do not practice the religion of Moses. They only use it as a shield, something to hide behind when they engage in lying and deceit."

That tenet, that Jews are "imposters," is remarkably similar to a doctrine increasingly espoused by a number of racist groups. The "Christian Identity" doctrine holds that whites are God's true chosen people and that Jews are the offspring of Satan. The most extreme Identity ministers preach that Jews should be exterminated.

At the weekend meeting, Mr. Metzger said he would continue to support Mr. Farrakhan because both believe in racial separation and believe that Jews control America. Mr. Metzger has denied being anti-Semitic.

According to Mr. Miles, reached by telephone at his farm in Cohoctac, Mich., where the meeting was held, those attending included Dr. Edward Fields, director of the National States Rights Party, a racist group in Birmingham, Ala., and Richard Girnt Butler, the 65-year-old head of Aryan Nations. The Federal Bureau of Investigation says Aryan Nations is the parent of another group, the Order, 10 of whose members are on trial in Seattle on charges including arson, armed robbery and murder.

A 'Vehicle' for Bigotry

Also present, according to Mr. Miles, were Don Black, a national Ku Klux Klan leader from Alabama who served a prison term for a plot to take over and transform the small Caribbean island of Dominica into a racist state; Roy Frank Houser, identified by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith as a former Klan leader from Pennsylvania; James Burford, who the league said was a leader of the American Nazi Party in Chicago, and John Gerhardt, convicted of plotting to blow up a school principal's home in Columbus, Ohio.

Russ Bellant, a researcher in Detroit for Midwest Research, a Chicago-based group that monitors right-wing activity in the Middle West, said he believed Mr. Farrakhan was "becoming a vehicle for deepening and broadening anti-Semitic bigotry within the black community." Mr. Bellant said this in turn played into the hands of neo-Nazi anti-Semites

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"The Nazi goal is to have Farrakhan organize blacks while they organize white anti-Semites," he said.

Mr. Miles said that the meeting "undoubtedly" included

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anti-Semitic oratory but that its essential purpose was to ``try to develop more interest in the movement toward the Northwest.'' Many white separatist groups believe a totally white society and government should be established in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming.

Although it is unusual, cooperation between black and white separatists is not without precedent. George Lincoln Rockwell, the ``fuhrer'' of the American Nazi Party, attended a Black Muslim rally June 25, 1961, at Uling Arena in Washington, and contributed \$20 to the black separatist group.

In 1962, Mr. Rockwell, flanked by 10 of his storm troopers, attended a Muslim rally in Chicago, and was quoted as saying, ``I am fully in concert with their program and I have the highest respect for Mr. Elijah Muhammad.'' Mr. Muhammad was the longtime leader of the Black Muslims, which now has two main sects, including Mr. Farrakhan's group.

Mr. Miles said the meeting at his farm included a cross-lighting ceremony, which is part of the ritual of the Ku Klux Klan and of an organization he heads, the Mountain Church.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:40 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:40 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Oct. 4, 1985 BLACKS AND ~~The New York Times~~ PRINTED: 09:35 04-DEC-95
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 78 OF 103 STORIES

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October 4, 1985, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 2; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1590 words

HEADLINE: BLACKS AND JEWS IN NEW YORK CONDEMN FARRAKHAN'S VIEWS

BYLINE: By SAM ROBERTS

BODY:

A broad range of New York's civic, religious and political leaders, black and white, yesterday repudiated the racial and religious views of Louis Farrakhan, the Black Muslim minister.

Mr. Farrakhan, who is to speak Monday at a rally in Madison Square Garden, preaches on political and economic self-determination for blacks. But in speeches last year he called Judaism a "dirty religion" and termed Hitler a "great man."

"Minister Farrakhan, like all Americans, has the right to voice his opinions," said City Clerk David N. Dinkins. "But when those opinions express racial prejudice and bigotry, we cannot be silent, for in this climate, silence can often suggest assent."

"I find his blatantly anti-Semitic remarks offensive, and I condemn them," said Mr. Dinkins, who is black.

But coupled with the condemnations were other messages that, according to some officials, reflected an underlying tension between blacks on the one hand and whites, particularly Jews, on the other. "Opportunity for All"

Several black leaders also said, for instance, that it would be more constructive to devote as much energy to confronting the economic problems among blacks on which Mr. Farrakhan feeds as to denouncing his oratory.

"The situation that has arisen creates an opportunity for all who are interested in improving relationships in our society," said one black leader, Basil A. Paterson, who was a city and state official. "That can only be accomplished when the same amount of effort and attention is focused on the root causes of the current controversy."

A number of other blacks complained in interviews that they were repeatedly expected to condemn fellow blacks for offensive remarks or behavior, while whites are not called upon to react to every such indiscretion by white officials.

"It's easy to come down heavy on Farrakhan," said Representative Charles B. Rangel, Democrat of New York, "but I just hope that this FOCUS

is not coming to the point where, if blacks in South Africa have to

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carry a pass book to go from place to place, that black Americans have to carry their last statement refuting Farrakhan. I would not, if someone said Jesus Christ is a phony, go around asking Jews to sign a statement to condemn him."

Mr. Rangel also said in a telephone interview from Washington, "There is a lot of concern among a lot of blacks that they don't want to be told what to do, notwithstanding the fact that they probably would have done it anyway."

Mr. Rangel described as "garbage" and "filthy" Mr. Farrakhan's description of Judaism as a "dirty religion."

"I have never gone to my Jewish friends and said, 'To prove you are a liberal, denounce Ed Koch,'" said Assemblyman Herman D. Farrell Jr., Democrat of Manhattan, who joined yesterday in the repudiation of Mr. Farrakhan by blacks. "It's like, 'All right, folks, let's have litmus test time.'"

But the Rev. Calvin O. Butts, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, said in an interview, "I have chosen not to denounce Mr. Farrakhan. I don't feel that Mr. Farrakhan's statements are necessarily injurious to any special group. He has also pointed a finger at black churches and black ministers from time to time. Issue of South Africa

"It turns quite a few people off, and I know it is particularly insulting to the Jewish people who look askance at any slight breeze of anti-Semitism," Mr. Butts said. However, he added, if in response to Israel's refusal to impose sanctions on South Africa to protest its policies of racial separation, "I jumped up and said all Jewish leaders in the United States should denounce Israel, how many Jewish people would join me in that? "I don't think many." Several Jewish leaders, meanwhile, have expressed disappointment that some black officials denounced Mr. Farrakhan only after being asked to do so.

Without naming names, Mayor Koch said yesterday that "there are people who are tiptoeing around this issue." He criticized those who "take refuge in the comment, 'He has a right to speak.' Sure he does, but so do you." Characterizing Mr. Farrakhan as "a slick con artist" and likening him to "the Adolf Hitler of the 1920's," Mr. Koch said that if community leaders remained silent, "there would always be those who would believe that these leaders had assented to Farrakhan's words or, even worse, that they had been cowed from carrying out their moral obligation to fight his prejudice."

B'nai B'rith Comment

Last month, after speeches by Mr. Farrakhan in Los Angeles and Washington, Nathan Perlmutter, the national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, asked, "Ought we, at this stage in our communal maturity, go about 'imploring' people to FOCUS

please, pretty please, condemn anti-Semitism?

"Our pride aside, how meaningful is a criticism of anti-Semitism

which has to be cajoled?"

Yesterday, Mr. Koch, Mr. Dinkins and members of an interracial group called Coalition of Conscience gathered in front of Madison Square Garden. Mr. Farrakhan, who heads the Nation of Islam, one of several different sects of Black Muslims, is to speak there Monday night.

"Some strong, good statements were made, and I would assume they were made as an expression of a sense of indignation that the black spokesmen had and, as such, were very welcome," Mr. Perlmutter said, "as distinguished from the earlier accounts in which several persons described as black leaders made utterly unresponsive and irrelevant comments about his right to free speech."

'Cleverly Devised Messages'

Some officials offered two other reasons for their reluctance to speak out against Mr. Farrakhan: that they would only be attracting attention to his cause; and that, by delivering a blanket condemnation, they would appear to be criticizing other parts of his message, such as black pride and self-help, that have broader appeal.

"In many ways, black leadership is being placed between a rock and a hard place in terms of their response to Farrakhan and his cleverly devised messages," Wilbert A. Tatum, the chairman and editor in chief of The New York Amsterdam News, wrote in yesterday's edition of the black weekly.

"On the one hand," Mr. Tatum wrote, "he preaches love of blacks for themselves, self-help, economic independence and the survival of our communities. Interspersed with this message of survival there is also a message of hate - hatred toward Jews."

He said black leaders were "finding it difficult to articulate their abhorrence of Farrakhan's hate while supporting his message of hope." He added that "anyone preaching a doctrine of hope and survival based upon the truth of our condition is going to be listened to."

In a statement read at the Madison Square Garden news conference by Stanley H. Lowell, a lawyer and former Deputy Mayor, the Black-Jewish Coalition, which was organized last year, said:

"We must recognize that while Minister Farrakhan speaks of hope, economic empowerment and black self-help, his message loses some credibility because of the anti-Semitic remarks that he may make or has made in the past.

"The Black-Jewish Coalition urges all New Yorkers to move beyond the attempt to polarize our communities and intensify our efforts to improve the economic and social conditions, including education

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housing, justice and employment, for all New Yorkers, blacks and Jews alike."

After the news conference, Abdul Wali Muhammad, the managing editor of The Final Call, the Chicago-based publication of the Nation of Islam, attributed the turnout of black leaders to pressure from the

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Jewish community. He said, in response to Mr. Tatum's editorial, "I would like to see how much Jewish money is put into advertisements in The Amsterdam News."

Mr. Muhammad said anti-Semitic remarks attributed to Mr. Farrakhan had been taken out of context. Asked about reports that Thomas Metzger, the former leader of the Ku Klux Klan in California, had headed a "white nationalist" delegation to Mr. Farrakhan's Los Angeles rally on Sept. 14 and had contributed \$100 to support the Muslim's cause, Mr. Muhammad said, "I would construe it as someone coming to a meeting and making a donation."

Mr. Koch said yesterday that "white racists" were circulating a "phony" flyer contending that Mr. Farrakhan would discuss how to prepare for a "race war" against whites.

In the opinion of the Mayor and Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward, the flyer is "the work of white racists seeking to stir up other whites against blacks," Mr. Koch said.

Minister Wazir Muhammad, a spokesman for the Nation of Islam, said that he and the Rev. Farrakhan had no knowledge of the flyer. --- Aide Denies Meeting LOS ANGELES, Oct. 3 - A top aide to Mr. Farrakhan denied today that the Black Muslim minister or any of his national leadership had ever knowingly conferred with Mr. Metzger, the former Ku Klux Klan leader. But he acknowledged that there could have been discussions between the two groups "at the local level."

Mr. Metzger said Wednesday that talks between Mr. Farrakhan's group and his own "white nationalist" organization had been going on for a year.

Abdul Akbar Muhammad, the aide to Mr. Farrakhan, said, "We have met with a lot of white people and if we met with some who were in his group, then they didn't identify themselves. There have been no meetings on the national level with Minister Farrakhan in Chicago with any people who have identified themselves" as white nationalists. GRAPHIC: photo of David N. Dinkins and Douglas White (NYT/Chester Higgins Jr.)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:35 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:35 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Oct. 17, 1993 Farrakhan ~~The New York Times~~ PRINTED: 09:36 04-DEC-95
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 56 OF 103 STORIES

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The New York Times

October 17, 1993, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 33; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 795 words

HEADLINE: Farrakhan Agrees to Postpone Rally Until After Election

BYLINE: By STEVEN LEE MYERS

BODY:

The Rev. Louis H. Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, whose preachings have attracted support among some blacks but have infuriated many Jews, has postponed a large rally he had scheduled at Yankee Stadium on Oct. 30, three days before the New York City mayoral election, an aide announced yesterday.

The decision to postpone the rally by Mr. Farrakhan, who once referred to Judaism as ``a gutter religion`` and who has made other anti-Semitic remarks, appeared to relieve Mayor David N. Dinkins of a politically awkward and possibly harmful situation on the eve of the election.

Even though Mr. Dinkins has condemned Mr. Farrakhan, the plans for the rally put him in the politically difficult position of having to repeat his denunciations over and over to allay fears of some Jewish and other white voters at the risk of alienating the minister's supporters among black New Yorkers, whose votes he needs in large numbers.

At a news conference in front of Sylvia's restaurant in Harlem, Mr. Farrakhan's chief of staff and son-in-law, Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad, said the rally would be rescheduled late in November at an indoor site in the city, possibly Madison Square Garden or the Javits Center.

The decision, he said, came after black leaders around the country, although not Mr. Dinkins, appealed to Mr. Farrakhan to put off the rally until after Election Day on Nov. 2. ``Our intent,`` Mr. Muhammad said, ``is not to determine who the mayor of New York City is.``

A Tactical Issue

Since the plans became public last weekend, the rally had emerged as a pointed issue in the mayoral campaign, with Rudolph W. Giuliani, the Republican-Liberal challenger to Mr. Dinkins, criticizing City Hall for granting a permit at all and saying he would not have done so.

He compared giving a permit to Mr. Farrakhan to the city hypothetically allowing ``neo-Nazis or skinheads to rent Yankee Stadium.`` Mr. Dinkins and his aides at City Hall have maintained that

the city had no choice but to make the stadium available because of
FOCUS

the Constitutional protection of freedom of speech.

Mr. Farrakhan's aides have said the timing of the rally was coincidental to the mayoral campaign. Instead, they said, the rally, called ``Stop the Killing,'' was one of a series held at cities around the country in recent years to spread a message of black unity and economic self-reliance.

The Parks Department, which operates the stadium, had provided the draft of a contract that allowed the group to hold the rally from noon to 5 P.M., at a cost of \$140,000.

Since the city does not operate Madison Square Garden or the Javits Center, it will have no role in renting those arenas to Mr.

Farrakhan. Mr. Muhammad said that while no date has been scheduled, the rally would probably be held sometime late in November.

Representative Charles B. Rangel, an ally of the Mayor whose district includes most of Harlem and Washington Heights, has reached out to Mr. Farrakhan's group to persuade him to postpone or move the rally.

``They made it clear that they did not select a date to clash with the election,'' Mr. Rangel said, ``and that because more focus is being paid to the rally than the election, they were willing to consider an alternative date.''

Conrad Muhammad, the Nation of Islam's leader in New York, acknowledged that the rally had created controversy and that that had been a factor in putting it off.

Other Black Figures Involved

While neither Mr. Dinkins nor his campaign aides had spoken with Mr. Farrakhan's aides about postponing the rally, Mr. Muhammad said a number of prominent black politicians and ministers, some of them close to Mr. Dinkins, had played a role in the decision.

These included Percy E. Sutton, the former Borough President of Manhattan, State Senator David A. Paterson, the Rev. Al Sharpton, the Rev. Herbert L. Daughtry of the House of the Lord Pentecostal Church in Brooklyn and the Rev. Calvin O. Butts 3d of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem.

In an indication of the political delicacy of the rally, both mayoral campaigns were reluctant yesterday to discuss the postponement even after it was announced.

At a campaign stop in Jackson Heights, Queens, Mr. Giuliani declined to comment on Mr. Farrakhan's rally or its postponement. ``I think we've commented enough on Reverend Farrakhan,'' he said.

Leah C. Johnson, a spokeswoman for the Mayor, said Mr. Dinkins, too, would have no comment
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``The Mayor put his life on the line to speak out against Mr. Farrakhan several years ago,'' she said, referring to death threats made against Mr. Dinkins after he denounced Mr. Farrakhan in 1985

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before the minister held a rally in Madison Square Garden. ``After you put your life on the line, what else is there to say?''

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 17, 1993

(END)

January 23, 1984, The New York Times Company
Section 1, Page 21; Column 3; Metropolitan Desk; Second Front
Length: 1224 words

Headline: Muslim Gave Racist Speech, Jackson Says

By ALAN FINKES

Calling it "racist, anti-Semitic, divisive, untrue and chilling," the Rev. Jesse Jackson has condemned a speech by a senior aide to Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, that was delivered at a New Jersey college two months ago.

Mr. Jackson, in an interview on Friday night that he initiated, also criticized Mr. Farrakhan for responding to the remarks by Khalid Abdul Muhammad, a spokesman for the Nation of Islam, which were made on Nov. 22 at Essex College, in Essex. Mr. Jackson said that he had tried in recent days to speak with Mr. Farrakhan, but that he was out of the country.

Mr. Farrakhan "must make a definitive judgment of the speaker, in what he spoke in his name," Mr. Jackson said.

The anti-discrimination League reprinted portions from what it said was a transcript in a full-page advertisement last Sunday in The New York Times. Mr. Jackson said that he decided to speak out in response to the ad, and that he had already read a full transcript of Mr. Muhammad's comments. Mr. Jackson called on political, educational and religious leaders to respond to his remarks and to use the occasion to bring blacks and Jews closer together.

"The Black History"

"We have too much dignity and heritage of fighting together to stop now," Mr. Jackson said. "As I would hope that leadership would be clear on the horror of this statement and use it to come together."

Mr. Jackson's strong disavowal of the speech, which he said was shared by black Congressional leaders and many black ministers, could pose a critical test for Mr. Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam, which has been trying hard to rehabilitate its image.

Mr. Jackson's remarks may also help him in his efforts to mend his relations with American Jews, who were upset when he referred to New York City as "Synagogue" while running for President in 1984.

A man who identified himself as a security guard at the headquarters of the Nation of Islam in Chicago told that the group's offices were closed yesterday and that Mr. Farrakhan and his aides, including

SL: MUSLIM\$GAQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0107 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:33 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:33 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Jan. 23, 1994 Muslim Gave Racist Speech PRINTED: 09:36 04-DEC-95
The New York Times
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January 23, 1994, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 21; Column 5; Metropolitan Desk; Second Front

LENGTH: 1246 words

HEADLINE: Muslim Gave Racist Speech, Jackson Says

BYLINE: By ALAN FINDER

BODY:

Calling it ``racist, anti-Semitic, divisive, untrue and chilling,'' the Rev. Jesse Jackson has condemned a speech by a senior aide to Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, that was delivered at a New Jersey college two months ago.

Mr. Jackson, in an interview on Friday night that he initiated, also called on Mr. Farrakhan to respond to the remarks by Khalid Abdul Muhammad, a spokesman for the Nation of Islam, which were made on Nov. 29 at Kean College, in Union. Mr. Jackson said that he had tried in recent days to speak with Mr. Farrakhan, but that he was out of the country.

Mr. Farrakhan ``must make a definitive judgment of the speaker, in that he spoke in his name,'' Mr. Jackson said.

The Anti-Defamation League reprinted portions from what it said was a transcript in a full-page advertisement last Sunday in The New York Times. Mr. Jackson said that he decided to speak out in response to the ad, and that he had since read a full transcript of Mr. Muhammad's comments. Mr. Jackson called on political, educational and religious leaders to respond to the remarks and to use the occasion to bring blacks and Jews closer together.

'Too Much History'

``We have too much history and heritage of fighting together to stop now,'' Mr. Jackson said. ``So I would hope that leadership would be clear on the horror of this statement and use it to come together.''

Mr. Jackson's strong repudiation of the speech, which he said was shared by black Congressional leaders and many black ministers, could pose a critical test for Mr. Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam, which has been trying recently to moderate its image.

Mr. Jackson's remarks may also help him in his efforts to mend his relations with American Jews, who were upset when he referred to New York City as ``Hymietown'' while running for President in 1984.

A man who identified himself as a security guard at the headquarters of the Nation of Islam in Chicago said that the group's offices were closed yesterday and that Mr. Farrakhan and his aides, including FOCUS

The New York Times

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Mr. Muhammad, could not be reached.

An official at the Anti-Defamation League said that the Rev. Benjamin Chavis, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and William H. Gray 3d, a former Congressman who is the head of the United Negro College Fund, had each condemned Mr. Muhammad's remarks in speeches early last week.

Abraham H. Foxman, the national director of the Anti-Defamation League, said yesterday, "I welcome Rev. Jackson's strong, unequivocal denunciation of the anti-Semitism and his repudiation of the context and the messenger."

Attacking 'This Virus'

Mr. Foxman appealed to Mr. Jackson to take his message directly to black newspapers, churches and other cultural institutions. "He is a very, very significant moral force in the African-American community, and I believe that if he says it in the community, it will go a long way to quarantining this virus," Mr. Foxman said.

Mr. Muhammad, in his talk at the state-supported college, criticized Jews, Catholics and even other black Americans, Mr. Jackson said. According to the passages excerpted by the Anti-Defamation League, which says it has an audio tape of the talk, Mr. Muhammad contended that Jews controlled much of American society, including news organizations, the Federal Reserve, the Presidency and black political leaders. "Brother, I don't care who sits in the seat at the White House," Mr. Muhammad said, according to the excerpts. "You can believe that the Jews control that seat, that they sit in from behind the scenes. They control the finance, and not only that, they influence the policymaking."

"We found out that the Federal Reserve isn't really owned by the Federal Government," he said at another point, according to the Anti-Defamation League. "The Federal Reserve is owned by the Jews."

"Many of our politicians are in the palm of the white man's hand, but in particular, in the palm of the Jewish white man's hand," he said.

Mr. Muhammad also talked of what he called the role of Jews in undermining "the very fabric of society" in Germany, and he suggested that it was the Jews' actions that led to the rise of Hitler. He condemned American Jews as "slumlords," saying they were "sucking our blood in the black community." And he said that when blacks gain full political power in South Africa, they should kill every white person who does not leave within 24 hours.

The speech also attacked the Pope. "Go to the Vatican in Rome, when the old, no-good Pope, you know that cracker," he said, according to the Anti-Defamation League. "Somebody need to raise that dress up and see what's really under there."

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In its ad, the Anti-Defamation League noted that Mr. Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam had said that they were moving toward moderation

and were trying to increase tolerance. ``You decide,'' the ad said, in introducing the excerpts.

Mr. Jackson said he was appalled by the comments, as were, he said, Representative Kweisi Mfume, the Maryland Democrat who is the head of the Congressional Black Caucus, and the Rev. Dr. Wyatt Tee Walker, the senior pastor of Canaan Baptist Church in Harlem; the Rev. Al Sharpton, and other local black ministers.

'Untrue and Chilling'

``At a time of so much pain and division and fear and violence in the country, the surfacing of the speech - which was a broadside in its attacks upon Jews and Catholics and other blacks, they were racist, anti-Semitic, divisive, untrue and chilling,'' Mr. Jackson said.

He also said he had heard that students listening to the speech had applauded. ``The response, if it was as it has been reported, is sick and misguided,'' he said.

``The madness of the speech,'' he said, ``is not in the tradition of our civil rights movement.'' Mr. Jackson noted the long history of cooperation between Jews and blacks, and he cautioned people not to ``use the speech to prove some sort of definitive judgment about blacks and Jews in America.''

``The N.A.A.C.P. and Jews fought lynching together,'' he said. ``We fought Hitler together. The blood of Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney is at the basis of our right to vote,'' he added, referring to the three civil-rights workers, two white and one black, murdered in Mississippi in 1964.

``I think the madness of racism and anti-Semitism must stop,'' he said.

Mr. Jackson said that the Anti-Defamation League, having bought the full-page ad to publicize the speech, should also use its resources to help bring blacks and Jews together. ``It could move toward healing,'' he said.

He called, too, on administrators and faculty members at Kean College to respond to the speech by promoting discussion on race ``that is fair and not damaging and divisive.''

Urged to Speak Out

Mr. Jackson said he had talked in recent days with aides to Mr. Farrakhan and has urged that he speak out about the speech. Mr. Jackson contended that Mr. Farrakhan - who himself was condemned in the 1980's for anti-Semitic remarks - has been trying recently to reach out to American Jews

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``I do think he ought to have the right to address it, even though this guy spoke as a surrogate,'' Mr. Jackson said. ``I hope he will address it.''

Mr. Jackson also said that Mr. Mfume, the Black Caucus leader, ``shares the same concerns, as well as Reverend Sharpton and a number of ministers in the New York area.''

SLUG: MUSLIM\$GA

The New York Times

229 WEST 43 STREET
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PAGE: 4

"We don't want something this mad and mean and untrue to spread," Mr. Jackson said.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 23, 1994

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SL: BLACKS\$FAQU: PRINT2-MAG

HJ: 0089

FM:

FG:

BY: DDD ;11/28,11:39 OP: DDD

;11/28,11:39

FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31

NOTE: Oct. 6, 1985 BLACKS FAULT

The New York Times

PRINTED: 09:36 04-DEC-95

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FOCUS - 77 OF 103 STORIES

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October 6, 1985, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 1; Part 1, Page 42, Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1030 words

HEADLINE: BLACKS FAULT FARRAKHAN, BUT THEY ALSO FIND MUCH TO PRAISE

BYLINE: By CRYSTAL NIX

BODY:

Posters announcing the arrival tomorrow night of Louis Farrakhan cover walls, bus stops and subway stations in predominantly black neighborhoods of Harlem, Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx.

"Power at Last Forever," reads the message - a message that is finding support among some blacks for Mr. Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, a Black Muslim sect.

Mr. Farrakhan is to speak at 7 P.M. at Madison Square Garden, the last stop on a nationwide tour that began in Detroit last January.

A broad range of political and religious leaders have denounced Mr. Farrakhan for his racial and religious views. Mayor Koch and many Jewish groups, among others, have urged blacks to boycott the rally because they say Mr. Farrakhan, who has called Judaism a "dirty religion" and has termed Hitler a "great man," is anti-Semitic and preaches racial bigotry.

Praise and Disapproval

A sampling of opinion in the black community shows that the reaction to Mr. Farrakhan there is mixed. Scores of people - unemployed and professionals, educators, lawyers, social workers, artists and clerical workers - said in interviews that one of Mr. Farrakhan's messages, that of the need to acquire economic and political power, had struck home.

At the same time, however, many complained that he promoted racial bigotry, showed a lack of substance and espoused a philosophy of economic nationalism that was unrealistic and dated.

"He's talking about something that's of interest to the black man and woman," said Saunders Youngblood, who runs a pet shop at 148 West 148th Street. "He's telling people we've been asking for handouts long enough. He's the best one out there saying anything."

Margo Johnson, a Brooklyn resident who teaches English at Murry Bergtraum High School at 411 Pearl Street in Manhattan, said, "When he talks about economic self-reliance, it provides spiritual uplifting."

'An Escape Valve'

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Mr. Farrakhan's often critical statements about Jews and whites have caused uneasiness among many blacks, according to those interviewed. Some said they found his statements too inflammatory and hate-filled to accept.

"I'm against his bigoted remarks and I don't like his tactics he's using to promote hate and lots of violence," said Pierre Thomas, a social worker at the Brookdale Hospital Medical Center in Brooklyn. "He has an extremist point of view. It intensifies the anger between blacks and whites."

Bill Sales, a Harlem resident and chairman of the Afro-American studies department at Seton Hall University in South Orange, N.J., said: "His rhetoric is an escape valve for certain tensions of being oppressed. But his program is now much vaguer than it has ever been. I've been waiting for something to happen programatically from Farrakhan for a long time."

Courtney Brown, an associate professor at the Hunter College School of Social Work, asked, "What is going on in the black community that you can trace to the Muslims? They haven't built one building. They haven't housed anybody. Farrakhan is a hype."

'He Expresses My Hostility'

Nevertheless, Farrakhan supporters and critics alike echoed a feeling of frustration and anger about racism and oppression, and hope for a better future.

The Nation of Islam has only an estimated 5,000 to 10,000 members nationwide. But many of those interviewed said Mr. Farrakhan offered an emotional and psychological uplift that had won support for him in spirit, if not in membership.

"Black people feel hostility, anger and hate," said Gary Cooper, a lawyer in private practice in lower Manhattan. "Farrakhan expresses it. All you have to do is get on a subway in New York City. Black people look at white people in suits and ties, and the black person in jeans is looking at the white person like they hate his guts."

"I have that in me," said Mr. Cooper, who added that he had faced obstacles in running his law firm. "I agree with what he says. He expresses my hostility toward whites."

"At times I feel a rage," said Lorna Davis, a graduate student at Columbia University who worked at the American Telephone and Telegraph Company for 10 years. "It gets worse as you move up in the company. I've seen a little more, been more exposed. I feel outraged sometimes, but I don't know what to do about it."

"I wish I was as bold as Farrakhan," she said. "I really do."

A Backlash of Support

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Some of the blacks interviewed said they had ignored Mr. Farrakhan's attacks on Jews and other whites because they agreed with his philosophy of economic and political power.

William Epton, who runs a print shop at 1625 Amsterdam Avenue near 141st Street in Harlem, said that while he disagreed with many of Mr.

Farrakhan's religious or political views, "he's under racist attack and I almost feel compelled to speak on his behalf."

"All Koch has to do is open his mouth and he guaranteed a full house," Mr. Epton said. "People feel bound to support Farrakhan when he's being attacked. They are not going to be dictated to."

Mr. Farrakhan has traveled to 14 cities this year to promote his new organization aimed at economic empowerment, People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth, or Power.

Aided by a \$5 million loan from the Libyan leader Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, Power plans to manufacture and distribute household products in the black community, including detergent, soap, toothpaste, napkins and toilet paper, according to a spokesman, Abdul Allah Muhammad.

"We're not asking blacks to spend one more dollar," he said.

"We're asking them to take their dollar and put it back into the black community."

However, part of Mr. Farrakhan's success, some blacks said, is that he has not asked blacks to do anything. He has called on them to pool resources and spend wisely, but he has not sought their involvement in any particular programs. While he was active in the 1984 Presidential campaign of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, he did not spearhead major voter registration drives. Nor does he demand that people become Muslims.

"He's smart enough not to put his program on the line," Mr. Epton said. "He doesn't have to put it to the test."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: FARRAK\$05QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0044 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:33 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:33 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Jan. 25, 1994 Farrakhan ~~Call to Arms~~ **The New York Times** PRINTED: 09:37 04-DEC-95
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January 25, 1994, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 12; Column 5; National Desk

LENGTH: 479 words

HEADLINE: Farrakhan Calls on Black Men To Act Against Street Violence

BYLINE: By JONATHAN P. HICKS

BODY:

Against the backdrop of two recent events that have renewed the controversy surrounding his organization, Louis Farrakhan, the minister of the Nation of Islam, came to Harlem last night to address a crowd of more than 10,000 black and Hispanic men and to offer an urgent plea for his audience to take steps to end black-on-black crime.

In his nearly two-hour address, Mr. Farrakhan only touched on the recent clash between worshipers at a Nation of Islam mosque in Harlem and on a speech delivered at Kean College in Union, N.J., by one of his senior aides that has sparked vehement condemnation from Jewish religious leaders and black political figures, including the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson. .

"They don't want a Farrakhan to do what he's doing. ``They're plotting as we speak," he said, referring to Jewish leaders. ``They want to use some of our brothers and some of our brothers are willing to be used to curry favor," he added in an apparent allusion to the Rev. Jackson who has characterized the Kean College speech by Khalid Abdul Muhammed as racist and anti-Semitic.

Referring to both the Federal Government and Jewish leaders, Mr. Farrakhan said: ``They want to use my brother Khalid's words against me to divide the house."

Mr. Farrakhan thanked black New Yorkers for their support of the Nation of Islam in the aftermath of the disturbance at the Harlem mosque, but said no more about the incident.

Mr. Farrakhan made it clear that his organization intends to have an ongoing presence in New York City by conducting a variety of workshops aimed at teaching black men techniques to curb violence aimed at other black people.

Mr. Farrakhan's speech dealt primarily with the relationship among black men, calling on his audience to eschew violence and to rid the streets in black communities of crimes against their residents. ``

Controversy arose surrounding the speech itself because the audience was limited to black and Hispanic men. Organizers of the rally turned away a woman television reporter and Beth Gilinsky, the head of the Jewish Action Alliance. She was accompanied by Norman Siegel, the

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head of the New York Civil Liberties Union.

"We are not discriminatory against women nor are we trying to discriminate against white men," Mr. Farrakhan said in his speech. "However, when we look at the condition of our community, it is not white women or black women who are filling the morgues of the cities of the United States."

The very presence of thousands of black men attending a rally - with thousands more unable to enter the packed hall - was a highly unusual occasion in recent years in New York City.

Others, still, said the rally was the most tangible way of displaying their dissatisfaction with the clash at the mosque and as a way of symbolizing their frustration with the administration of Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Louis Farrakhan speaking last night in Manhattan. (G. Paul Burnett/The New York Times)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 25, 1994

(END)

SL: BRAWL\$FOLQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0046 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:38 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:38 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Oct. 10, 1985 BRAWL FOLLOWED FARRAKHAN TALK; STAGEHAND HURT
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036
PRINTED: 09:37 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

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October 10, 1985, Thursday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section B; Page 13, Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 502 words

HEADLINE: BRAWL FOLLOWED FARRAKHAN TALK; STAGEHAND HURT

BYLINE: By GEORGE JAMES

BODY:

Followers of Louis Farrakhan brawled with a group of stagehands early Tuesday morning after the Black Muslim minister's speech at Madison Square Garden, the police said yesterday. At least one stagehand was injured.

The fight, involving five stagehands and an undetermined number of Mr. Farrakhan's followers who the police said were part of his security staff, was prompted by an exchange of words as stagehands were removing chairs from the stage, according to the police.

Mr. Farrakhan was not present at the time, and an aide, speaking from the minister's headquarters in Chicago, said yesterday that there was nothing to indicate that those involved in the fight were members of his security guard.

An Emotional Speech

About a half an hour earlier, from the stage, the controversial Mr. Farrakhan, flanked by an honor guard of Muslim women in white, had concluded an emotional address to an overflow crowd of 25,000 people. In his speech, Mr. Farrakhan spoke of black economic power and pride. He also disparaged ``Jewish control'' of black organizations and sharply criticized Mayor Koch, Governor Cuomo and some local black leaders.

No charges have been filed in connection with the fight, the police said. A stagehand, identified by the police as Richard Norton, was treated for head lacerations at St. Luke's-Roosevelt Medical Center and released.

The incident occurred at 1:20 A.M. Tuesday when an unidentified guard from the Nation of Islam, which Mr. Farrakhan heads, approached a stagehand identified by the police as Paul DeSavino, who was operating a forklift to remove chairs, the police said. The man told Mr. DeSavino to be careful because there were still women who were followers of Mr. Farrakhan on stage.

Got Into Argument

Mr. DeSavino's son, John, told the guard that there was no need for concern because the stagehands knew their job. John DeSavino and the

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guard got into an argument, according to the police, and the guard pushed Mr. DeSavino and the stagehand punched the guard.

A second son, Thomas DeSavino joined in the fight, the police said. At that point, "a large number" of security staff members and spectators began fighting with the five stagehands who were present, the police said.

The identity of the fifth stagehand was not released.

'A Danger Zone'

Mr. Farrakhan's aide in Chicago, Abdul Wali Muhammad, said reports that he had received indicated that "the sisters were apparently in a danger zone" and that "abusive language was used by the stagehands against the sisters."

When reached by telephone yesterday, a man who identified himself as Paul DeSavino declined to discuss the incident, saying only that "nothing happened."

A spokesman for Madison Square Garden, Bobby Goldwater, said he knew nothing about the incident beyond the police report.

The security provided by Mr. Farrakhan's guards had been extremely heavy. His speech Monday night was delayed two hours because every person who entered the Garden was searched.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: IN\$TENSE\$QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0106 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:36 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:36 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Apr. 11, 1988 In Tense ~~The New York Times~~ PRINTED: 09:37 04-DEC-95
229 WEST 43 STREET
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Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 65 OF 103 STORIES

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April 11, 1988, Monday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 16, Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1264 words

HEADLINE: In Tense Times at Penn, Enter Farrakhan

BYLINE: By WILLIAM K. STEVENS, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: PHILADELPHIA, April 10

BODY:

This Wednesday, in what is seen as a pivotal event on a campus where racial relations have reached a tense and delicate state, Louis

Farrakhan is scheduled to bring to the University of Pennsylvania the views that have made him a target of widespread condemnation as anti-Semitic.

The Black Muslim leader will be walking into a charged atmosphere on a campus with a student body about one-third Jewish and about 5 percent black, and where recent events have crystallized group consciousness among black students and stimulated a budding black militancy.

Along with the Farrakhan visit, the main factor in bringing things to this pass was an 18-month suspension last month by the university of one of a fraternity, Zeta Beta Tau, or ZBT. The administration acted after finding that, at a rush party, two young women performed a sex show involving at least one young man from the audience.

The audience was white, the two women were black and ZBT's membership is largely Jewish. The disclosure of the incident touched off an outcry and protest among blacks who saw it as a sensational but hardly isolated example of racism and sexism, both at Penn and on many other campuses.

Hope and Anxiety

Now Mr. Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, the man who has called Judaism ``a gutter religion'' and Hitler a ``great man,'' is coming to speak, and the prospect has stirred both hope and anxiety about the future of black-white relationships at Penn.

Mr. Farrakhan's appearance is being billed by its sponsors, a coalition of 10 campus groups, as an exercise in the defense of freedom of discourse on behalf of black students who say they believe that Mr.

Farrakhan's views have been distorted and who want to hear him for themselves. But the speech, for which Mr. Farrakhan is to get \$10,000, mostly from ticket sales, is also being cast as something of a trial

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''We consider this an acid test,'' said Conrad X. Tillard, a senior

The New York Times

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who is a member of the Nation of Islam and one of the university's most militant black students. By respecting blacks' wishes in the Farrakhan matter, he said, whites "will show that they're willing to deal with us not just on their terms, but on equal terms."

The Farrakhan visit "could either be very good or disastrous," said Sheldon Hackney, the president of the university. "I'm hoping it will be an occasion for some educational discussions of race relations on campus. But it could be confrontational and arouse a lot of emotion in which nothing constructive can take place."

Campus opinion is sharply divided. In an editorial last week, The Daily Pennsylvanian said Mr. Farrakhan's presence would be offensive to a large segment of the university community and, citing the possibility of violence, came out against the visit.

But Mr. Hackney, asserting that "open expression is the fundamental principle of a university," says that the university "must do everything in its power to make it possible for people to come and hear" Mr. Farrakhan.

Reputation on the Rise

All of this is going on at a university whose reputation has lately been on the upswing after years in which it was commonly seen as dwelling at or near the bottom of the Ivy League. Attracted partly by Penn's urban setting and partly by its rising academic reputation, more students are making it their first choice. The 1987-88 edition of the student-produced "Insider's Guide to the Colleges" describes Penn as "THE university for growing numbers of students."

At the ZBT party, which took place last September but came to light much later when someone who was at the party complained about what took place, the two young black women stripped and engaged in sexually explicit acts, according to a faculty-student advisory board that investigated the incident. At least one male student and perhaps more got on stage with them and engaged in sexual contact.

There were reports of racial remarks from the audience, but the investigation found no evidence of this.
'Ambiguously Racist'

To Traci Miller, a 20-year-old junior who last year defeated Mr. Tillard to become president of the Black Student League, the incident was "ambiguously racist." But Mr. Tillard, who now leads the Organization for Black Consciousness, seized on it to dramatize black students' concerns about racism.

The incident apparently did succeed in heightening awareness about black concerns, and both Ms. Miller and Mr. Tillard say that they agree with an assessment by Jacqueline Wade, the director of the university's Afro-American studies program

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"The ZBT incident," Dr. Wade said, "is really the tip of the iceberg relative to racial perceptions and racial tensions and racism at the university."

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"There is a relationship," she added "between what went on at ZBT and what goes on in the classroom and what goes on in the social life of the university as it pertains to race and gender."

Dr. Wade, Mr. Tillard, Ms. Miller and other blacks say racial slurs, directed especially toward black women, are common on the campus. "People yell out of dorms," Dr. Wade said. "They scribble things on walls."

To Dr. Wade, these manifestations of "cultural racism" are abetted by the fact that university authority is mostly wielded by whites. If more were wielded by blacks, she holds, students would be more likely to restrain themselves.

More Minorities on Campus

University officials acknowledge the existence of some racism and sexism on the campus but say this is a reflection of the larger culture's values. Dr. Hackney said the university was vigorous in recruiting faculty members and students from minority groups.

In 1978, he said, 11 percent of Penn's students were from minority groups; this year, 22 percent are. The proportion of black students has also about doubled in that period, he said, noting that a little more than 7 percent of this year's freshman class is black.

There are 44 full-time black faculty members, up from 33 two years ago, in a total faculty of about 1,800, he said.

Last week, after long deliberation, the university's arts and sciences faculty voted to require most undergraduates to take a one-semester course either in non-Western culture or on women or minorities. This year, Penn strengthened its policy against racial harrassment. And with the involvement of black faculty members, it is trying to establish a resource center, to deal with blacks' grievances.

Rekindling of Activism

Even before the fraternity incident, Dr. Wade said, there were signs of a new activism and militancy on the part of black students. "What we are seeing," she said, taking a view Dr. Hackney agreed with, "is another cycle," akin to that of the 1960's, in which black people and white women are starting to say "no more; that we are equally a part of this environment here and we're not taking any more of this stuff."

Black students, including Ms. Miller and her group, appear united in favoring the Farrakhan visit. Some say they believe that Mr.

Farrakhan's remarks about Jews have been distorted and that the bulk of his message deals with black pride and black self-reliance

FOCUS

Demonstrations by Jewish groups are considered likely, and the university is installing metal detectors at Irvine Hall, the site of the speech.

Mr. Farrakhan canceled an engagement at Penn in November 1986 because the university would not allow his bodyguards to make body searches or use hand-held metal detectors. This time, Mr. Tillard said, Mr. Farrakhan is satisfied with security plans.

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The New York Times

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PAGE: 4

GRAPHIC: Photos of Jacqueline Wade (NYT); Conrad X. Tillard (NYT/Arthur W. Wilkinson)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

February 3, 1994, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 7; Column 2; National Desk

LENGTH: 600 words

HEADLINE: Farrakhan Is Bitterly Denounced By House Black Caucus

BYLINE:

BYLINE: By MICHAEL WINES, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Feb. 3

SUBJ:

A senior House member of the Congressional Black Caucus said today that the lawmakers had held three unpublished meetings with Louis Farrakhan, the head of the Nation of Islam, over a long period before their relationship with him ruptured this week.

In a written message made public today, Representative Major R. Owens, a Brooklyn Democrat, bitterly denounced Mr. Farrakhan's movement as a "hate-mongering fringe group" that he said was spreading "dangerous poison" and must be repudiated.

He also expressed indignation at the notion that the caucus had ever established a formal relationship with the Nation of Islam, as the caucus chairman, Representative Kwanzi Mfume of Maryland, said in September.

Mr. Owens said that Mr. Farrakhan had asked for all three meetings with the caucus, and that most members had insisted that the meetings be kept private out of concern that outsiders would misinterpret their purpose.

Unhappily in the Caucus

Mr. Owens's statement is perhaps the strongest attack on Mr. Farrakhan by a member of the black caucus since a debate erupted over a vitriolic attack on whites, Catholics and Jews by a senior aide to Mr. Farrakhan.

It also is the strongest hint so far at unhappiness among some of the caucus's 42 members over the decision by Mr. Mfume to link the group to Mr. Farrakhan's movement.

A spokesman for Mr. Mfume declined to comment on Mr. Owens's remarks, and said the Congressman had decided to say no more about the matter. Mr. Owens could not be reached for comment today, and aides to several other caucus members declined to discuss the statement on the record.

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In September, Mr. Mfume had appeared with Mr. Farrakhan at a black caucus legislative seminar and announced what he called a "sacred

SL: FARRAK\$03QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0056 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:31 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:31 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Feb. 5, 1994 Farrakhan ~~The New York Times~~ PRINTED: 09:37 04-DEC-95
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Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 45 OF 103 STORIES

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February 5, 1994, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 7; Column 2; National Desk

LENGTH: 600 words

HEADLINE: Farrakhan Is Bitterly Denounced By House Black Caucus Member

BYLINE: By MICHAEL WINES, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Feb. 4

BODY:

A senior House member of the Congressional Black Caucus said today that the lawmakers had held three unpublicized meetings with Louis Farrakhan, the head of the Nation of Islam, over a long period before their relationship with him ruptured this week.

In a written message made public today, Representative Major R. Owens, a Brooklyn Democrat, bitterly denounced Mr. Farrakhan's movement as a ``hate-mongering fringe group`` that he said was spreading ``dangerous poison`` and must be repudiated.

He also expressed indignation at the notion that the caucus had ever established a formal relationship with the Nation of Islam, as the caucus chairman, Representative Kweisi Mfume of Maryland, said in September.

Mr. Owens said that Mr. Farrakhan had asked for all three meetings with the caucus, and that most members had insisted that the meetings be kept private out of concern that outsiders would misinterpret their purpose.

Unhappiness in the Caucus

Mr. Owens's statement is perhaps the strongest attack on Mr.

Farrakhan by a member of the black caucus since a debate erupted over a vitriolic attack on whites, Catholics and Jews by a senior aide to Mr. Farrakhan.

It also is the strongest hint so far at unhappiness among some of the caucus's 40 members over the decision by Mr. Mfume to link the group to Mr. Farrakhan's movement.

A spokesman for Mr. Mfume declined to comment on Mr. Owens's remarks, and said the Congressman had decided to say no more about the matter. Mr. Owens could not be reached for comment today, and aides to several other caucus members declined to discuss the statement on the record.

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In September, Mr. Mfume had appeared with Mr. Farrakhan at a black caucus legislative seminar and announced what he called a ``sacred

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covenant`` between the two groups to work on the problems of blacks in America.

But that relationship came under scrutiny in recent days after Khalid Abdul Muhammad, a minister and representative of the Nation of Islam, delivered a ferocious attack on whites and other religions in a speech in November at Kean College in Union, N.J.
Speech Termed 'Repugnant'

In the speech Mr. Muhammad called Jews ``bloodsuckers`` of the black nation and said Pope John Paul II is a ``no-good cracker.'' He also called for blacks in South Africa to rise up and kill whites in that country.

On Thursday, under growing pressure to reject the remarks, Mr. Farrakhan said he was demoting Mr. Muhammad and called his speech ``repugnant,'' ``malicious`` and ``mean-spirited.'' But Mr. Farrakhan stopped short of repudiating the speech, saying it included some ``truths.''

Reaction to Mr. Farrakhan's remarks among prominent black officials has been muted. The Rev. Jesse Jackson issued a statement Thursday commending Mr. Farrakhan for disciplining his aide and called for an end to harsh words on all sides, but did not address the substance of Mr. Farrakhan's remarks.

In a statement today, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said the organization was satisfied with Mr. Farrakhan's actions and was prepared to believe that he ``is neither anti-Semitic nor racist.'' Again, the statement did not address Mr. Farrakhan's remarks.

The organization's executive director, Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., said the N.A.A.C.P. now plans to sponsor a meeting of black leaders that Mr. Farrakhan had previously proposed.

Mr. Owens's reaction today was considerably stronger. In his statement, he said the desire of the caucus and other black groups for public unity was ``being exploited by a frustrated, misguided and unproductive fringe crowd.''

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 5, 1994

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SL: FARRAK\$06QU: PRINT2-MAG

HJ: 0074

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:33 OP: DDD

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FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31

NOTE: Jan. 25, 1994 Farrakhan

PRINTED: 09:37 04-DEC-95

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FOCUS - 52 OF 103 STORIES

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January 25, 1994, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 12; Column 5; National Desk

LENGTH: 881 words

HEADLINE: Farrakhan Is Warned Over Aide's Invective

BYLINE: By STEVEN A. HOLMES, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Jan. 24

BODY:

Four months after warily embracing Louis Farrakhan, the minister of the Nation of Islam, a number of prominent blacks are now urging him to distance himself from anti-Semitic comments made by a senior aide.

In recent days, Benjamin Chavis, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and William H. Gray 3d, president of the United Negro College Fund, have condemned comments made two months ago by Khalid Abdul Muhammad, an aide to Mr.

Farrakhan, in a speech at Kean College in Union, N.J.

Last Friday, Representative Kweisi Mfume, the Maryland Democrat who heads the Congressional Black Caucus, wrote Mr. Farrakhan to ask if Mr. Muhammad's remarks reflected the official position of the black Muslim group. ``It was extremely agonizing for me to even read what I read," Mr. Mfume said of excerpts of Mr. Muhammad's remarks.

Taken with comments made in an interview on Sunday by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, the criticism of the anti-Semitic statements represents a forceful denunciation by established leaders of prominent black groups. Harsh Criticism

Some prominent blacks have said the sharp tone of the recent denunciations stems in part from the outrageousness of Mr. Muhammad's remarks. But some say they also stem from a need to distance themselves from the Nation of Islam.

The criticism from Mr. Mfume is particularly significant because he has been trying to forge a partnership between the Black Caucus and the Nation of Islam, which advocates economic power and discipline for blacks.

In a Nov. 29 speech full of invective and coarse language, Mr. Muhammad lashed out at Jews, calling them the ``blood suckers of the black nation`` who ``crucified Jesus in a kangaroo court`` and who control the financial system, including the Federal Reserve.

Last week, after the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith ran what it said were excerpts from the speech in a full-page advertisement in FOCUS

The New York Times, Mr. Chavis condemned Mr. Muhammad's remarks. In an

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address at the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, he said anti-Semitism was a "virulent strand of racism that must not go unchallenged."

Referring directly to Mr. Muhammad's comments, Mr. Chavis said he "was appalled that any human being would stoop so low to make such violence-prone anti-Semitic comments."

In a speech in Philadelphia on Jan. 16 to commemorate the birthday of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Mr. Gray was equally strong in denouncing Mr. Muhammad's comments.

"We must be clear that at no time can we tolerate racism and anti-Semitism, nor can it be justified as a response to repression," the former Pennsylvania Congressman said. "Martin taught us better than that. I am talking specifically about the tragic and anti-Semitic comments that occurred at Kean College a few weeks ago."

In denouncing Mr. Muhammad, several black leaders today said they were hopeful that Mr. Farrakhan would distance himself from the comments of his subordinate. Some commentators have suggested in recent weeks that Mr. Farrakhan, who a decade ago called Judaism a "gutter religion," has moderated his views. In a speech in New York last month, Mr. Farrakhan reiterated his message of black pride but denied being racist or anti-Semitic.

In a telephone interview today, Representative Charles B. Rangel, a Harlem Democrat, said that from reading the transcripts of Mr. Muhammad's remark, "clearly, we're dealing with a person who is very dangerous, bitter and, in my opinion, very sick."

In September, Mr. Mfume announced that the caucus would enter into a "covenant" to work with Mr. Farrakhan on legislative concerns and would work with the Nation of Islam just as it would work with other black groups. Saying he wanted to bring about a more formalized working relationship with the Nation of Islam, Mr. Mfume said he was motivated by the idea of unifying the disparate parts of the black political spectrum.

Today, Mr. Mfume said he wrote Mr. Farrakhan because he worried about the effect Mr. Muhammad's comments would have on efforts to begin working with the Nation of Islam.

Mr. Mfume said he had yet to receive a response from Mr. Farrakhan, and he would not speculate on what he would do if the answer was that Mr. Muhammad's views accurately reflected Mr. Farrakhan's.

The affiliation with the Nation of Islam has caused the caucus some embarrassment. Soon after the announcement of a covenant with the organization was announced it was denounced by Jewish groups

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Tensions between Jewish groups and the caucus were eased after Mr. Mfume met with officials from Jewish organizations and told them of the caucus's need to form partnership with groups representing diverse opinions.

Still, a number of senior members of the Black Caucus stressed today

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that the 40-member group of black lawmakers had never officially ratified the partnership with the Nation of Islam. "I don't think it was ever an official position of the caucus," said Representative John Lewis, Democrat of Georgia. "It was a statement made during a town meeting last September during the black caucus meeting. I don't think a great majority of the caucus ever saw ourselves engaged in any type of partnership or covenant with Minister Farrakhan."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 25, 1994

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:30 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:30 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Mar. 7, 1994 The N.A.A.C.P. **The New York Times** PRINTED: 09:38 04-DEC-95
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Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

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Copyright 1994 The New York Times Company
The New York Times
March 7, 1994, Monday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 16; Column 1; Editorial Desk
LENGTH: 686 words
HEADLINE: The N.A.A.C.P.'s Mistake

BODY:

This page has urged the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to follow the example of the Congressional Black Caucus in distancing itself from Louis Farrakhan, the race-baiting leader of the Nation of Islam. The decision of the N.A.A.C.P.'s executive director, the Rev. Benjamin Chavis Jr., to invite Mr. Farrakhan to a leadership conference this spring means instead that the nation's most venerable civil rights organization is playing into Mr. Farrakhan's hands.

To be sure, there is a historical logic in Mr. Chavis's preference for preserving big-tent unity among the nation's black leaders. Such solidarity has served the N.A.A.C.P., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Urban League and other traditional organizations very well. But the Nation of Islam has always been an outsider, willing to use the mainstream groups for its own convenience, yet equally eager to denounce their leaders as tools of the white establishment.

As Mr. Chavis pursues his dream of comity with Mr. Farrakhan, he should review civil rights history. While the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. polished his "I Have a Dream" speech, Malcolm X - in the days before he adopted more conventional views - worked the hotel lobbies of Washington belittling the leaders of what he called the "Farce on Washington."

The lesson, clearly, is that the mainstream civil rights groups value solidarity more than the Nation of Islam does. In the current situation, Mr. Farrakhan is every bit as cynical as his predecessors. He wants to use the N.A.A.C.P.'s stage to garner publicity for himself and his group and would be pleased if he could wreck the historic alliance between the N.A.A.C.P. and its white members, including many Jews.

It is worth noting that Mr. Farrakhan has stuck to his anti-Semitic diatribes in recent appearances rather than softened them. Indeed, he cannot soften his line because he faces severe problems with holding the loyalty of his own membership. At 59 years of age, he faces a challenge from the flamboyantly racist Khalid Abdul Muhammad.

That is why Mr. Farrakhan has to affirm the "truths" of Mr. Muhammad's racist diatribes even as he "rebukes" him for some imagined

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theological slights. Mr. Muhammad himself omitted his usual anti-Semitic remarks at an allegedly conciliatory appearance in New Jersey last week. But the succession struggle is such that neither FOCUS

man is likely to eschew his words of hate for long.

The N.A.A.C.P. has nothing to gain and much to lose by letting itself be used as a forum for racism, unless the executive director and its board chairman, William Gibson, want to take the organization in an entirely new direction. For as of today, Mr. Farrakhan's values are in stark contrast to those preached by the N.A.A.C.P.

For the moment, Mr. Farrakhan has frozen the more powerful organization in place. Its leaders seem oblivious to how they are being squeezed. For example, Mr. Gibson affirmed the Farrakhan invitation on one day only to have the allegedly rebuked Mr. Muhammad say on the next day that he wished God to kill the Jewish ``bloodsuckers.'' Mr.

Farrakhan's reaction? At a Nation of Islam celebration, he praised Mr. Muhammad as a ``warrior,'' and in a reference to Mr. Muhammad's ``bloodsuckers`` remark, said, ``I didn't say it, Khalid did,'' adding, ``Did he lie?''

``No!`` followers roared.

The N.A.A.C.P.'s acquiescence stands in sharp contrast to the response of Representative Major Owens of Brooklyn, who described the Nation of Islam as ``a hate-mongering fringe group`` that is spreading ``dangerous poison.``

Mr. Owens's values, like his refusal to endorse either white or black racism, have a deep root system in the experience of this century. The record of biracial progress, achieved in large measure because of the tireless work of the N.A.A.C.P., teaches that there are watershed moments in the war against prejudice. Mr. Chavis and Mr. Gibson have brought their proud and venerable institution to such a moment, and they are making a mistake in not stiff-arming Mr.

Farrakhan, Mr. Muhammad and the bigotry they preach.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 7, 1994

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:32 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:32 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Feb. 4, 1994 Farrakhan ~~Repudiates Speech For Tone, Not Anti-Semitism~~ PRINTED: 09:38 04-DEC-95
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February 4, 1994, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1374 words

HEADLINE: Farrakhan Repudiates Speech For Tone, Not Anti-Semitism

BYLINE: By STEVEN A. HOLMES, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Feb. 3

BODY:

Louis Farrakhan, head of the Nation of Islam, demoted a senior aide today for anti-white and anti-Semitic statements made in a recent speech, calling them ``repugnant`` and ``mean-spirited,`` but defended the ``truths`` he said the aide had expressed.

In a rare news conference, Mr. Farrakhan left those ``truths`` unspecified beyond saying that the aide, Khalid Abdul Muhammad, was correct when he said that 75 percent of slaves in the antebellum South were owned by Jews.

Leaders of Jewish organizations were quick to condemn Mr.

Farrakhan's remarks. Several black officials said they welcomed the decision to remove Mr. Muhammad from the posts of minister and representative of the Nation of Islam, but they declined to comment on the substance of Mr. Farrakhan's remarks.

Mr. Farrakhan said of the remarks made by Mr. Muhammad at Kean College in Union, N.J.: ``I found the speech, after listening to it in context, vile in manner, repugnant, malicious, mean-spirited and spoken in mockery of individuals and people, which is against the spirit of Islam. While I stand by the truths that he spoke, I must condemn in the strongest terms the manner in which those truths were represented.``

By affirming some of the opinions expressed by his subordinate, Mr.

Farrakhan may have ended the efforts by black officials like Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Representative Kweisi Mfume, the Maryland Democrat who heads the Congressional Black Caucus, to forge a working relationship with the Nation of Islam.

On Wednesday, Mr. Mfume said no alliance could exist between the caucus and the Islamic group as long as blacks in Congress had doubts about Mr. Farrakhan's tolerance toward Jews, Catholics and other groups.

``I welcome the action of Minister Louis Farrakhan to discipline and rebuke Khalid Muhammad and to dismiss him from his position as national assistant within the Nation of Islam,`` Mr. Mfume said in a statement

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:45 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:45 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Apr. 22, 1984 MUSLIM SUGGESTS SECESSION PRINTED: 09:32 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 98 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1984 The New York Times Company
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April 22, 1984, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 1; Part 1; Page 16, Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 768 words

HEADLINE: MUSLIM SUGGESTS SECESSION OF BLACKS

DATELINE: CHICAGO, April 21

BODY:

Louis Farrakhan, the leader of a Black Muslim sect, said today that if the Rev. Jesse Jackson was not taken seriously at the Democratic National Convention the Muslim leader would ``lead an army'' to Washington to demand that blacks be allowed to secede from the United States.

''If we cannot get these three essentials of life - freedom, justice and equality - within the framework of the American political system, then we ask that we be separated in a state or territory of our own,'' Mr. Farrakhan said to foot-stomping applause from a crowd of more than 2,500 people. He was addressing a weekly forum at the headquarters of Operation PUSH, the civil rights organization founded by Mr. Jackson in 1972.

The candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, arriving in Chattanooga, Tenn., for two days of campaigning, said tonight that Mr. Farrakhan's statement ``does not reflect my position.''

He compared the situation involving Mr. Farrakhan to that involving the statement by Mayor Koch that he could not support Mr. Jackson if he was the nominee.

Mr. Jackson said that although Mr. Koch was a supporter of Walter F. Mondale, the former Vice President did not have to ``bear the burden'' of the comments once he had dissociated himself from them. Mr. Jackson reiterated his intention to work within the party. ``My position is that the Democratic Party is the party my constituency has great investment in,'' he said. ``We are going to stick around and get our interests where our principle is.''

Farrakhan's Political Stand

Until Mr. Jackson announced his bid for the White House, Mr. Farrakhan had spurned involvement in the electoral process and, until last February, had never registered to vote. Now he sometimes travels across the country with Mr. Jackson, warming the crowd with remarks before Mr. Jackson speaks.

Mr. Farrakhan said today that by becoming so prominently involved in the campaign he was giving America a final chance to ``keep her

promise'' of first-class citizenship for blacks

FOCUS

''If you're planning in San Francisco to lock Reverend Jackson out, if you're planning not to deal with Reverend Jackson in San Francisco,'' he said, ``I must let you know, respectfully, that if you lock this man out who represents the thinking of at least 90 percent of black people in America, then if you lock him out, you have locked us out.

''And if you lock us out, I pledge to you that I will lead an army of black men and women to Washington, D.C., and we will sit down with the President, whoever he may be, and will negotiate for a separate state or territory of our own.

''If the majority of black people want to be included in America, then I say let them in. But if you don't let them in, I, like Moses, say unto you in the name of God, let us go, and give us a good send-off.''

Mr. Farrakhan did not specify what must happen at the convention to satisfy his demands. But his appeal for a special state for blacks is in keeping with the teachings of the late Elijah Muhammad. Mr. Muhammad, who died in 1975, had built the Nation of Islam into an influential force among blacks with adherents estimated to number as many as 500,000.

Son Renounced Separatism

After Elijah Muhammad's death, his son who succeeded him, W. Deen Muhammad, repudiated his separatist dogma and renamed the organization the American Muslim Mission. Mr. Farrakhan then broke away in 1977 and established his own Nation of Islam.

Mr. Farrakhan's appearance today was the first opportunity blacks in Chicago, other than his Muslim followers, have had to show their support for him since he became embroiled in controversy over his remarks in a broadcast last month about a black reporter, Hitler and Jews.

The reporter, Milton Coleman of The Washington Post, had disclosed that Mr. Jackson referred to Jews as ``Hymies'' and New York as ``Hymietown.'' Today Mr. Farrakhan's followers sold a button that said, ``Milton Coleman is a Judas, weak-kneed coward Uncle Tom.''

Representative Gus Savage, Democrat of Illinois, also brought the audience to its feet several times when he read excerpts from Mr.

Farrakhan's broadcast and said, after each passage, that Mr.

Farrakhan had only spoken the truth.

''Just what did he say in that March 11 broadcast that was wrong?'' the legislator asked. Many people in the audience shouted, ``Nothing.''

Mr. Savage, like Mr. Farrakhan, said he believes that blacks who are journalists must be ``held accountable'' to other blacks

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Jacqueline Jackson, wife of the candidate, attended today's forum.

GRAPHIC: photo of Louis Farrakhan

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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June 28, 1984, Friday, Sixth City Final Edition

Section: Section A; Page 17, Column 1; National Desk

Editor: T.B. Woods

Headline: WIFE CONTINUES STRUGGLE OF 'DIRTY RELIGION' ATTACK

Feature by L. A. SHILO

Specialist, Chicago, June 28

WOW

Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Black Muslim group called the Nation of Islam, continued tonight to deny defecating in Judaism as a "dirty religion," but a tape recording made available today by The Chicago Sun-Times confirmed that phrase in a surrog broadcast by Mr. Farrakhan last Sunday.

In an interview on the CBS-TV news network, Mr. Farrakhan said he had recently used the phrase "dirty religion." He also said that he had voluntarily withdrawn from the Jackson campaign on May 8 and that he was "not the least bit disturbed" by the Rev. Jesse Jackson's dismissal of his remarks.

"It is still hot" as to the conviction and repentance the 55 percent of the blacks who voted for him," Mr. Farrakhan said, "then the value of the repentance is well worth it."

Earlier, the Senate by a 59-to-4 vote passed a resolution condemning Mr. Farrakhan's remarks. Asked about the vote, Mr.

Farrakhan said, "And there is not one black senator, is there? My reputation as the leader of the Nation of Islam was slight with God then their reputation of us."

Mr. Farrakhan would not be immediately reached for further comment.

'An opinion poll'

On Wednesday, in an interview with The Chicago Tribune, Mr. Farrakhan, while denying to have the offending remark about Judaism, acknowledged that he had said to his followers in the state of Illinois that "the Nation of Islam is the only religion that is not defecating in Judaism." Mr. Farrakhan then reportedly said,

"I am willing to pay \$10,000 out of my pocket and offer my life if any person can prove that Louis Farrakhan made that kind of statement."

In the speech itself, as reported by a reporter for The Sun-Times, Mr. Farrakhan gave his version of biblical history and, in a polished speech, accused Jews of revealing the Bible to depict

BLACK

SL: TAPE\$CONTQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0066 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:43 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:43 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Jun. 29, 1984 TAPE CONTRADICTS DISAVOW PRINTED: 09:33 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 93 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1984 The New York Times Company
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June 29, 1984, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 12, Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 715 words

HEADLINE: TAPE CONTRADICTS DISAVOWAL OF 'GUTTER RELIGION' ATTACK

BYLINE: By E. R. SHIPP

DATELINE: CHICAGO, June 28

BODY:

Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Black Muslim group called the Nation of Islam, continued tonight to deny referring to Judaism as a "gutter religion," but a tape recording made available today by The Chicago Sun-Times contained that phrase in a sermon broadcast by Mr. Farrakhan last Sunday.

In an interview on the Cable News Network, Mr. Farrakhan said he had actually used the phrase "dirty religion." He also said that he had voluntarily withdrawn from the Jackson campaign on May 5 and that he was "not the least bit disturbed" by the Rev. Jesse Jackson's disavowal of his remarks.

"It will help him go to the convention and represent the 85 percent of the blacks who voted for him," Mr. Farrakhan said, "then the rebuke or the repudiation is well worth it."

Earlier, the Senate, by a 95-to-0 vote, passed a resolution condemning Mr. Farrakhan's remarks. Asked about the vote, Mr.

Farrakhan said. "And there is not one black senator, is there? My repudiation of the Senate carries more weight with God than their repudiation of me."

Mr. Farrakhan could not be immediately reached for further comment.

'An Outlaw Act'

On Wednesday, in an interview with The Chicago Tribune, Mr. Farrakhan, while denying he made the offending remark about Judaism, acknowledged that he had referred to the creation of the state of Israel as "an outlaw act." Mr. Farrakhan then reportedly said, "I'm willing to pay \$10,000 out of my pocket and offer my life if any person can prove that Louis Farrakhan made that kind of statement."

In the speech Sunday, as recorded by a reporter for The Sun-Times, Mr. Farrakhan gave his version of biblical history and, in a recurring theme, accused Jews of rewriting the Bible to depict
FOCUS

themselves as God's chosen people. In reality, he said, black Americans are the chosen of God.

Toward the end of that portion of his speech that was recorded, Mr.

Farrakhan said: ``Now that nation called Israel never has had any peace in 40 years and she will never have any peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, thievery, lying and deceit and using the name of God to shield your gutter religion under His holy and righteous name.''

Mr. Farrakhan addresses his followers nearly every Sunday afternoon in a spirited and wide-ranging sermon at the sect's national headquarters on Chicago's South Side. He is frequently interrupted by applause.

Most Journalists Barred

Last Sunday most journalists were barred from the proceedings, but a few black journalists, including the managing editor of The Chicago Defender, a black newspaper, were invited to attend. Several black journalists later met privately with Mr. Farrakhan.

The Sun-Times reporter, Don Hayner, was not allowed to attend, but he recorded the address as it was broadcast live over radio station WBEE. It was that tape that was made available today.

Mr. Farrakhan, 51 years old, said that his duty, as taught by Elijah Muhammad, a founder of the Black Muslim sect, was to ``expose the wickedness and lay it bare'' so that ``the people of this earth will never again be deceived by those who come in the name of God, cloaking themselves in the robes of God, but are in fact members of the synagogue of Satan.''

Attack Against Reporter

Mr. Farrakhan became the center of controversy earlier this year when in a speech he described Hitler as great. In that same broadcast, he made what has been interpreted as a threat on the life of a Washington Post reporter who disclosed that Jesse Jackson, the Democratic Presidential candidate, had referred to Jews as ``Hymies.''

Mr. Farrakhan is popular on the speaker's circuit among blacks, ranging from church groups to local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

While no one is quite sure of his following, he is believed to draw a large listening audience for his radio addresses, which are broadcast over black-oriented radio stations in several major cities.

In this city, the first hour of the Muslims' Sunday proceedings have been broadcast live over WBEE. This includes 10 to 20 minutes of preliminary remarks by Muslim fuctionaries, then Mr. Farrakhan's FOCUS

sermons. He sells tapes of his sermons for about \$8.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

PAGE - 102 OF 101 PAGES

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The New York Times

April 4, 1984, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTIONS: Section A; Page 24, Column 4; National Desk

LENGTH: 100 words

SUBJECTS: BLACK JOURNALISTS CRITICAL OF MURKIN

TITLE: BY FRANK J. FORD

BODY:

Black journalists around the country yesterday criticized Louis Farrakhan, the Black Muslim leader, for threatening a Washington Post reporter and for implying that black journalists who criticized black leaders were traitors to their race and danger of backlash from black nationalists.

Mr. Farrakhan, the Minister of the Nation of Islam, made his remarks in a radio broadcast last week after the reporter, Milton Coleman, disclosed that the Rev. Jesse Jackson had referred to Jews as "kikes" and to New York City as "Kikestown."

Speaking of Mr. Coleman, Mr. Farrakhan said he was going to "make an example" of the reporter and at one point said, "At this point, no physical harm." He also said, "We are going to keep on going until we make it so that he cannot enter in among any black people."

'Goals Are Same as Others'

Marvin Anderson, a reporter for the Courier-Journal of Louisville, Ky., who is president of the National Association of Black Journalists, said, "It's obvious that Mr. Farrakhan doesn't know how a major news operation works. The vast majority of black journalists I'm associated with are people with integrity whose goals are the same as other journalists, to find the stories and report them."

Mr. Anderson said it was "unfortunate" that the Muslim leader said what he did "at a time when we are trying to get blacks in a position to hear major stories." At the same time, several of the journalists had reservations about Mr. Coleman's disclosure of the Jackson remarks. "If it was accurately reported that Jackson's remarks were off the record, I saw no point in Mr. Coleman's bringing this out," said Al Fitzgerald, assistant editor of the Akron Beacon-Journal.

"If Coleman understood at the time that the remarks were off the record, then I have a problem with that," he said.

Mr. Coleman was the first to report Mr. Jackson's remarks in February. He said he heard the candidate make the remarks while he was relaying two requests: that the candidate return to The Washington Post

SL: BLACK\$JOUQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0082 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:49 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:49 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Apr. 6, 1984 BLACK JOURNALISTS CRITIC PRINTED: 09:31 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 102 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1984 The New York Times Company
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April 6, 1984, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 24, Column 4; National Desk

LENGTH: 968 words

HEADLINE: BLACK JOURNALISTS CRITICAL OF MUSLIM

BYLINE: By FRANK J. PRIAL

BODY:

Black journalists around the country yesterday criticized Louis Farrakhan, the Black Muslim leader, for threatening a Washington Post reporter and for implying that black journalists who criticized black leaders were traitors to their race and dupes of nonblack news organizations.

Mr. Farrakhan, the Minister of the Nation of Islam, made his remarks in a radio broadcast last week after the reporter, Milton Coleman, disclosed that the Rev. Jesse Jackson had referred to Jews as "Hymies," and to New York City as "Hymietown."

Speaking of Mr. Coleman, Mr. Farrakhan said he was going to "make an example" of the reporter and at one point said, "At this point, no physical harm." He also said, "We are going to keep on going until we make it so that he cannot enter in among any black people."

'Goals Are Same as Others'

Mervin Aubespin, a reporter for The Courier-Journal of Louisville, Ky., who is president of the National Association of Black Journalists, said: "It's obvious that Mr. Farrakhan doesn't know how a major news operation works. The vast majority of black journalists I'm associated with are people with integrity whose goals are the same as other journalists, to find the stories and report them."

Mr. Aubespin said it was "unfortunate," that the Muslim leader said what he did "at a time when we are trying to get blacks in a position to cover major stories." At the same time, several of the journalists had reservations about Mr. Coleman's disclosure of the Jackson remarks. "If it was accurately reported that Jackson's remarks were off the record, I see no point in Mr. Coleman's bringing this out," said Al Fitzpatrick, assistant editor of The Akron Beacon-Journal.

"If Coleman understood at the time that the remarks were off the record, then I have a problem with that," he said.

Mr. Coleman was the first to report Mr. Jackson's remarks in February. He said he heard the candidate make the remarks while he was relaying two requests: that the candidate return to The Washington Post

to discuss his foreign policy positions with the editors and that he
FOCUS
accept an invitation to a reception at the home of Benjamin C. Bradley,
The Post's executive editor.

Mr. Coleman said Mr. Jackson complained that too much emphasis had
been placed on his Middle East policies and said something such as:
"All Hymie wants to talk about is Israel." Mr. Coleman said he
considered this remark, and the reference to New York as "Hymietown,"
as private until he learned that Mr. Jackson had used the terms in
speaking to other reporters.

He then shared them with a Washington Post colleague, Rick Atkinson,
who wrote an article on Mr. Jackson's relations with American Jews.
'Responsibility to Report'

Les Payne, national editor of Newsday, said, "Coleman should have
written the story himself. A reporter has the responsibility to report
something like that himself or herself."

Mr. Payne said he objected strongly "to the way the media is trying
to Scotch-Tape Farrakahn onto Jackson." He said, "Something like that
is not Jackson's fault."

Mr. Jackson has taken the same stance. "It is unfair to impose that
issue on my campaign," he said, adding that he was trying to arrange a
meeting between Mr. Coleman and Mr. Farrakhan "to talk on this." He
also described Mr. Farrakhan as "a very able spokesman" and
suggested that "The Washington Post editorial board ought to meet
him."

Carl T. Rowan, the columnist, wrote Wednesday: "The most disturbing
thing about Farrakhan's diatribe is that he wants to punish Coleman
because the latter put his reportorial integrity ahead of his
blackness."

"Jackson," Mr. Rowan went on, "ought to say publicly to
Farrakhan: 'Look, Coleman did hurt me. But blacks can't have him
destroyed. We need a thousand more black reporters like Coleman whose
conduct says to the nation, 'I am a black reporter who dispenses no
favors on the basis of race, sex, beauty, ideology or whatever.'"

Paul Delaney, now deputy national editor of The New York Times, was
a target of Mr. Farrakhan in the early 1970's after he wrote a series
of articles for The Times on Mr. Farrakhan's group.

For a time, Mr. Delaney said, he was excoriated in two or three
articles every week in the Muslim newspaper, Muhammed Speaks. "There
were threats," Mr. Delaney said, "and they were real. Fortunately, it
all died out."

Mr. Delaney said the difference between reporting and advocacy was
no less clear then than now. He said he came in for considerable
criticism from other black journalists, "the younger ones, mostly"
for criticizing a black organization
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Threat Is Denied

Washington, April 5 - Mr. Farrakhan denied tonight that he had ever threatened the life of Mr. Coleman, The Washington Post reported in Friday's issue.

"There have never been threats, none now and never will be threats to your life, brother, or your family," the paper quoted Mr.

Farrakhan as telling Mr. Coleman in a telephone call to The Post newsroom. "That will go on the record."

According to The Post account, Mr. Farrakhan told Mr. Coleman he wanted to meet him "face to face," adding "And I will tell you exactly what I said and the context in which I said it."

Mr. Coleman was quoted as replying: "I would be willing to talk to you, but what concerns me are the threats on my life. I don't want to be in a position of negotiating for my life. Seems to me the threat can be removed before then."

In response to reporters' inquiries, The Post said Mr. Coleman would not be available for comment and that it would not make any statement beyond its own reporting of the telephone conversation. Calls to Mr. Coleman were forwarded automatically to The Post.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: JACKSON\$SQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0077 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:48 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:48 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Apr. 13, 1984 JACKSON SAYS HE DISAGREEE PRINTED: 09:31 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 100 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1984 The New York Times Company
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April 13, 1984, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section B; Page 6, Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 898 words

HEADLINE: JACKSON SAYS HE DISAGREES ON MUSLIM'S VIEW OF HITLER

BYLINE: By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

BODY:

The Rev. Jesse Jackson said yesterday that he strongly disagreed with the contention of Louis Farrakhan, leader of a branch of the Black Muslims, that Hitler was a "great man." But Mr. Jackson continued to refuse to dissociate himself completely from Mr. Farrakhan.

At a campaign news conference in Phoenix, Mr. Jackson, a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, called Hitler "despicable" and "the expression of consummate evil."

Mr. Jackson seemed to be trying to put some distance between himself and Mr. Farrakhan, head of the Nation of Islam, one of two branches of the Black Muslim religion, by saying that he no longer considered the Muslim leader a "surrogate." But he refused to renounce Mr. Farrakhan's political support.

Quotation From Radio Sermon

The latest in a series of controversies surrounding Mr. Jackson's relationship to Mr. Farrakhan, an early political supporter, began Wednesday when The Chicago Tribune published a quotation from a March 11 radio sermon by Mr. Farrakhan that was broadcast in Chicago and some other cities. In the sermon, Mr. Farrakhan said:

"Here, the Jews don't like Farrakhan, so they call him Hitler. Well, that's a good name. Hitler was a very great man. He wasn't great for me as a black person, but he was a great German, and he rose Germany up from the ashes of her defeat by the united force of all of Europe and America after the First World War.

"Now, I'm not proud of Hitler's evils against Jewish people. But that's a matter of record. He rose Germany up from nothing. Well, in a sense, you could say there's a similarity in that we're rising our people up from nothing. But don't compare me with your wicked killers."

Asked about those remarks at a news conference Wednesday in Washington, Mr. Farrakhan replied: "I don't think you would be talking about Adolf Hitler 40 years after the fact if he was some minuscule crackpot that jumped up on the European continent. He was indeed a great man, but also wicked - wickedly great."

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Black Reporter Threatened

At a different point in the radio sermon, the Muslim leader seemed to threaten the life of Milton Coleman, a black reporter for The Washington Post, who first disclosed Mr. Jackson's references to Jews as ``Hymies'' and to New York as ``Hymietown.''

When Mr. Jackson was asked in a television interview last weekend about the threat against Mr. Coleman, the candidate said he deplored violence but could not disassociate himself from a ``surrogate'' like Mr. Farrakhan.

In his news conference yesterday, Mr. Jackson said ``supporter'' would be a ``more appropriate'' description of Mr. Farrakhan's role in the campaign than ``surrogate.''

Mr. Jackson noted that he had reached out for political support this year to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and former Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas, two of the nation's most ardently segregationist politicians in the 1960's, when Mr. Jackson was marching for civil rights in the South.

'Strong Extremes' Within Party

``I do not think it is fair to impose upon our campaign the views of a given supporter, ones that we do not hold ourselves,'' Mr. Jackson said. ``Any candidate who becomes the nominee of the Democratic Party will have within that party strong extremes, the very hawks to the right, the very doves to the left, and all of those in between. It is that sense of delicate balance that I am concerned about.''

Mr. Jackson said he had not talked to Mr. Farrakhan about the Hitler statement and had not seen it in context.

``I find nothing great about Hitler and everything about him despicable,'' Mr. Jackson said. ``Hitler's greatness was great for some Nazis, but that's all. I find no pleasure in what he represented ideologically or what he did. He represents an expression of madness on the face of the human community.''

Reaction From Jewish Groups

Mayor Koch and representatives of Jewish groups excoriated Mr. Farrakhan yesterday.

In Austin, Tex., where he was on a tour of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, the Mayor said, ``Jesse Jackson, if he doesn't repudiate him, he should get out of the race himself.''

Similar statements were issued by Julius Berman, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, and Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which represents Reform synagogues

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Mr. Jackson's relationship with Jews, strained for years, reached a low point earlier this year when The Washington Post reported his comments about ``Hymie'' and ``Hymietown.''

making the comments, and then said their meaning had been misunderstood by Jews.

Mr. Coleman said that the remarks were made at a breakfast meeting. Gerald M. Boyd, a reporter for The New York Times, who is also black, has said he was at the same meeting but was away from the breakfast table several times and did not hear any slurs.

A spokesman for the American Muslim Mission, the other branch of the Black Muslim religion, also denounced Mr. Farrakhan yesterday.

Wali Akbar Muhammad, editor of The American Muslim Journal, the Mission's official newspaper, said that if Mr. Farrakhan had followed the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, the longtime leader of the Black Muslims, he would not have made the remarks about Hitler.

GRAPHIC: Photo of Louis Farrakhan

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: MUSLIM\$FRQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0096 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:46 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:46 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Apr. 17, 1984 MUSLIM FROM CHICAGO KNOW PRINTED: 09:32 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 99 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1984 The New York Times Company
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April 17, 1984, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 16, Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1119 words

HEADLINE: MUSLIM FROM CHICAGO KNOWN FOR FIERY VIEWS

BYLINE: By E.

BODY:

R. SHIPP

CHICAGO, April 16 - Louis Farrakhan, the leader of a Black Muslim sect based here, may have unleashed a storm because of his recent remarks about Jews and threats against a Washington Post reporter, but many blacks who have been listening to him for years in weekly radio broadcasts or in person are not so startled by his views.

Mr. Farrakhan's language has always been fiery. He has referred to whites as "devils" and criticized blacks and whites who favored integration. He has reserved some of his most scathing language for such black organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as well as Jews.

A supporter of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, the Democratic candidate for President, Mr. Farrakhan accompanied Mr. Jackson to Syria and has provided bodyguards for the candidate. Mr. Jackson was a featured speaker at a political rally in February sponsored by Mr. Farrakhan's group, the Nation of Islam, in celebration of Savior's Day, a religious holiday.

In a speech last month, Mr. Farrakhan condemned the reporter, Milton Coleman, who is black, as a traitor, and called for blacks to ostracize the journalist after he disclosed that Mr. Jackson had referred to Jews as "Hymies" and to New York as "Hymietown." In the speech, Mr. Farrakhan's went on to say, "One day soon we will punish you with death." Although Mr. Farrakhan later denied that he was threatening the life of Mr. Coleman, many, including the reporter, took the Muslim leader's remarks as a threat of violence.

Not Considered a Surrogate

Mr. Jackson has put some distance between himself and Mr.

Farrakhan, by declaring that he no longer considers Mr. Farrakhan a surrogate, but the candidate has refused to reject the Muslim's support.

Mr. Jackson's civil rights group, Operation PUSH, and Mr. Farrakhan's Nation of Islam both have national headquarters on the city's South Side, and the men were not strangers to each other

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before Mr. Jackson's decision to seek the Presidency.

Their relationship was solidified, in large measure, by Thomas N. Todd, a Chicago lawyer who has been friendly with Mr. Farrakhan and other black nationalists for years. Mr. Todd is also a close friend and associate of Mr. Jackson.

In an interview, Mr. Todd, said: ``Many black professionals, young and middle age, who have been kicked around by America, can ascribe to some of the philosophies of minister Farrakhan. He speaks for them. He is the kind of fiery orator with a brilliant mind that has always appealed to black people.''

Invited to Speak at Forum

Mr. Todd said that when he took over as acting president of PUSH after Mr. Jackson announced his Presidential candidacy, one of his first orders of business was to invite Mr. Farrakhan and other black nationalists to speak at the weekly PUSH forum held on Saturday mornings. Between 200 and 2,000 people attend the meetings on any given Saturday.

About the same time last fall, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Todd learned that Mr. Farrakhan, on his own, was considering actively supporting the Jackson candidacy. Since then, Mr. Farrakhan has spoken before PUSH several times, has provided members of his security force, the Fruit of Islam, as bodyguards for Mr. Jackson, has accompanied Mr. Jackson to churches and other campaign stops and traveled to Syria with him to win the release of a captured American flier.

The 50-year-old son of a Baptist minister, Mr. Farrakhan was born Louis Wolcott, and has been a Black Muslim since the 1950's when, as a calypso singer in Boston, he was recruited into the Nation of Islam by its best-known leader, Malcolm X. He took the name Louis X and later changed that to Louis Farrakhan.

'The Voice of God'

In a speech three years ago, Mr. Farrakhan said of himself: ``I am the voice of God to America and the voice of God to 30 million black people in America and the millions of black people throughout the world.''

The extremist religious sect founded in Detroit in 1930 was built by Elijah Muhammad, seen by his followers as a prophet, into a movement that attracted as many as 500,000 members and operated a newspaper, a fish importing business, bakeries, restaurants and supermarkets.

Louis X quickly moved up through the ranks, first in the Boston mosque, then in New York City. He wrote and recorded a song, ``A White Man's Heaven Is a Black Man's Hell,' ' that became a hit among black nationalists throughout the country

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Following Mr. Muhammad's death in 1975, his son, W. Deen Muhammad, renounced the black supremacy and separatist teachings of his father

and transformed the organization, now called the American Muslim Mission, into an orthodox religious entity.

Mr. Farrakhan left with a band of followers to establish his own Nation Of Islam to continue Elijah Muhammad's teachings. Estimates of the number of Nation of Islam members range from 5,000 to 10,000. The American Muslim Mission, on the other hand, says it has a membership of about 100,000. But Mr. Farrakhan's appeal goes beyond his actual numbers.

'Louis Farrakhan Day'

Last February, Mayor Marion Barry of Washington proclaimed ``Louis Farrakhan Day'' and at a youth rally introduced him as ``one of the single most significant spokespersons for the dispossessed and the downtrodden.''

Mr. Farrakhan's message is that blacks have been in bondage in America and that whites have oppressed blacks for 400 years. He says whites have deliberately kept blacks divided, bereft of any knowledge of their African heritage and ``mentally, morally, spiritually, emotionally, economically and politically dead.''

In a recent interview, Mr. Farrakhan said:

'I believe that Rev. Jackson's candidacy has lifted the seal forever from the thinking of black people, particularly black youth. Never again will our youth think that all they can be is singers and dancers, musicians and football players and sportsmen. But through Reverend Jackson we see that we can be theoreticians, scientists and whatnot. For that one thing he did alone, he would have my vote.'

Until Mr. Farrakhan announced that he would support Mr. Jackson's candidacy, the Muslim leader had taught his followers that they should not participate in the electoral process.

Mr. Todd said that Mr. Farrakhan's willingness to become involved in politics was a signal that people of varying religions and ideologies could work together for the greater good of blacks. For that reason, he said, Mr. Jackson, whose candidacy has been a catalyst for this new alliance, cannot now cast Mr. Farrakhan aside.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: JACKSON\$RQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0079 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:43 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:43 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Jun. 17, 1984 JACKSON REPUDIATE FARRAK PRINTED: 09:32 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 96 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1984 The New York Times Company
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June 17, 1984, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 4; Page 21, Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 868 words

HEADLINE: JACKSON REPUDIATE FARRAKHAN

BYLINE: By Bayard Rustin ;

Bayard Rustin is chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a civil rights and trade-union organization.

BODY:

Since the death of Elijah Muhammad, in 1975, Louis Farrakhan has felt free to build a movement of extremist Black Muslims, who see their salvation in total separation from the "white devils," and specifically reject our democratic system. As the national political conventions approach, it is important that he be publicly repudiated by those who have done so much to bring blacks into the democratic system.

Mr. Farrakhan's Nation of Islam numbers only a few thousand. Yet his appeal to the irrational, his predictions of "race war," his threats against the life of the black reporter Milton Coleman, his anti-Semitic threats, his praise of Hitler and his anti-white racism all have made him the object of media attention.

Mr. Farrakhan delights in all this publicity. He also recognizes the value of his association with the Rev. Jesse Jackson, an association that has brought him far greater national attention than his sectarian views alone could have. Mr. Farrakhan also delights in criticisms from the "white-dominated" press. After all, his fundamental strategy is built on the principle of black-white separatism, which he believes is advanced by promoting chaos in the democratic process.

For many whites, Mr. Farrakhan awakens fears about the potential for violence in the black underclass. His rhetoric seeks to exploit the frustration and agony of the black poor, who have been victimized by years of Reaganism and economic decline. Such fears are not only exaggerated but dangerous. For they bespeak a white stereotyping of blacks as a group somehow outside the society at large. They are a residue of the inner-city upheaval of the 1960's. But they are an inaccurate characterization of a black community that, as Jesse Jackson's campaign so clearly demonstrates, is increasingly participating in the political process.

It is precisely for this reason that Mr. Farrakhan's message is strategically damaging to black interests. Mr. Farrakhan's politics of racial separatism come at a time when a decade-long trend has

tangibly increased black clout in the Democratic Party and the American political process. Beyond this, Farrakhan racism and anti-Semitism are unconscionable. Thus, for both practical and moral reasons, Jesse FOCUS

Jackson should repudiate him.

In recent years, black workers and the black poor have been the victims of a series of reversals, social and economic. A conservative shift in the nation's mood has led to the elimination of programs of vocational training, aid to education and benefits for the poor. The stagnation in public-sector job opportunities, a near-depression in steel and autos and the loss of labor-intensive jobs have hit black workers hardest because it is these sectors that employed the highest proportions of minorities.

Such setbacks, however, are not exclusively limited to blacks. Far more white steelworkers than blacks have lost their jobs because of the decline in steel. Far more white Americans are unemployed than are blacks. There are, in absolute numbers, many more white poor than black. And although blacks are suffering proportionally to a far higher degree, their setbacks are part of a national trend.

This election year is thus an opportune time for workers and the poor to join in shaping a strong coalition for political and social change. Issues can be framed in ways that cut across racial or religious boundaries and unite the vast majority of Americans.

Under such circumstances, Mr. Farrakhan's immoral message and behavior are not only polarizing but anachronistic. He argues for working outside the system at the very moment when blacks are making political gains fighting within that system. Mr. Farrakhan's views argue for insularity at a time when the only way in which blacks can achieve progress is through the politics of coalition with their fellow Hispanics, Asians and whites. Indeed, the modern history of black America is filled with the cautionary examples of separatist figures like Marcus Garvey and black power leaders H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, who have left hardly anything of permanence to the struggle for black advancement. It has been the integrationist leaders - Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins - who paved the way for lasting, concrete gains.

Assessments of Louis Farrakhan must take into account this legacy of advancement in the democratic system and must accurately reflect his role in the black community - as that of a marginal spokesman for a dangerous, out-of-date politics. It's time to recognize that Mr.

Farrakhan is operating outside a constitutional system that has often responded effectively to pressures by the civil rights movement to promote needed change. Thus, it is time once again to pay closer attention to the words and deeds of such organizations as the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and to listen to elected black leaders who recognize that change is possible through a program of coalition politics: through the building of a strong coalition of

blacks, Hispanics, women, Christians, Jews and other ethnics.
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

The crowd erupted over the Nation of Islam speech from the speech by Dr. Muhammad in November in which he called Jews the "blood-suckers" of the black community. Labeled the Jews a "poisonous cancer" and urged black youth to "kill all whites."

In a speech today in Berkeley, Calif., Dr. Muhammad was quoted by The Associated Press as saying that today was "one of possibly the most trying days in my life." But he said he would remain loyal to Dr. Farrakhan. "I will with you if you expect me to say otherwise," he said. "The honorable Louis Farrakhan is my spiritual father."

Like then Dr. Farrakhan said he stood by was the assertion by Dr. Muhammad that Jews were disproportionately involved in the African slave trade. Cited in a book published by the Nation of Islam, Dr. Farrakhan said 75 percent of slaves in the Americas had been owned by Jews.

A historian cited by Dr. Farrakhan in his talk today, Harold Cruse, who is associated with the Alton W. Winstanley Center for the Movement, said in a telephone interview from his home in California that such an assertion was untrue.

At his news conference today, Dr. Farrakhan sought to make a line distinction between Jews in general and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith that has urged that criticism of the Nation of Islam by publishing excerpts of Dr. Muhammad's speech in a full-page advertisement in The New York Times.

Cruse strikes back.

Dr. Farrakhan asserted that the Jewish organization was trying to drive a wedge between the Nation of Islam and traditional black organizations and civil rights leaders. He also accused Vice President Al Gore of conspiring with the Anti-Defamation League to undermine the Nation of Islam, which is based in Chicago.

"That was their aim and purpose," Dr. Farrakhan said of the publication of the advertisement by the Anti-Defamation League. "Their aim was and is to destroy the reputation and character of Louis Farrakhan in the eyes of the world and to ultimately destroy the Nation of Islam."

Cruse is a dark man and wearing tinted eyeglasses. Dr. Farrakhan addressed supporters and supporters in a Washington Hotel room that at times seemed as much a revivalist meeting as news conference. Members of the audience, including Jack Howard, manager of The Times-Herald's Chicago edition, cheered when Dr. Farrakhan, who he denounced certain Jewish organizations and urged black officials like Dr. Jackson to sever their ties to them.

FOCUS

The Rev. Jesse Jackson also commended Mr. Farrakhan for dismissing Mr. Muhammad. "I hope we can overcome this painful period and work together to lift the African-American community to new heights," Mr. Jackson said.

The recent debate over the Nation of Islam stems from the speech by Mr. Muhammad in November in which he called Jews the "blood-suckers" of the black community, labeled the Pope a "no-good cracker" and urged black South Africans to kill all whites.

In a speech today in Sarasota, Fla., Mr. Muhammad was quoted by The Sarasota Herald-Tribune as saying that today was "one of possibly the most trying days in my life." But he said he would remain loyal to Mr. Farrakhan. "To hell with you if you expect me to say otherwise," he added. "The honorable Louis Farrakhan is my spiritual father."

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Farrakhan addressed reporters and supporters in a Washington Hotel room that at times seemed as much a revivalist meeting as news conference. Members of the audience, including Rock Newman, manager of the former heavyweight boxing champion Riddick Bowe, cheered the charismatic Mr. Farrakhan when he denounced certain Jewish organizations and urged black officials like Mr. Jackson to sever

FOCUS

their ties to them.

"I therefore, am calling on the Black Caucus, the N.A.A.C.P., Reverend Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition, black churches, and black leaders to review their relationship with the A.D.L. in view of its wickedness against our people," Mr. Farrakhan said.

Alluding to accusations that the Jewish organization had gathered information on Arab-American, black, Hispanic and other groups that did not share its views on Israel, Mr. Farrakhan accused the Anti-Defamation League of spying and called on black and Jewish organizations to disassociate themselves from it.

He also waved a copy of what he said was an internal and secret Anti-Defamation League document that he asserted "reveals their strategy for dealing with Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam."

Quoting from parts of the document, "Mainstreaming Anti-Semitism: The Legitimation of Louis Farrakhan," "the leader of the black nationalist sect said the Jewish organization viewed the growing acceptance of him and his group as a phenomenon that must be fought with every weapon at this disposal.

"What do these weapons include?" Mr. Farrakhan asked. "One of the weapons identified by the A.D.L. and mentioned in their document is their exploitation of 'some of the nation's top black political and civil rights leaders who have long been envious of Farrakhan's ability to reach large enthusiastic audiences.'"

Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, described the document, which was mailed to 3,000 members of the organization, as a background paper that would be used to stimulate discussion at the meeting of his organization's executive committee next week in Palm Beach, Fla. A copy of the document, provided by the league, makes no reference to "exploitation" of black officials' envy of Mr. Farrakhan.

Anti-Defamation League officials have also denied the spying accusations, which were the subject of a lawsuit that has since been settled out of court. In addition, officials of the group said Mr.

Farrakhan's remarks today reaffirmed their view that he is a bigot.

"It's a sad day," Mr. Foxman said. "I'm troubled because he raised the ante. He went one step further. The issue of Khalid Muhammad's speech was a classic example of double talk and double think."

The Rev. Calvin Butts 3d, the pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem who recently met with black clergymen, including Mr.

Farrakhan, said Mr. Farrakhan "did what he believed in his heart he had to do."

Councilman Adam Clayton Powell 4th was also supportive. "I think it's appropriate and I applaud Minister Farrakhan," he said
FOCUS

In a telephone interview in his office, C. Vernon Mason, a lawyer who represents the Nation of Islam in a claim filed against New York City over a melee at a Harlem mosque in January, said Mr. Farrakhan's actions "certainly should set another level of sophistication and standard as far as how business is conducted in the black community."

To Mr. Farrakhan, the outcry represents an unfortunate schism among black leaders.

"What happened to our agreement that if we had any criticism of one another, we would call each other and go behind the door and speak frankly and candidly to one another?" he said. "Why could not I have been spoken to and a meeting arranged with me to discuss this issue and how we should handle it so that this issue would not be allowed to fracture our budding relationship nor destroy the hope in the black community that was created by our budding but fragile unity?"

GRAPHIC: Photo: Louis Farrakhan, minister of the Nation of Islam, during his news conference yesterday in Washington. (Paul Hosefros/The New York Times) (A13)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 4, 1994

(END)

The New York Times
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Dec. 4, 1995

John A. Jenkins
3109 Garfield St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Dear John:

This letter will constitute the agreement between you and The New York Times Magazine, by which you are commissioned to write a profile of a plaintiff's lawyer who handles breast implant litigation. The article is to be approximately 3,200 words in length and is due on or before April 1, 1996.

1. Upon acceptance of the article, The Times shall pay a fee of \$4,000 for (i) the exclusive right to first publish the article in The New York Times Magazine in North America with incidental distribution outside of North America, (ii) the right to include said article in any and all versions (including non-print versions) of that issue of The New York Times Magazine (e.g., NEXIS); and (iii) the non-exclusive right to publish or include the article, or any excerpt thereof, in non-print formats (e.g., electronic, CD-ROM, microform, etc.), provided that such right shall be limited to the inclusion of the article in non-print publications or databases containing New York Times articles (e.g., @times, The New York Times on the Web and DIALOG's New York Times database). All rights not granted herein are reserved to you. The Times will reimburse your expenses up to \$2,500 provided that you comply with The Times's Expense Policy, a copy of which is attached, and that you submit receipts for said expenses within 60 days of incurring them.
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4. In the event that The Times finds your article unacceptable for publication, The Times will pay you Twenty (20%) Percent of the full fee.

5. You warrant that the article will be original, will not plagiarize another's work, infringe another's copyright or violate any person's right of privacy. Your article will contain no libelous or other unlawful material. You also warrant that the article will not have appeared in any other publication in whole or in part. You will reimburse The Times for any loss or expense if these warranties are not kept.

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8. This agreement may not be modified or changed except in writing and signed by both parties.

9. The rights of the parties hereunder shall in all respects be governed by the laws of the State of New York. Both parties hereby consent to the jurisdiction of the courts of the State of New York.

If the foregoing meets with your approval, please sign and return one (1) copy of the agreement to:

Michaela Williams
The New York Times Magazine - 8th Floor
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Sincerely,

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

BY: _____
Doreen Weisenhaus, Story Editor

READ AND ACCEPTED:

BY: _____ DATE: _____

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:28 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:28 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Jun. 15, 1994 In America;Forget Farrakhan PRINTED: 09:38 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 33 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1994 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

June 15, 1994, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 25; Column 5; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 687 words

HEADLINE: In America;

Forget Farrakhan

BYLINE: By BOB HERBERT

BODY:

I remember the rally in Madison Square Garden in October 1985 when Louis Farrakhan, standing beneath championship banners honoring sports heroes named Frazier and Reed and Bradley and DeBusschere, fired up a crowd of 25,000 black people with his ranting against Jews and his demand to know if black leaders who ``sold out`` should be allowed to live.

The audience was wild for Mr. Farrakhan. His every pronouncement provoked the kind of thumping, foot-pounding, whistle-blowing, mind-boggling ecstasy normally reserved for playoff games and rock concerts.

His ability to turn on an audience can seem, at first, astonishing, but Mr. Farrakhan set out long ago to be an entertainer. He had a brief success in the 1950's as a singer, performing under the stage name Calypso Gene. Perhaps he was born to play to large crowds. In any event, he was the master of the Garden that night in 1985, and it was a chilling thing to witness.

``The Jewish lobby,`` charged Mr. Farrakhan, ``has a stranglehold on the Government!`` Roars from the crowd. ``The President himself,`` said Mr. Farrakhan, ``is actually punking out to the Jewish lobby!`` Roars from the crowd.

With the audience primed, and with the glee of a child playing with matches, Mr. Farrakhan unloaded the question, ``Who were the enemies of Jesus?``

``The Jews!`` screamed the crowd. ``The Jews!``

The ever-clever Mr. Farrakhan paused, toying with 25,000 people. Finally he said: ``The scribes. The writers. They were Jesus' enemies.``

It was an ugly moment, made uglier by the laughter that greeted Mr. Farrakhan's gambit. It was also a telling moment. Mr. Farrakhan, a narcissist as hungry for the spotlight as Madonna, was talking about himself when he mentioned the scribes. He delights in characterizing the press as his enemy, but his real worry is that the scribes will lose interest and stop writing about him altogether

FOCUS

"I seem to have become quite a controversial fellow," he said. "Everywhere Farrakhan goes there's controversy around this fellow. There has not been a black man in the history of America that has been so repudiated as Brother Farrakhan."

The pride in his voice was unmistakable.

Mr. Farrakhan needn't worry about the scribes. Here it is nearly a decade later and we can't stop writing about him, can't relinquish our fascination with a man whose biggest claim to fame is that he taunts Jews.

The latest controversy involving Mr. Farrakhan has to do with his being invited to participate this week in the three-day conference of African-American leaders in Baltimore. The conference was organized by the N.A.A.C.P. to deal with the tremendous problems currently confronting black people, especially young black people. That is the real story: the problems, and the serious effort to find ways to cope with them.

But the press is mesmerized by Mr. Farrakhan. There were many distinguished leaders at the conference, but he got the bulk of the attention. The media cannot turn him loose. It makes no sense. Mr.

Farrakhan's 15 minutes are up. It's time to stop playing his game. You can argue over whether the Rev. Benjamin Chavis, executive director of the N.A.A.C.P., should have invited Mr. Farrakhan in the first place, but he did. And Mr. Farrakhan performed exactly as we've come to expect. "There will be war," he said, "on any Negro leader who doesn't want to unite for the benefit of our people."

We've heard it all before. The shock value should have worn off by now. Mr. Farrakhan is less dangerous than a lot of people fear, and much less dangerous than he would like us to believe. He's not a revolutionary, he's an egotistical, manipulative performer whose act - buoyed by millions of dollars' worth of free publicity - is successful enough to fill arenas.

Mr. Farrakhan has been thoroughly, repeatedly and legitimately denounced. It's time to turn to other matters. There are other voices that need to be heard, voices that are softer, more rational, more intelligent, more creative and more conducive to hope. Many of the voices were at the conference in Baltimore. It's time to turn down the volume on Mr. Farrakhan.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 15, 1994

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:29 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:29 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Mar. 13, 1994 How to Grow Extremists PRINTED: 09:39 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 38 OF 103 STORIES

Copyright 1994 The New York Times Company
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March 13, 1994, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 4; Page 17; Column 2; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 1141 words

HEADLINE: How to Grow Extremists

SERIES: Facing Farrakhan: First of three articles

BYLINE: By Shelby Steele; Shelby Steele, professor of English at San Jose State University, is author of ``The Content of Our Character.''

DATELINE: MONTEREY, Calif.

BODY:

Those who challenge black leaders to repudiate Louis Farrakhan for his (and his spokesman's) latest venture into anti-Semitism do not go far enough. Something much larger than Mr. Farrakhan must be repudiated, and many more of us must do the repudiating.

Louis Farrakhan personifies a specific territory in the collective imagination of black America. (Only this place in the imagination explains the vast disparity between his prominence and his rather small actual following.) It is the territory where the group ceases to be a mere identity or culture and becomes a value in itself. Here the group becomes synonymous with truth, and no longer needs approval from others.

All groups have such territories and the characters to fill them. Meir Kahane, Louis Farrakhan, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the Grand Dragons of the Klan - all such people are unassailable among their followers because they take their specific group as a truth higher than any universal truth. It is precisely their break from universal truths - tolerance, brotherhood, fair-mindedness - that enables them to assert the supremacy of their group. So when Jesse Jackson and the Congressional Black Caucus repudiate Mr. Farrakhan in a show of universal principles, they burn him in a fire that purifies his partisanship.

What might be more wisely repudiated is the pattern of social reform that America has offered its former victims for 25 years: entitlements offered to groups by race, sex, ethnicity and sexual orientation - entitlements like affirmative action and diversity programs - rather than rights guaranteed to individuals and developmental help to those in need.

This is a pattern of reform that brings out the Farrakhans in every group so that they can be used as wedges in the group's negotiations with the larger society. When members of the black caucus called for a ``covenant`` with Louis Farrakhan, it was not because he

had the political clout to get them elected. His value was FOCUS

emblematic. He personifies the black outrage at oppression that justifies entitlements for the group.

If you are seeking entitlements on the basis of oppression, you must have your Farrakhan or your Act-Up or your radical feminists; oppression must be seen to have driven these groups to hate, to have spoiled their reason and made them dangerous. They are icons of oppression, and their role in America's group politics is to embody a degree of alienation and anger that could become manifest in the entire group if entitlements are not forthcoming.

So Mr. Farrakhan is a result of a formula of social reform set up to reward past oppression with current group entitlements. The Nixon Administration - in which group preferences were first introduced - is as responsible for his prominence as any actual oppression blacks may still suffer.

Whenever a democracy allows entitlement by group - as America allowed white entitlements for centuries - it calls out extremists who both justify and enforce the entitlement. It was backward and extremist whites (the Klan and its fellow travelers) who, seeing their race as truth in itself, enforced white entitlements through Jim Crow segregation. Whether justified by past oppression or notions of racial superiority, a group's entitlements always require thugs and goons to patrol its borders and ignorant mythologies to justify its advantages.

For 25 years, the American formula for social reform has been based on the old formula for white supremacy. To compensate for centuries of white entitlements, we do not enforce the democratic principles that those entitlements violated; instead, we grant precisely the same undemocratic entitlement to minorities and women in the name of redress. We use the old sin to correct its own damage. The only difference is that we now let the claim of oppression stand in for the claim of white superiority.

But this difference is not as great as it seems, because in both cases we allow the mere claim (of oppression or of white superiority) to become a currency of entitlement. This claim does not have to be supported: the child of well-to-do black parents gets preference in college admissions without any evidence of oppression, just as whites were once preferred without any evidence of superiority. Group membership alone seals the advantage.

This puts minorities and women in the same position as whites in the era of segregation - as rationalizers of a dubious group advantage. And the technique of rationalization is the same in both cases: to posit their oppression or racial superiority as an absolute that not only justifies entitlements but also lifts them to the realm of moral propriety.

In the 1950's, a white woman told my mother that it would be ``indecent`` to allow her children to play with me - white supremacy lifted into a propriety so that group advantage could be protected in

the name of decency. Today, political correctness is a propriety FOCUS that, among other things, makes objections to group entitlements indecent.

And these entitlements are a powerful incentive for groups to define their very identity around the claims that justify their advantage. This explains the odd attraction of middle-class black students to the likes of Louis Farrakhan, who now commands \$15,000 to \$20,000 per lecture. He distorts and exaggerates the claim of oppression that group entitlements have made the centerpiece of young black identity. So within the ivied walls of opportunity, oppression is not only celebrated but also hardened into identity and currency.

It is only a short step from these distortions to that oldest of standbys, anti-Semitism. The classic Jewish stereotypes - insidious and predatory intelligence, a talent for maniacal conspiracy - cement the claim of black oppression by giving it a depth of evil so incomprehensible that it can never be penetrated. Even if we could reform the brutal whites, we would have no chance against the duplicity and conspiratorial genius of the Jews. Anti-Semitism is the sculptor's finishing tool. By making our oppression immutable, it returns that oppression to us as a weapon and an entitlement.

Entitlements by race, sex, ethnicity and sexual orientation - categories that in no way reflect merit - are at the root of the great social evils in American life. Aside from the obvious unfairness of such entitlements, it is the distorted claims that groups must conjure to gain their benefit that absolutely require racism, sexism, anti-Semitism and all manner of collective animosities. Every such claim is backlit by the hatreds that try to make it singular and urgent.

The reformers of the last few decades have not admitted this. But the means to genuine reform have been here all along - a democracy of individuals that has the discipline never to entitle any group for any reason.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 13, 1994

(END)

The New York Times

229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Dec. 4, 1995

John A. Jenkins
3109 Garfield St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

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Attachment: Fact-Checking Policy

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Michaela Williams
The New York Times Magazine - 8th Floor
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

Sincerely,

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

BY: _____
Doreen Weisenhaus, Story Editor

READ AND ACCEPTED:

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Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 31 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1994 The New York Times Company
The New York Times
July 31, 1994, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 32; Column 1; National Desk
LENGTH: 486 words
HEADLINE: Facing Complaints of Bias, Farrakhan Speaks to Women Only
BYLINE: Special to The New York Times
DATELINE: BOSTON, July 30
BODY:

Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam minister who angered many women when he barred them from attending a speech here last winter, returned on Wednesday night and delivered a speech that only women could attend.

Mr. Farrakhan faces sexual discrimination complaints filed with a state agency because women were kept from the city-owned theater where he delivered the speech on March 10.

On Wednesday night he told a thousand women packed into a stifling church that the complaints against him were just another effort by critics to silence his message.

"If I come to your city to try to talk to the black men causing the crime problem in your city, why do you want to oppose me?" Mr.

Farrakhan asked.
'Happiness in the Home'

Mr. Farrakhan urged the women to embrace his formula for a successful family. He encouraged them to put husbands and children ahead of their careers, shun tight, short skirts, stay off welfare and reject abortion. He also stressed the importance of cooking and cleaning and urged women not to abandon homemaking for careers.

"You're just not going to be happy unless there is happiness in the home," Mr. Farrakhan said at the Mason Cathedral Church of God in Christ in the Dorchester section, not far from the Roxbury neighborhood where he was reared by a single mother. "Your professional lives can't satisfy your soul like a good, loving man."

In March, Mr. Farrakhan's barring of women from his speech angered city officials, who said the Nation of Islam had promised that his speech would be open to all.

On Wednesday, more than 1,500 women who could not find seats in the church went next door to an auditorium where they watched the speech on television

FOCUS

Mr. Farrakhan drew the biggest cheers when he said, "Every woman that you see that's no good was made no good by a no-good man." And he

warned the crowd not to put up with lazy men. ``No matter how handsome he looks,'' he said, ``handsome starts looking ugly when he's unproductive.''

3 Complaints Filed

Last March, Robert A. Bennett and his wife, Marseline Donaldson, were among those angered that women were barred from the theater. ``It was raining, and they wouldn't let my wife in,'' said Mr. Bennett, who is 61. ``I couldn't leave her out there, so we both left disgusted.''

They filed two of the three complaints with the State Commission Against Discrimination, which is negotiating with the Nation of Islam in an effort to reach a settlement without a public hearing. The settlement could be financial or involve an agreement by the Nation of Islam not to exclude women from any event it held in city-owned buildings.

Mr. Bennett and his wife, who are from the South, said the exclusion reminded them of the days of segregation. ``It was kind of a flashback,'' Mr. Bennett said, ``the feeling of somebody telling you you can't go in -- then because you were black, now it's because you're a woman.''

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 31, 1994

(END)

The New York Times

229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Dec. 4, 1995

John A. Jenkins
3109 Garfield St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:29 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:29 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Jun. 14, 1994 On My Mind;Supping With PRINTED: 09:39 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 34 OF 103 STORIES

Copyright 1994 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

June 14, 1994, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 21; Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 712 words

HEADLINE: On My Mind;

Supping With the Bigot

BYLINE: By A. M. ROSENTHAL

BODY:

The offense of the Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis Jr. was not simply to invite Louis Farrakhan to a conference of black leaders but to treat Americans as total fools.

Every important argument he makes to defend the invitation, to justify the damage he did to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is grounded in obvious intellectual, political and moral distortion or demagoguery.

Since the N.A.A.C.P. affects black-white relations - particularly among Americans who want to better them - non-members as well as members should pay close attention.

The demagoguery is painfully easy to spot.

A white man in an audience asks Mr. Chavis why he invited Louis Farrakhan. Mr. Chavis is prepared. He says he has denounced bigotry. But about the invitation he cries: "The N.A.A.C.P. will not be dictated to."

Mr. Chavis knows better. He knows that peaceful protest or questioning are not dictation but the very right on which the N.A.A.C.P. was founded.

Charging that protest is dictation is the lie that Mr. Farrakhan himself, and his hand-trained bigots, trot out when anybody denounces their hate-mongering. This phony bravery brought applause and Amens from the audience; it always does. It is a terribly old trick - used by every demagogue to squash opposition.

These are three of Mr. Chavis's other major arguments, repeated endlessly in the press:

1. Inviting Mr. Farrakhan is not endorsing him.

Maybe not, but it is a plain mark of respect and respectability that will increase the standing of Mr. Farrakhan and his clones - and therefore increase their influence

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2. Mr. Farrakhan attracts more and more young blacks - exactly the kind of active people the N.A.A.C.P. wants.

There is a phrase for this kind of thing: sickening opportunism.

If Mr. Chavis and the N.A.A.C.P. have any moral status or political value to the U.S., it would be to fight the attraction of Mr.

Farrakhan by talking straight to young blacks about the danger of black bigotry to them and their future - not by endowing the Farrakhans with respectability.

The argument Mr. Chavis uses - the popularity of the bigot-in-chief -- is the very reason not to invite him. It was the argument used by the German elite when they saw Hitler's popularity, cowered before it and tried to profit from it.

3. The civil rights movement should be redefined to embrace self-help and economic improvement, and Mr. Farrakhan leads the Nation of Islam in that direction.

Once again, it is an old argument used to move toward bigots - Mussolini's trains running on time, Hitler's rosy-cheeked Nazi youth, the glories of Stalinist production lines. That argument amounted to a statement of the inadequacy of tolerance and democracy - and respect for leaders who use physical or intellectual brutality for their "achievements."

The invitation did damage inside and outside the N.A.A.C.P. Inside are members who oppose Mr. Chavis and his philosophy and are under heavy pressure for it.

Also, around the country are politicians, intellectuals and other prominent African-Americans who have spoken out against Mr. Farrakhan without counting the consequence, because they detest what he stands for. Inviting him is a slap at the political and racial decency that these men and women represent.

(Among them is Representative Major R. Owens of Brooklyn. He faces opposition from an African-American who has earned his racist reputation. I hope all his constituents, black and white, rally around Mr. Owens in justice to him and themselves).

When Mr. Chavis extended that invitation to Mr. Farrakhan, his guest brought his baggage with him - including his suitcase full of threats. He has already pulled out economic holy war - "in the name of Almighty God," a boycott of American companies that dare reduce or end contributions to the Chavis-led N.A.A.C.P.

But Mr. Chavis gambled the reputation of the N.A.A.C.P. and its political and economic support when he invited Mr. Farrakhan. He knew what he was doing. He lost - for himself and the N.A.A.C.P.

Now the threats of his guest can deepen the damage but not repair it. That will take the stamina and courage of N.A.A.C.P. members who FOCUS are fighting both the guest and the director who brought him to the table.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 14, 1994

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SL: NATION\$OFQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0141 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:27 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:27 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Jan. 14, 1995 Nation of Islam Says It PRINTED: 09:39 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 29 OF 103 STORIES
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January 14, 1995, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

STAFF-NOTES: This article misidentifies the location of the former Audubon Ballroom, where Malcolm X was killed. It was in the Washington Heights neighborhood of Manhattan, not in Harlem, to the south. (Allan Siegal/ February 1995)

SECTION: Section 1; Page 1; Column 4; National Desk

LENGTH: 1651 words

HEADLINE: Nation of Islam Says It Doubts Account of Assassination Plan

BYLINE: By DON TERRY, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 13

BODY:

The indictment of Malcolm X's daughter on charges of conspiring to kill Louis Farrakhan provoked widespread skepticism today, from the Nation of Islam, blacks around the country and former associates of the crucial Government witness in the case.

Prosecutors have declined to identify the witness, apparently the person whom the 34-year-old defendant, Qubilah (pronounced keh-BEE-lah) Shabazz, is charged with trying to hire as an assassin. But lawyers close to the defense identified him today as Michael Fitzpatrick, 34, a friend of Ms. Shabazz from their high school years in New York City.

Mr. Fitzpatrick, the lawyers asserted, has a history of implicating his associates as an informer for the Government and should not be believed. Former acquaintances said this history began almost two decades ago, when Mr. Fitzpatrick, who is white and whose mother is Jewish, was a young member of the militant Jewish Defense League and was arrested in the bombing of a Soviet bookstore in New York.

At a news conference in Chicago today, Mr. Farrakhan's chief of staff, Leonard F. Muhammad, said the Nation of Islam leader himself did not completely believe the Government's account, laid out in an indictment returned on Thursday by a Federal grand jury in Minneapolis, Ms. Shabazz's new hometown.

Mr. Muhammad suggested that larger forces were at work. ``Regardless of her motive or what she's doing or what she did,' ' he said, ``she is the smallest part of any effort to destabilize or injure the Minister Louis Farrakhan. The smallest part.' '

On college campuses, in barbershops, in shopping malls and on talk radio, blacks across the country also reacted to news of Ms. Shabazz's indictment and arrest with disbelief, and with sadness and anger. [Page 8.]

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At the news conference, Mr. Farrakhan's lawyer, Ava Muhammad, said the minister had compassion for the family of Malcolm X, who was assassinated 30 years ago at a Harlem ballroom in front of Ms. Shabazz and his three other young daughters. Ms. Shabazz's mother, Dr. Betty Shabazz, has long believed that Mr. Farrakhan was behind her husband's murder.

Ms. Muhammad said today that Mr. Farrakhan was ``completely innocent`` of the killing of his former mentor.

``It is natural for a daughter to love her father,`` Ms. Muhammad said. ``Ms. Shabazz, her family and the entire country have been subjected to a flood of false propaganda. In the face of this concerted effort to condemn him, it would be easy for conspirators to entrap this troubled young woman.``

Ms. Muhammad said the Government should release more information about the case. ``The actions of the Government must be called into question,`` she said.

Mr. Fitzpatrick, the man identified by lawyers close to Ms. Shabazz as the central witness against her, has lived much of his life in the Federal witness protection program, those lawyers say.

Court records show that he was arrested in connection with the bombing at the Soviet bookstore in 1977, when he was 17.

He then became a Government informer, and he apparently entered the witness protection program after the attempted bombing in 1978 of an Egyptian Government tourist office in New York City by members of the Jewish Defense League. Mr. Fitzpatrick's tape recordings of conversations about that bombing helped bring about the conviction of two men.

Although he was known then as Michael Fitzpatrick, lawyers close to the Shabazz defense said he had since assumed the name Michael Summers and was living in suburban Minneapolis.

Efforts to reach him for comment today were unsuccessful. Dennis Palm, a lawyer who is now representing Mr. Fitzpatrick in a drug case here, said he did not know how his client could be reached.

Ms. Shabazz, who is free on bond, was similarly unavailable for comment. She has an unlisted telephone number, and a knock on the door of her apartment here brought no response.

Several former associates said Mr. Fitzpatrick was attracted to violence and danger.

``He is a set-up artist, who goes from group to group setting people up,`` Steve Dannel, a former member of the J.D.L. who attended high school at the United Nations International School in New York with Ms. Shabazz and Mr. Fitzpatrick, told The Associated Press

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Mr. Dannel said Mr. Fitzpatrick had once been used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to infiltrate peace groups. ``He was always suggesting illegal things,`` Mr. Dannel said. Of Ms. Shabazz, he said, ``She was set up.``

Ms. Shabazz's court-appointed lawyer, Scott Tilsen, a Federal public

defender, said she had been entrapped by the Government's witness, whom Mr. Tilsen described as a friend who had ``enticed`` her into the plot and betrayed her to ease his own, unspecified troubles with the law.

The witness program was unable to protect Mr. Fitzpatrick from an arrest that led to the current drug case against him here. He is scheduled to appear in a county court on a cocaine possession charge next Tuesday, one day before Ms. Shabazz is due to be arraigned in Federal court on charges of plotting to kill Mr. Farrakhan.

The drug arrest occurred just before Thanksgiving in 1993, when the Minneapolis police raided the apartment of Harlan Rosenfeld, a dealer in rare coins for whom Mr. Fitzpatrick then worked.

The police report on the raid says that when officers burst into the apartment, both men tried to throw away cocaine they had been using. Mr. Fitzpatrick, 5 feet 11 inches and 230 pounds, quickly ran to the bathroom with a plate of cocaine, dumped it into a toilet and shoved two tinfoil packets of the drug under the bathroom rug, by the police account.

The report says the officers also found marijuana, crack pipes, rolling papers, foil commonly used to package cocaine for sale and, in a dresser drawer, a black vinyl bag containing \$16,500 in cash.

The report also says that as he talked with the officers, Mr. Fitzpatrick, who has a Grim Reaper tattoo on his left arm and a dragon on his right, admitted a ``cocaine habit`` and needing ``help``.

Mr. Rosenfeld, according to the report, also did a lot of talking, agreeing to telephone his drug supplier and allow the police to tape-record the call.

When Mr. Fitzpatrick was arrested, he was carrying two pieces of identification, one of which gave his last name as Summers, the other as Fitzpatrick.

His lawyer in the drug case, Mr. Palm, told of having tried to get out of the case for a long time, because ``I don't have much communication with him``.

``It's been a real strange case,`` Mr. Palm said. ``I show up for court, and he doesn't, and the case just gets continued. The reason the county hasn't really pursued it is because they're after a bigger fish. Summers is more of a witness in the case than a defendant``.

Doug Thompson, the lawyer representing Mr. Rosenfeld, said he last spoke with Mr. Fitzpatrick on Jan. 6. Mr. Fitzpatrick remarked then
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that he might not be around for a while, Mr. Thompson said.

``I didn't know what he was talking about,`` Mr. Thompson said.

``Now I do,`` he added, given Ms. Shabazz's indictment and Mr. Fitzpatrick's status as a federally protected witness.

On the edge of downtown Minneapolis, in the racially mixed neighborhood of funky coffee shops and cheap Thai restaurants where Ms. Shabazz lived quietly with her young son, Malcolm, her landlord, Mansoor Alyeshmerni, is afraid she might not be around for long, either.

Mr. Alyeshmerni said Ms. Shabazz and her son, who he said was about 10 years old, lived in a one-bedroom apartment. Rent on one-bedroom apartments in the building ranges from \$380 to \$475 a month. Mr. Alyeshmerni said Ms. Shabazz, who moved from New York to Minneapolis last September, had found the apartment in a nationally circulated renters' guide.

"I never saw her with visitors," he said. "She was a very private person. Very respectful, very intelligent. She has a beautiful, bright son."

He said he was shocked when he heard about the indictment. He had had no idea that she was a daughter of Malcolm X.

"But I was more surprised," he said, "because the charges just don't fit her character. I'm happy we have the concept of innocent until proven guilty, because I don't know if I believe it. I don't want to lose such a good tenant."

Two blocks from where Ms. Shabazz lived, Ray Eiland, an administrator for a center for the elderly, sat in a coffee shop called the Laughing Cup, a place Ms. Shabazz once frequented.

"No one ever knew who she really was," he said. "Her disguise was she was so friendly and open. I just don't believe this is happening."

HISTORY

Intersecting Lives

1954 - Malcolm X recruits Mr. Farrakhan into the Nation of Islam. At the time, Mr. Farrakhan is a nightclub singer in Boston, and Malcolm X is a minister at the group's mosque there. Later that year, Malcolm X moves to New York to take over the Harlem Mosque.

1963 - Malcolm X, by now the Nation of Islam's chief spokesman, is exiled from the organization after falling out with the group's leader, Elijah Muhammad. He embraces a more traditional form of Islam and renounces his former group.

1964 - Mr. Farrakhan writes in Muhammad Speaks, the Nation of Islam's newspaper, that Malcolm X "is worthy of death."

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1965 - Malcolm X is assassinated at the Audubon Ballroom in New York. Three men are convicted of the murder. Mr. Farrakhan later takes over the Harlem mosque.

1978 - Mr. Farrakhan seizes control of the Nation of Islam, after feuding with Elijah Muhammad's son, Wallace Muhammad. Mr. Muhammad forms his own group, the American Muslim Mission.

1994 - Malcolm X's widow, Betty Shabazz, says she believes that Mr. Farrakhan was involved in her husband's death. Mr. Farrakhan says in

a speech that he had nothing to do with the assassination but acknowledges that he was among those who ``created an atmosphere that allowed Malcolm X to be assassinated.

GRAPHIC: Photo: The Nation of Islam said it was not convinced of the Government's charges that Malcolm X's daughter Qubilah Shabazz sought to have its leader, Louis Farrakhan, assassinated. Mr. Farrakhan's chief of staff, Leonard F. Muhammad, held a news conference in Chicago yesterday to discuss the accusation. (Reuters)(pg. 8)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 14, 1995

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:27 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:27 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: May. 2, 1995 U.S. Agrees to End Prose PRINTED: 09:40 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 22 OF 103 STORIES
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May 2, 1995, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 4; National Desk

LENGTH: 1423 words

HEADLINE: U.S. Agrees to End Prosecution Of Farrakhan Murder Plot
Case

BYLINE: By DON TERRY

DATELINE: MINNEAPOLIS, May 1

BODY:

In a murder-for-hire case that reawakened many of the passions and pains of the 1960's, the second oldest daughter of Malcolm X avoided a trial and a possible prison sentence today by agreeing to ``accept responsibility`` for her involvement in a sketchy plot to kill Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam.

The surprise agreement, quickly approved by Judge James Rosenbaum of Federal District Court this morning, was reached by Government prosecutors and defense lawyers late Sunday night. The deal came just hours before the defendant, Qubilah Bahiyah Shabazz, was scheduled to stand trial in an attempt to hire a former high school classmate to kill Mr. Farrakhan, her father's one-time protege turned bitter foe.

If convicted, Ms. Shabazz, 34, could have faced 90 years in prison. But under the agreement, she was placed on what is essentially a two-year probation, told to find a job and ordered to spend the next three months in a psychiatric, drug and alcohol treatment program in Texas. The program was selected by one of her lawyers, Percy Sutton, the former Manhattan Borough President, and a native of San Antonio.

The indictment will be dismissed if she fulfills the conditions. If she does not, the Government can bring her to trial.

``I just want to get on with my life,`` Ms. Shabazz said after the hearing today. ``I want to live it privately.``

But this evening, she appeared to contradict her acceptance of responsibility, telling a local television station, KARE, that she had not plotted to kill Mr. Farrakhan and that the scheme had been the idea ``all along`` of her former classmate, Michael K. Fitzpatrick, a man she had told friends she planned to marry. Mr. Fitzpatrick is a longtime Government informer.

Another defense lawyer, William M. Kunstler, said the agreement showed the flaws of a Government case that he said was built on entrapment. ``When you have a weak case,`` Mr. Kunstler said, ``this is how you get rid of it and save face if you're the Government.``

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But David L. Lillehaug, the United States Attorney for the District of Minnesota, maintained today that the case was "winnable." He said the Government settled for several reasons, including Ms. Shabazz's acceptance of responsibility, her lack of a significant criminal record, her willingness to seek treatment, because she did not appear to be dangerous, and because of the "extraordinary set of historical and personal events which appeared to have triggered Shabazz's action."

"We tried to evaluate the defendant as an individual and not as a symbol," he said.

In the agreement, known as a diversion, Ms. Shabazz maintained her original plea of not guilty, entered six days after she was indicted here on Jan. 12, and today her lawyers continued to say that she had been manipulated by the former classmate, Mr. Fitzpatrick, who has a history of cocaine addiction and run-ins with the law. Mr. Lillehaug would not disclose the whereabouts of Mr. Fitzpatrick, who is in the witness protection program.

Mr. Fitzpatrick, a burly, balding 34-year-old, said in a pre-trial hearing in March that he had been promised \$45,000 by the Government to secretly record his telephone calls with Ms. Shabazz and to testify at her trial. He recorded dozens of calls from last July 27 to early last fall, stopping soon after Ms. Shabazz moved from New York to Minneapolis with her young son.

The case provoked widespread skepticism, particularly among blacks, and at one point appeared to be turning into a child few in Government wanted to claim as their own. "We have always been aware," Mr. Lillehaug said today, "that the informant has what might be charitably called a very checkered past and might be pursuing several agendas."

Justice Department officials outside Minnesota seemed surprised by the public suspicion. After Ms. Shabazz was indicted and as Mr. Fitzpatrick's past was becoming known, the officials in Washington said that they had been caught off guard by the furor and that prosecutors in Minneapolis had conducted the investigation without close supervision from Washington. But a day later, a Justice Department spokesman said Minneapolis prosecutors had kept Washington informed. And in a statement today, Mr. Lillehaug made sure that he mentioned the support of "colleagues in the Department of Justice."

Officials in the office of the deputy attorney general were kept informed of the negotiations over the weekend in Minnesota but there had been no pressure whatsoever from Washington to reach this resolution, a Justice Department spokesman, John Russell, said.

In a sworn affidavit signed Sunday night, Ms. Shabazz says, "I accept responsibility for my involvement in the plan referenced in my statement." The statement she refers to was given to Federal agents Dec. 20 and became hotly disputed between prosecutors, who called it a confession, and defense lawyers, who said it was improperly taken without the presence of an attorney. Ms. Shabazz says in the plea agreement that the December statement was "incomplete and inaccurate
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in some details`` but that it was ``substantially true and substantially reflects what I said`` and that she had signed it ``voluntarily.''

But outside the courtroom a few minutes later, Ms. Shabazz, directly contradicted the signed agreement by saying the statement had been ``coerced.'' And later, she told KARE that her December statement was a fabrication and that she was trying to protect Mr. Fitzpatrick.

``I was under a lot of pressure when I was interviewed by the FBI,`` she said, adding she signed the diversion agreement even though she said it was not true because ``it's better than being incarcerated.''

When told about her remarks about the statement being coerced, Mr. Lillehaug said, ``That would be a very strange response.'' He would not say whether Ms. Shabazz's sidewalk words would endanger the court agreement, adding, ``I doubt in the heat of the moment that Ms. Shabazz intended to disavow a signed statement under penalty of perjury.''

Prosecutors said a judge's ruling last week barring the presentation of videotapes in the case had nothing to do with today's agreement.

In the December statement, which Mr. Lillehaug said was his most important evidence, Ms. Shabazz said she had ``jokingly asked Fitzpatrick if he would kill Louis Farrakhan`` and the more they talked about it, the more ``serious I became.'' She also says in the statement that by September she had become nervous about the plan and by November had told ``him not to do it.''

Last month, a Federal magistrate in St. Paul said the statement could not be used in court because the agents had entered her apartment without a warrant and had lied to her about why they were there. But last week, a Federal District Judge overruled the magistrate and said the statement could be used, setting the stage for the weekend negotiations.

``They saw which way the wind was blowing,`` Mr. Lillehaug said of Ms. Shabazz's lawyers.

The case has reopened some of the most painful memories and unanswered questions from the 1960's, a decade of freedom riders and funeral trains.

Thirty years ago, Ms. Shabazz was in the Audubon Ballroom in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan when her father was killed on stage by gunmen. She was 4 years old and her mother, Dr. Betty Shabazz, has long held that Mr. Farrakhan played a hand in her husband's slaying. But now, Mr. Farrakhan has become one of Ms. Shabazz's most vocal defenders and has accused the Government of trying to divide black America by prosecuting Malcolm X's daughter.

Dr. Shabazz said today that she was ``appreciative and surprised by Minister Farrakhan, by his words, his patience, his generosity.''

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On Saturday, in a show of support and perhaps healing, Mr.

Farrakhan and Dr. Shabazz will make a rare joint-appearance at the Apollo Theater in Harlem to raise money for her daughter's defense.

``There is still a lot of work to do in America,`` Dr. Shabazz said. ``A lot of things happened here that should not have happened. This is

just the tip of the iceberg. But I'm just so grateful that it's over."

Mr. Sutton, who was instrumental in arranging the agreement, was beaming after today's three-minute court appearance, sealing the deal. He said the Shabazz family had gone through so much tragedy but "this tragedy is not death so we can over come it."

Asked what the Government got out of the agreement, Mr. Sutton smiled and said, "A six page press release and a guy they can never use again - Michael Fitzpatrick."

GRAPHIC: Photos: Qubilah Shabazz, top right, at a news conference with her mother, Betty, discussing her agreement to settle the charges that she was involved in a plot to kill Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam. (Reuters); David L. Lillehaug, Minnesota's United States Attorney, is at left. (Associated Press) (pg. A1); Qubilah Bahiyah Shabazz, with her lawyers William M. Kunstler, right, and Percy Sutton, arriving at the Federal courthouse in Minneapolis yesterday, where she reached a settlement with the Government on the charges that she had plotted to murder Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam. (Associated Press) (pg. A12)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 2, 1995

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SL: SHABAZZ\$CQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0087 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:26 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:26 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: May. 3, 1995 Shabazz Case: A Gain for PRINTED: 09:40 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 21 OF 103 STORIES

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company
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May 3, 1995, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 8; Column 4; National Desk

LENGTH: 1114 words

HEADLINE: Shabazz Case: A Gain for Farrakhan

BYLINE: By DON TERRY

DATELINE: MINNEAPOLIS, May 2

BODY:

When Federal prosecutors here agreed on Monday to drop their murder-for-hire case against Malcolm X's second-oldest daughter, Qubilah Bahiyah Shabazz, it was a near rout by the defense.

But the biggest winner in the case may be Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam and the man whom Ms. Shabazz was charged with plotting to kill. She wanted him dead, the authorities said, because she apparently believed he had played a role in her father's murder in 1965.

From the high-profile indictment of Ms. Shabazz last Jan. 12 to Monday's surprise deal minutes before her trial was to begin, Mr.

Farrakhan has sounded more like one of her lawyers than her alleged target. He has ridiculed the Government's case and has offered only words of sympathy and support for the Shabazz family, placing himself in the mainstream of much of black America - at least on this issue.

Roger Wilkins, a professor of history at George Mason University, said today that Mr. Farrakhan's mainstream position can only enhance his stature, a prospect Mr. Wilkins is not certain he welcomes.

"This is the kind of case that resonates around this country in black barbershops and bars and wherever black college students gather," Mr. Wilkins said. "This is Malcolm's kid, so she is a child of the community. When Farrakhan treats her like a daughter of the community, even black people who generally don't approve of him are going to soften a little bit and say, 'Maybe he isn't as bad as I thought.'"

"I don't think Farrakhan is constructive for America," Mr. Wilkins added. "But in this case he did the right thing."

One of the biggest losers to emerge from the shadow of the United States v. Shabazz may turn out to be the Government, which agreed to drop the charges if Ms. Shabazz completes a drug and alcohol treatment program, essentially a two-year probation.

"I think the Government looks bad coming to the eve of trial and settling for a medical solution," said Stephen Gillers, a professor

FOCUS

at New York University Law School. ``The results of the case suggest there should have never been an indictment. The case has always looked weak.''

Its weakest link, said Mr. Gillers and other experts, was its star witness, Michael K. Fitzpatrick, a longtime Government informer. Federal officials agreed to pay him \$45,000 for his help in secretly recording his telephone conversations with Ms. Shabazz, his former classmate.

Even a prosecutor, Jeanne Graham, who needed Mr. Fitzpatrick to win, said he ``has a different moral code than the rest of us.''

Mr. Fitzpatrick has a long history of cocaine addiction and trouble with the law. But it is a resume not unlike that of thousands of other informers the Government pays nearly \$100 million a year.

Ronald L. Kuby, one of Ms. Shabazz's lawyers, said the Government's use of Mr. Fitzpatrick was especially significant now when Federal law enforcement, after the Oklahoma City bombing, wanted to expand its powers to infiltrate and monitor groups with paid informers and by other means.

``In one sense, this case marks one of the first practical limitations on the use of informers,''' Mr. Kuby said. ``This case says the prosecution has gone too far. What it should do is make prosecutors and the F.B.I. more careful of snitches bearing gifts.''

But the United States Attorney for the District of Minnesota, David L. Lillehaug, said prosecutors had been extremely careful, keeping Justice Department officials in Washington informed every step of the way about Mr. Fitzpatrick and every other aspect of the case.

``I wore a belt, a suspender and another belt, to make sure everyone was advised in Washington,''' Mr. Lillehaug said, adding that he supplied the department with a long memorandum about the case even though he was not required to do so. ``If the names in this case were different, this would have been a garden variety murder-for-hire.''

He said prosecutors tried to settle the case once before Ms. Shabazz was indicted but her lawyers refused. ``We have never been bloodthirsty about this case,''' he added.

Mr. Lillehaug said he would not have sought an indictment had Ms. Shabazz on Dec. 20 not signed what he called a confession and what the defense called a statement. In it, she said she had asked Mr. Fitzpatrick ``jokingly'' to kill Mr. Farrakhan.

``We knew there would be an enormous amount of dismay no matter what way we went,''' Mr. Lillehaug said today.

Earl Gray, a former Assistant United States Attorney in Minneapolis who is now a defense lawyer, criticized the decision to indict
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``In my opinion, we have a very inexperienced U.S. Attorney,''' he said of Mr. Lillehaug, who has been in office about 15 months. ``He was crazy to charge it in the first place.''

But Mr. Lillehaug has his defenders, too. Tom Berg, a former United States Attorney for Minnesota, said while it appeared that the case

against Ms. Shabazz should not have gone this far, ``you've got a lot of tough calls to make as a U.S. Attorney, constantly, daily.''

``It's easy to Monday-morning quarterback,' ' Mr. Berg said.

Mr. Gray, while conceding that ``at least,' ' Mr. Lillehaug ``was smart enough to get out before he lost the case,' ' asserted: ``How in the world could they pay someone like Fitzpatrick \$45,000 to get that woman? It makes me angry, especially when I just paid my taxes.''

It apparently made a lot of people angry.

Once it became known that a daughter of Betty Shabazz and Malcolm X was in trouble, people from around the country started calling, asking what they could do to help. Some callers were rich or well-known. Others were strangers, ordinary people who remembered the old days and wanted to repay a debt to a fallen black prince.

But the pledge of support that most surprised Dr. Shabazz came from Mr. Farrakhan, whom she thanked several times on Monday after her daughter walked out of a courtroom here, virtually free.

Mr. Farrakhan has not heard many kind words from Dr. Shabazz in the last 30 years. Last year, she told a New York City television audience that she had long believed Mr. Farrakhan to have played a hand in her husband's death. Mr. Farrakhan denies the charge, but it has haunted him and has helped many black people keep him at arms length.

``Betty has done as much as anyone to isolate Louis Farrakhan,' ' Mr. Wilkins said. ``The widow points a long finger and says this man is implicated in my husband's murder.''

On Monday, she pointed her finger at Mr. Farrakhan and said thank you. And this Saturday, they will appear together in New York to raise money for Ms. Shabazz's defense.

``I'm not going to sacrifice my daughter for any reason,' ' Dr. Shabazz said. ``I'm not going to stand on ceremony.''

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 3, 1995

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SL: AFTER\$30\$QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0098 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:25 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:25 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: May. 6, 1995 After 30-Year Rift, Farr PRINTED: 09:41 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 20 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company
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May 6, 1995, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 23; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1099 words

HEADLINE: After 30-Year Rift, Farrakhan's Meeting With Dr. Shabazz
Stirs Hope

BYLINE: By CHARISSE JONES

BODY:

At the Apollo Theater in Harlem, hundreds bought tickets this week for what many believe will be a historic moment for New York City's black community.

Louis H. Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, will attend a fund-raising event tonight for Qubilah Shabazz, who has admitted involvement in a plot to kill him. And her mother, Dr. Betty Shabazz, is expected to take the stage with Mr. Farrakhan, the man she holds at least partly responsible for the assassination of her husband, Malcolm X.

It will be an evening of paradoxes, and, many hope, a symbolic salve on a 30-year-old wound.

"I think it'll ease people's minds, that if they can put their differences behind, so can we," said Malik Shabazz, 23, as he straddled a bicycle in front of the Apollo this week. (He is not related to Dr. Shabazz).

The Nation of Islam has portrayed the joint appearance as a first step toward restoring a relationship, and thus helping mend a rift that has cast a cloud over the Nation for the past three decades.

"This rift has been a sore spot in the history of the black community," said Conrad Muhammad, Mr. Farrakhan's New York representative and minister of the Nation's mosque in Harlem. "It's been, to a certain extent, an albatross for the Nation of Islam. But with the coming together, it proves beyond a shadow of doubt God is all powerful. Because the Honorable Louis Farrakhan says only God could have brought together these two families after all that's happened, after all that's been said."

But associates of Dr. Shabazz said her actions should not necessarily be interpreted as reconciliatory. Her appearance, they said, may represent nothing more than a show of support for her daughter, and a public thank you for Mr. Farrakhan's refusal to believe that Ms. Shabazz plotted to kill him. Dr. Shabazz declined to be interviewed

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``The fact they get together to raise funds doesn't necessarily signify an agreement on anything else except this particular case," said Roscoe C. Brown Jr., a Shabazz family friend and director of the Center for Urban Education Policy at the City University of New York.

The specter of a trial no longer hovers over Ms. Shabazz. She was indicted in January, but agreed last week to accept responsibility for her part in a plot to kill Mr. Farrakhan in exchange for two years of probation and counseling. But the fund-raising event, originally called ``A Call For Justice`` and now ``A New Beginning,`` will go on as planned, its proceeds going to Ms. Shabazz's counseling and for her son's care.

The prosecution of Ms. Shabazz brought back to the surface the emotions and suspicions that have divided the black community since Feb. 21, 1965, when Malcolm X was gunned down in the Audubon Ballroom. Many said tonight's benefit would help put to rest the enmities of the past.

``I think it's at least an attempt to mend fences between two very significant African-American leaders, and it's an attempt to bridge the gulf created by the unfinished business from the 60's regarding Malcolm X's death," said Michael Eric Dyson, professor of communication studies at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and author of ``Making Malcolm: The Myth and Meaning of Malcolm X.``

For those who heard Malcolm X speak from a street-corner pulpit, and admired his widow from afar, who were inspired by the teachings of Mr. Farrakhan, yet troubled by accusations that he had betrayed his one-time mentor, this could be a night of history and healing.

``I felt like crying," Rosezina Pou said, recalling the moment when she heard that Dr. Shabazz and Mr. Farrakhan would appear together on the Apollo's stage. ``It's been a long time. I believe in both of them.``

Once, Mr. Farrakhan was Malcolm X's protege. But after Malcolm X was chastised by the Nation of Islam leader, Elijah Muhammad, and left the group in 1963, Mr. Farrakhan denounced his former mentor as a traitor, once writing that he ``is worthy of death.`` Mr. Farrakhan has acknowledged in statements that he helped create an atmosphere that allowed Malcolm X to be assassinated, but says that he had nothing to do with the murder. Three Black Muslims were convicted of the crime, and none implicated Mr. Farrakhan.

Still, as recently as last year, Dr. Shabazz said she believed Mr. Farrakhan played a role. And in January, Qubilah Shabazz, 34, was indicted for allegedly plotting to assassinate Mr. Farrakhan. She was 4 years old, and inside the Audubon Ballroom, the day her father was killed.

Mr. Farrakhan emerged as one of Ms. Shabazz's most vocal defenders, accusing the government of trying to divide black America through her prosecution. Dr. Shabazz in turn offered words of gratitude to Mr. Farrakhan. Several weeks ago, the two met, and Dr. Shabazz thanked him in person, said Percy Sutton, a lawyer for Ms. Shabazz

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and a long-time family friend.

Speculation about Mr. Farrakhan's role has ``caused enormous pain and tension for not only the Shabazz family, not only for Shabazz and Farrakhan, but indeed for the entire African-American community that both lionizes Malcolm X and admires Mr. Farrakhan, `` Dr. Dyson said.

He added that given the continuing popularity of Malcolm X, Mr. Farrakhan's graciousness has been pragmatic as well as generous. ``This one gesture performs a wide range of public relations and moral relations,`` Dr. Dyson said. ``And Dr. Shabazz's appearance is a public display of acceptance of Farrakhan's gestures of redemption and forgiveness.``

Mr. Sutton, the former Manhattan borough president and honorary co-chairman of tonight's benefit, said he initially feared that accusations against Ms. Shabazz might revive old animosities and trigger new violence. But he said he believes Dr. Shabazz and Mr.

Farrakhan have calmed any tensions through their conciliatory actions.

``Here in the black community, I'm inundated by people who say 'thank you Mr. Sutton. It might have been dangerous out here had Sister Betty not accepted Mr. Farrakhan's help,' `` he said. ``The whole climate of fear that's existed around who killed Malcolm X - 'Did Mr.

Farrakhan engineer it?' - this puts that to rest hopefully. That if he did, he is a very generous man to come forward and support the daughter. And if he did, this is a very understanding mother who would hold hands with him.``

The benefit, to begin at 8 P.M., was organized by members of the Nation of Islam, and a coalition of community activists and ministers, Mr. Muhammad said. It will be broadcast via satellite to mosques, churches and auditoriums across the country, he said.

GRAPHIC: Photo: It will be an evening of paradoxes, and, many hope, a symbolic salve on a 30-year-old wound, when Dr. Betty Shabazz and Louis Farrakhan, minister of the Nation of Islam, make a joint appearance tonight.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 6, 1995

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The New York Times

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:22 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:22 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Oct. 8, 1995 Black March Stirs Passio PRINTED: 09:41 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 17 OF 103 STORIES

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company

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October 8, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 24; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1718 words

HEADLINE: Black March Stirs Passion and Protests

BYLINE: By DON TERRY

DATELINE: CHICAGO, Oct. 7

BODY:

Life is desperate and dangerous in Al Brown's faded neighborhood here. Drugs and poverty are efficient cold-blooded killers, and in the middle of any day of any week, it is easy to find dozens of young black men hanging out on the streets with no place to go to earn bread or pride.

But these days, Mr. Brown, a community advocate on Chicago's West Side, is more hopeful than he has been in years because of an upcoming blend of political parade and religious revival meeting in Washington called the Million Man March. The brainchild of Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, the march is stirring passions and debate.

March organizers hope that one million black men from all walks of life will answer Mr. Farrakhan's call for ``A Holy Day of Atonement, Reconciliation and Responsibility`` and gather in Washington on Oct. 16 to pray and protest and promise to return home better men.

``Finally, somebody is doing something,`` Mr. Brown said the other day as he passed out march fliers to young men along a sorry stretch of Madison Street. ``The situation in black America is so bad now that it almost doesn't matter what that something is as long as it's some kind of action.``

The goals of the march are vague, but it is generating excitement and arguments in black neighborhoods and on radio shows around the country. Some black men say the march represents a fresh bold step toward black unity and self-reliance in a national climate of racial tension, mistrust and government cutbacks.

For others, who say the idea of unity is laughable because black women have been told not to come, the march could signal the beginning of a regressive retreat into self-segregation and conservative politics.

Salim Muwakkil, a Chicago writer who plans to attend the march, likens it to the largely white men's Christian movement of so-called traditional and family values, the Promise Keepers, flavored with black nationalism

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"Historically, black people have always turned to black nationalism during hostile racial times," he said. "The Republican Contract With America shocked black people into believing that white America was finished with civil rights. Everywhere I go, people are talking about the march. I think it will be pivotal."

Mr. Farrakhan calls his march "a day of atonement," a chance for black men to apologize to "their women" and to God for not taking better care of their families.

It is also an opportunity, the Muslim minister says, for black men to declare to the country that they are ready, willing and able to serve and protect their own communities and children without the advice or consent of the government.

But even some supporters of the march, like Mr. Muwakkil, say they are put off by the talk of "atonement" because it seems to focus on black men more than on what many of them see as the real source of the nation's racial heartache: unemployment and institutional racism.

"The atonement talk certainly has the whiff of blame the victim," Mr. Muwakkil said. "But a lot of people are ignoring that. They say, 'That may be Farrakhan's reason for marching, but my reason is to let white America know we ain't going to take it any more.'"

The Rev. Henry J. Lyons, president of the largely black National Baptist Convention, which has 8.5 million members, said he was advising his followers not to take part because of theological differences with Mr. Farrakhan's Muslims and because women have not been included as full partners or participants.

"Because of these very strong differences," Mr. Lyons said, "I cannot under any circumstances support this march."

But dozens of other Christian ministers, including the Rev. Jesse Jackson and the Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis, the national director of the march, are encouraging the men in their congregations and organizations to attend. Even the American Jewish Congress has "enthusiastically" endorsed at least the goals of the march, said the group's executive director, Phil Baum.

"But we are concerned with it being organized by Mr. Farrakhan," Mr. Baum said, adding that he was "disappointed that so many of our friends in the black leadership" have apparently embraced Mr.

Farrakhan. In a news release, the Congress called Mr. Farrakhan "one of the country's most prominent and unrepentant public bigots."

On Tuesday, Mr. Jackson met with several leaders of Jewish groups in New York to discuss the goals of the march. Mr. Baum said the meeting was helpful, but his concerns about Mr. Farrakhan's role remained.

In Washington, a White House spokesman said that President Clinton supported the march's goals of having people think about their responsibilities to families, themselves and communities but that he

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had some concerns about the gathering.

Adolph Reed, a black professor of political science at Northwestern

University, who does not plan to be one of the million, said, "The message of Farrakhan's march is fundamentally conservative and blatantly sexist."

March organizers say that since black women have made countless sacrifices for their families and communities over the years, the march is a signal that it is time for black men to stand up and relieve them of their burden. The women and the men who do not go are being asked to observe "a day of absence" by staying indoors and not shopping.

"But Farrakhan," Mr. Reed said, "is not really rocking any boats of the white elite. This is his ploy to be designated as a legitimate race spokesman or, at the least, to get on the guest list of 'Nightline.'"

Mr. Farrakhan proposed the march more than a year ago but for months received little support for his vision beyond his Nation of Islam.

But, in recent months and weeks, with affirmative action under attack, jobs steadily disappearing from the inner city and police abuse and corruption scandals from Philadelphia to Los Angeles, a cross section of black leadership has climbed onto Mr. Farrakhan's bandwagon.

Ministers, nationalists, Pan Africanists, fraternities, sororities, Elks, Masons and the Congressional Black Caucus have endorsed the march.

Still, no one knows how many black men will actually show up in Washington. Estimates run from 50,000 to more than one million. Mr. Chavis said more than 11,100 buses and 100 airplanes had been chartered to take people to the march.

The "march," in fact, is envisioned as more of "a gathering" by organizers, who envision an assembly 23 blocks long, facing the Capitol. They say they chose to hold it on a workday to show a willingness to sacrifice a payday.

In Oxford, N.C., population 8,000, the funeral home owner, George W. Wright, is the local march organizer. He said people there could afford only one bus but if they had the money, "we could fill at least three."

"I'm paying for the one bus we do have," Mr. Wright said. "I personally know hundreds of people who would like to go and can't afford to. They can't take off of work because it takes every penny and nickel to provide for their families."

In Chicago, organizers say nearly 50,000 men will board buses and go to Washington. Every Monday night for months, dozens of black men and women have met in a church on the city's South Side to plan the march FOCUS and raise money.

"The grass roots are on fire," said the Rev. Al Sampson, a Chicago march organizer.

Mr. Chavis, the former director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said he expected more than 1.2 million black men to attend. If even half that number shows up, the march will

more than double the size of the famous 1963 March on Washington, when the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. electrified 250,000 men and women of all colors with his "I have a dream" speech, imploring the country to live up to its ideals of fairness.

The march has been shrouded in other controversies, including charges of sexism.

"The emphasis on black manhood as a solution is dangerous," said Michelle Boyd, a 25-year-old black graduate student. "Women are put on the back burner. That's not the direction we should be going in. Our flags ought to be going up."

In a concession to women, march organizers have added Rosa Parks, the civil rights legend, and Maya Angelou, the poet, to the list of speakers.

A committee is putting the finishing touches on the march's manifesto, and organizers say they intend to begin registering eight million unregistered voters in time for the election next year.

In the beginning, the march was more spiritual than political. Talk of God and morality remain central, but political issues have elbowed their way onto the agenda as the idea for the march has spread and pulled together a diverse group of supporters. Robert T. Starks, a professor of political science at Northeastern Illinois University in Chicago, is the chairman of the march's manifesto committee.

"We know what we are going to ask for," Mr. Starks said. "We're just refining the words. We're talking about racism and cutbacks in education. We're talking about redistricting and forcing blacks out of office. We have a political agenda. There's no doubt about that."

In Chicago, it is Mr. Brown's self-appointed mission to persuade more brothers to make the trip.

On a recent afternoon, Mr. Brown, along with C. B. Johnson, who runs a drug prevention and treatment program, and Marion Jackson, a volunteer with an anti-drug program, gathered up a bunch of march fliers and charter bus sign-up sheets and went into the streets searching for recruits.

One of their stops was the Moler Barber College, a school for both men and women, where Mr. Johnson asked Marian Parker if he could leave some fliers. "It's time for us as black men to stand up," he said

FOCUS

"That's right," Mrs. Parker said.

"It's time for us to atone for our actions," Mr. Johnson said.

"Right on," Mrs. Parker said. "Could you leave some more of these? I got a shop on the South Side."

Willya Holmes, a poet who was getting her hair done, asked Mr. Johnson: "Where do you go from here? This march is just one day."

"That's true," Mr. Johnson said. "The real work starts on Oct. 17, when we get back home."

"What are you going to do?"

"I'm going to stand up and be a man."

"It takes a march for you to do that?" asked Shantelle Weathers, 19.

"Naw," Mr. Johnson said. "I do that anyway."

GRAPHIC: Photo: In many neighborhoods, like those on Chicago's West Side, community advocates, including Al Brown, left, say they are becoming more hopeful because of the upcoming Million Man March. Recently, he, C. B. Johnson, center, and Larry Hairly recruited for the event, in Washington on Oct. 16. (Steve Kagan for The New York Times)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 8, 1995

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:21 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:21 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:31
NOTE: Oct. 10, 1995 On My Mind;The Swamp Of PRINTED: 09:41 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 16 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company
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October 10, 1995, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 23; Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 718 words

HEADLINE: On My Mind;

The Swamp Of Hatred

BYLINE: By A. M. ROSENTHAL

BODY:

Louis Farrakhan, head of the Nation of Islam, invited Colin Powell to attend the demonstration in Washington he plans for next week. Mr. Powell had a fine answer available, for himself and all African-Americans - his own words.

Mr. Powell spoke them at Howard University last year. Representatives of the Nation of Islam had appeared at Howard, a black university, spewing denunciations of Jews. He says he thought about that as he prepared his commencement address.

"I knew the message I had to deliver," he writes in "My American Journey." "I pulled up something from the marrow of my beliefs as a black living in a white-majority society." And he said it:

"African-Americans have come too far and we have too far yet to go to take a detour into the swamp of hatred."

On Sunday, Mr. Farrakhan said Mr. Powell had told him he was thinking over the invitation to see if he had time. On the basis of that part of the Powell memoirs, and my respect for him, I did not believe Mr. Farrakhan. I was confident Mr. Powell would tell the man leading blacks into that swamp that he would not march with him ever, even if his schedule were open as the prairie.

But Mr. Farrakhan was telling the truth. When I called the Powell office yesterday afternoon, a spokeswoman said that on Friday the general had indeed told Mr. Farrakhan that he had to consult his schedule. And yesterday morning, she said, Mr. Powell sent Mr.

Farrakhan a fax that he would be out of town for the demonstration, but he supported its "purpose" - without specifying what it was.

That is a disappointing reply, from any leader. It tells African-Americans that if they can find the time, there's nothing wrong with joining the protest to support its "purpose." But there is.

Purpose? Like every demagogue, Mr. Farrakhan presents a list of shiny "purposes" as among his objectives - self-help, respect, training, jobs, bringing a "community" together and making it powerful. That was part of Hitler's message

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Sorry, Adolf, it happens I won't be in Munich for your march, but I support the purpose?

White supremacists mouth those ``purposes`` as they throw filth at blacks. What would we say of whites who joined demonstrations of the Fuhrmans of America, announcing they supported their ``purpose``?

To march with Louis Farrakhan in Washington is to strengthen a man who leads a crusade against whites and for resegregation, to march with his goon squads, to march with anti-Semites - to march straight into that swamp of hatred that General Powell warned against at Howard.

It is condescending to say that those who will march do not know what he stands for in addition to those noble ``purposes.'' They know.

Every demonstrator hurts African-Americans who have dared oppose him and face down his goons and threats. Even as he calls black men to Washington for black unity, he keeps threatening all blacks, men, women, children. African-Americans who do not boycott work, school, shopping, the stage or playing field will be considered as renegade and white.

For any African-American who marches to say he is in support of Mr. Farrakhan's ``purposes`` but not of his messages of hatred is a deliberate suspension of moral and political standards, a synonym for hypocrisy. For politicians like Jesse Jackson or Al Sharpton, or writers like Cornel West, to speak from his rostrum will be to spit in the eye of Americans who believe in racial and religious conciliation. For Maya Angelou to be a token female in a demonstration that bars women will be embarrassingly obsequious.

At least let such celebrities spare us any blather of racial harmony. They have chosen the leader of their parade; let them be faithful to him.

Michael Meyers, executive director of the New York Civil Rights Coalition, an African-American under constant attack from Farrakhan clones, puts it straight: ``Hatred has gone mainstream.'' Jewish organizations that keep cowed silence - unlike the Anti-Defamation League - are disgustingly craven.

Mr. Powell writes that his Howard speech got a lot of media attention because denouncing race hatred, from wherever it came, was apparently a welcome message. It is. Let's hope and ask that he return to it soon and plain, as on page 597 of his autobiography, and with constancy and purpose.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 10, 1995

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SL: ORGANIZERQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0104 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:20 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:20 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:32
NOTE: Oct. 13, 1995 Organizers Defend Role o PRINTED: 09:42 04-DEC-95

Your Search Request: HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3(FARRAKHAN)

FOCUS - 15 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company
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October 13, 1995, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1190 words

HEADLINE: Organizers Defend Role of Farrakhan In March by Blacks

BYLINE: By FRANCIS X. CLINES

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Oct. 12

BODY:

With a march on Washington by black men planned for Monday, organizers today pointedly rebuffed efforts by elected blacks and other political figures to endorse the demonstration but not its leader, Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam.

"The attempt to separate the message from the messenger is not going to work," declared the Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., national director of the event, called the Million Man March, which was Mr. Farrakhan's brainchild. "The message and the messenger have transcended all divisions in the black community."

Both the White House and mainline black political groups like the Black Congressional Caucus have been emphasizing just this distinction between the march and its leader.

They are wary of Mr. Farrakhan, whom critics view as a race-baiter and anti-Semite. But they say they approve of the social cause that is expected to draw hundreds of thousands of black men to the capital for a one-day demonstration of their resolve to fight the family breakdown, crime and social pathologies afflicting their communities.

The insistence that supporters of the march fully acknowledge Mr. Farrakhan as a major black leader, both of the march and the nation, was made at a news conference by Leonard F. Muhammad, chief of staff of the Nation of Islam, and by Mr. Chavis, who has not been free of controversy himself. Mr. Chavis was dismissed last year as executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People amid a scandal over his use of the group's money to settle a threatened sexual harassment suit. Leaders of the group were also uncomfortable about Mr. Chavis's embrace of the Nation of Islam leader.

Mr. Muhammad, complaining of newspaper advertisements by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith that denounced Mr. Farrakhan as an anti-Semite and racist, called on President Clinton to convene a conference on race relations. "As a result of the O. J. Simpson trial, and how blacks and whites viewed the results differently, it would be appropriate," he said, adding that Mr. Farrakhan had been in touch with Jewish leaders seeking a dialogue "during this season of

atonement."

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Some black politicians have been playing down Mr. Farrakhan's role in the march, saying the day's speaking agenda would make clear how broad-based an event the demonstration would be. Mr. Chavis declined to disclose the program, but emphasized, "Of course Minister Farrakhan is the keynote speaker."

Earlier in the day, the White House spokesman, Michael D. McCurry, tried to draw a distinction between the goals of the march and some of its organizers, whom he did not name.

"Our problem has been all along with this march that there are some, frankly, who've got other agendas and other motivations who are associated with this march," Mr. McCurry said. "But that doesn't mean necessarily that we can't see if we can't get something positive coming out of the event."

As plans for the march proceed, Representative Gary A. Franks, Republican of Connecticut, came forward as the first black member of Congress to oppose it openly, calling Mr. Farrakhan's Nation of Islam the black racist equivalent of the Ku Klux Klan.

"They are organizations that hide behind a veiled shield of doing what's good for their race while increasing the racial divide via their hatred for others," Mr. Franks declared at a news conference.

"During the 50's and 60's, a vast majority of blacks said 'no' to the Nation of Islam and their separatist ways," Mr. Franks said. "African-Americans said 'yes' to the messengers of integration and assimilation," he added, referring to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders.

Still to be heard from is a group of black women leaders who have scheduled a news conference for Friday to discuss the exclusion of women from the march.

Various black political, church and social organizations, as well as black leaders, have endorsed the march, including the Black Congressional Caucus and the Rev. Jesse Jackson. But among the dissenting groups not participating are the N.A.A.C.P., the National Urban League and an organization of black Baptist ministers.

Individuals in the Black Congressional Caucus, anticipating large numbers of their constituents marching at the bidding of Mr.

Farrakhan and Mr. Chavis, have been offering a mixture of wariness and enthusiasm.

"The focus on Minister Farrakhan has been overplayed," Representative Donald M. Payne, the New Jersey Democrat who is chairman of the caucus, said in an interview before Mr. Chavis underscored Mr.

Farrakhan's primary role in the event. "I'm being asked if I'm marching with Farrakhan. Well, I'm going to march hopefully with a million people, including Farrakhan, and I think my differences with him are secondary to the common goal."

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Mr. Muhammad of the Nation of Islam, complaining that "spin doctors"

were playing down Mr. Farrakhan's role, declared: ``People coming to Washington, D.C., are coming because they support Minister Farrakhan. He's become a major, major factor in this country.''

The power of Mr. Farrakhan to stir controversy and leave some black leaders wary was made clear earlier this week when Mary Frances Berry, chairwoman of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, said she could not endorse the march.

In a letter to The Washington Post, Ms. Berry declared: ``Mr. Farrakhan routinely expresses the most despicable, anti-Semitic, racist, sexist and homophobic attitudes imaginable. Mr. Chavis's role in practically destroying the N.A.A.C.P. makes any enterprise in which he is engaged suspect.''

Within the Congressional Black Caucus, individual expressions have ranged from the noticeable silence of Representative John Lewis, the Democrat of Georgia who is a hero of the 1960's anti-segregation marches and one of the most respected civil rights leaders in Congress, to the joy of Representative Barbara-Rose Collins that such a day is finally occurring in American history.

``The idea is electrifying,''' said Ms. Collins, a Michigan Democrat who plans to set up a sidewalk table along the route ``so the brothers who are thirsty can stop for a cup of water.''' She added, ``I feel the march is really about me because black men will be reaffirming their responsibility for black women and for the black family.''

Beyond Washington, some ambivalence can be discerned among elected black officials. Mayor Marc Morial of New Orleans has resolutely declined all comment. But Mayor Robert B. Ingram of Opa-Locka, Fla., is hailing the march as an opportunity to address the desperate plight of black men lost in America's underclass.

``We're losing folks in a real sense,''' said Mayor Ingram, a professor at Florida Memorial College and president of the National Conference of Black Mayors, a 17,000-member organization that supports the march. ``Somehow the message that one in 21 African-American males will be murdered before the age of 30 just hasn't come across. If we get the major organizations in the same place and time singing from the same page, we can have some impact. Farrakhan is just one part of the puzzle.''

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 13, 1995

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SL: WARY\$OF\$DQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0052 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:20 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:20 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:32
NOTE: Oct. 14, 1995 Wary of Divisions, Leade PRINTED: 09:42 04-DEC-95

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FOCUS - 14 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company
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October 14, 1995, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 8; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 579 words

HEADLINE: Wary of Divisions, Leaders of Million Man March Play Down
Farrakhan Role

BYLINE: By MICHAEL JANOFFSKY

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Oct. 13

BODY:

A day after proclaiming Louis Farrakhan ``a major, major force`` in America for planning to lead a huge march of black men into Washington on Monday, organizers of the rally used a religious backdrop today to temper that characterization and try to shore up support for the event.

``It's a presumptuous question to suggest there is one leader of 40 million blacks in the United States,`` the Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., national director of the Million Man March, said in a news conference at the Purity Baptist Church when asked about the prominence of Mr. Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam.

Mr. Farrakhan has been considered the driving force behind the rally, which could become the largest political demonstration in the city's history. On Thursday, a Nation of Islam official, Leonard F. Muhammad, told reporters that Mr. Farrakhan ``has gone far beyond that little splinter group you all have been writing about for years.``

But Mr. Chavis, surrounded today by local leaders and elected officials, downplayed Mr. Farrakhan's nationwide influence among blacks. ``President Clinton is President, not the leader of white America,`` he said. ``Newt Gingrich is Speaker of the House, and, thank God, he's not the leader of the white community. Why would we even be asked such a question? We have been blessed by God to have many leaders.``

Mr. Chavis also seemed to imply a lesser role for Mr. Farrakhan in the ceremonies on Monday, saying he would be ``one of the keynote speakers,`` after having described him on Thursday as being ``of course the keynote speaker.``

The organizers had been promoting Monday not only as a ``day of atonement and reconciliation`` for black men to pledge greater responsibility for themselves and their families, but also as an opportunity to demonstrate strong support for Mr. Farrakhan.

To dispel any notion of division among blacks on either point, Mr. Chavis on Thursday praised Mr. Farrakhan as the architect of the march and said any ``attempt to separate the message from the

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messenger`` would not work.

But the twinning of the objectives has been consistently challenged by many blacks, including prominent elected officials and church leaders. In increasing numbers, with march day approaching, they say they support themes of renewed responsibility and respect but do not support Mr. Farrakhan, who has been criticized for years as a divisive force in race relations for espousing anti-Semitism and black separatism.

Only last week, in an interview with Reuters Television that was released for broadcast today, Mr. Farrakhan declared again that ``Jews were involved in the slave trade,'' although he added that he saw no need for ``great enmity`` between blacks and Jews. He also said his past use of the term ``bloodsucker`` in describing Jews applied to any group -- including Arabs, Koreans and Vietnamese - that had earned money in black neighborhoods and returned nothing to those communities.

In any event, organizers today seemed to give Mr. Farrakhan, who was not present at the news conference here, a back seat, at least to God.

The Mayor of Washington, Marion S. Barry Jr., said: ``The vision for the march came from God. But it is clear to all of us that the vision was articulated by Minister Farrakhan.``

Asked if attendance at the march would signify support for Mr.

Farrakhan, Mr. Barry answered carefully. ``The fact of the matter,'' he said, ``is that all of us are coming to Washington for the march.``

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 14, 1995

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SL: FARRAKHANQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0033 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:19 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:19 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:32
NOTE: Oct. 15, 1995 Farrakhan Remarks Stir A PRINTED: 09:42 04-DEC-95

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FOCUS - 12 OF 103 STORIES

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The New York Times

October 15, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 24; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 342 words

HEADLINE: Farrakhan Remarks Stir Anger

BYLINE: By The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Oct. 14

BODY:

Tensions continued to escalate today over remarks made by Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, who is the driving force behind Monday's planned march by black men.

For years a controversial figure for making derogatory remarks about Jews, Mr. Farrakhan repeated his sentiments in an interview made public on Friday, calling some Jews and other ethnic groups ``bloodsuckers`` for the way they have operated businesses in black communities.

The remarks were condemned by Jewish leaders who characterized Mr. Farrakhan as a hypocrite for using such provocative language at the same time he was promoting ``a day of atonement and reconciliation`` for black men in America.

Critics of Mr. Farrakhan were also struck by timing of the remarks in that they were made public two days after he had offered to meet with Jewish leaders in the country to discuss their differences.

Mr. Farrakhan's latest remarks came as many blacks are saying they support the purpose of the march - to promote self-sufficiency within the black community - but not Mr. Farrakhan.

Yet in the interview, taped earlier this month, he stood by his previous assertions, saying: ``Many of the Jews who owned the homes, the apartments in the black community, we considered them bloodsuckers because they took from our community and built their community. But they didn't offer anything back to the community. And when the Jews left, the Palestinian Arabs came, Koreans came, Vietnamese and other ethnic and racial groups came. And so this is a type, and we call them bloodsuckers.''

Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, said today that he supported the march. But he called on blacks to distance themselves from Mr. Farrakhan.

``This is not new. The bloodsucker charge has been heard before,' ' Mr. Foxman said. ``What's new is when he has made it.''

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In a report out of Chicago today, the Associated Press reported that

SLUG: FARRAKHAN

PAGE: 2

Mr. Farrakhan had accused the news media of ``using words that were spoken out of context to create division.''

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 15, 1995

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NOTE: Oct. 15, 1995 Riders on **The New York Times** PRINTED: 09:42 04-DEC-95

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FOCUS - 13 OF 103 STORIES

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October 15, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 4; Page 14; Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 608 words

HEADLINE: Riders on the Storm

BODY:

The O. J. Simpson case has produced a hot blast of racial disaffection in the country, and no one should be surprised that charlatans of all hues want to use that blast to lift unworthy careers and causes to new heights. Similarly, it is no surprise that Louis

Farrakhan is foremost among the callous self-promoters. It is also unsurprising that the Rev. Benjamin Chavis Jr., whose disgraceful behavior almost wrecked the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, should have signed on as director of Mr. Farrakhan's Million Man March.

These two black men have this in common with the white racists of the previous generation. They want to prolong and exploit the nation's racial divisions. Yet their cunning invocations of black family stability and of a potent symbolic event, the 1963 March on Washington, have tended to make people of conscience overly timid about criticizing either their contrived event or the twisted Farrakhan ideology that it is intended to promote.

In endorsing the march, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and the Black Congressional Caucus have foolishly let a misguided solidarity about the march's public goals divert their attention from the ideas and character of its leader. Mary Frances Berry, chairwoman of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, has correctly diagnosed Mr.

Farrakhan's pathology as racist, sexist, anti-Semitic and homophobic.

The coalition of black feminists led by Angela Davis and Jewell Jackson McCabe emphasized one of the many dangers inherent in this march. They labeled the march's message that it is ``time for men to step forward and women to step back`` as an insult to 400 years of burden-sharing by black men and women.

It is understandable that many black Americans will be tempted to overlook Mr. Farrakhan's separatism and Mr. Chavis's financial and personal peccadilloes because of a shared concern about drugs, unstable families, unemployment and violence. But they should realize that Mr.

Farrakhan intends to use their support to aggrandize himself and the Nation of Islam. There has been a lot of talk about apples and trees lately. Everyone must recognize that only poisoned apples can fall from Mr. Farrakhan's tree.

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In the last few days, even as his mainstream allies tried to buff up Mr. Farrakhan for national consumption or downplay his involvement, the man and his minions have become ever more flagrant in their FOCUS

racist self-promotion. In an interview released by Reuters on Friday, Mr. Farrakhan asserted that Jews, Arabs, Koreans and Vietnamese doing business in black communities are "bloodsuckers." On Thursday, Mr. Farrakhan's chief of staff told a press conference that those who march will be showing that they personally support Mr. Farrakhan and that they look to him as a national leader.

But contempt for the leaders of the march must not lead to any kind of national denial about the underlying realities of race in America. Prejudice remains a historic, thematic problem in American politics and law. The behavior of the Los Angeles police, the ceaseless Beltway war against Government programs that benefit minorities, the commercial excesses of the O. J. industry all attest to the continuing need for healing leadership. The way ahead will be made rougher by talk shows, tabloids and, if recent events are an indicator, perhaps by Mr. Simpson's delusional campaign for some kind of public approbation.

None of that changes one truth that serves this moment. No matter how many well-meaning citizens he can mislead on any given day, Mr.

Farrakhan remains a symptom of our ills, not a physician who can heal them.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 15, 1995

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NOTE: Oct. 15, 1995 FAMILY VALU The New York Times PRINTED: 09:42 04-DEC-95

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FOCUS - 11 OF 103 STORIES
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October 15, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 4; Page 1; Column 1; Week in Review Desk

LENGTH: 1358 words

HEADLINE: FAMILY VALUES;

Marching to the Beat of a Million Drummers

BYLINE: By DON TERRY

DATELINE: CHICAGO

BODY:

THE bandwagon for Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March in Washington tomorrow is packed with a cross section of black America, from the militant to the mild.

But where it is going and how far it will follow Mr. Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, is much less clear and is the subject of intense debate in black barber shops, beauty parlors, corporate hallways and college campuses across the country.

The rally in the capital is draped in the banners of responsibility, patriarchy, God and black nationalism, leaving some to wonder whether the crowded wagon is headed for the political right. Or is it destined for a more familiar path of protest and stubborn faith in government? Will it hook its fate to the Republicans next year when the nation holds the last Presidential election of the 20th century? Or will it follow a black general to the White House?

Or perhaps its wheels will fall off after tomorrow because too many people are trying to steer.

Some black political figures have endorsed the march while distancing themselves from Mr. Farrakhan, who is the keynote speaker. Dismissing their efforts, the Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., the national director of the march, said, "The message and the messenger have transcended all divisions in the black community."

No one knows how many men will actually answer Mr. Farrakhan's call and show up tomorrow. The head of the 8.2-million member National Baptist Convention has told his followers not to attend, and so has W. Deen Mohammed, the leader of the largest group of black Muslims in the country. The National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have declined participation. Gen. Colin L. Powell sent his regrets, citing his book tour.

But at least 10,000 Chicagoans plan to attend. Supporters in Washington include Mayor Marion S. Barry, Jesse Jackson and the Congressional Black Caucus but not Representative Gary A. Franks of Connecticut, a Republican and a harsh critic of Mr. Farrakhan. The

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Hartford City Council has designated tomorrow a holy day, enabling employees to take unpaid leave or use their vacation time. Schools in Camden, N.J., will close because so many employees are going. New York City organizers expect to fill 1,600 buses.

Mr. Farrakhan has told black women not to come. This march, he says, is the business of men. But as a concession, he has invited Maya Angelou, the poet, and Rosa Parks, the civil rights heroine, to speak.

Almost everyone, however, agrees that black people can no longer sit still. It is time to do something, almost anything.

"In the black community, there is a unified unhappiness with the state of racial progress and a wide level of unity about seeing something done," said Michael C. Dawson, an associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago. "But there is real disagreement about what should be on the black agenda."

At the rally speakers are expected to call for a voter registration drive and an end to cutbacks in education and job-training programs. Some will call for a black political convention next spring to prepare a litmus test for Presidential candidates.

"On the eve of the last Presidential race in this century, we do not intend to allow the black vote to be for sale," Mr. Chavis said. "One way to keep it from being so is to make sure we have an agenda, a national black political agenda. But if a white candidate commits to our agenda, we are going beyond skin politics."

Mr. Farrakhan describes the rally as "a holy day of atonement, reconciliation and responsibility," in which men have a chance to apologize to women and to God for not taking better care of their families. In many ways, Mr. Farrakhan is a conservative, and on the surface, at least, some of the rally's themes echo those heard at Republican gatherings: God, loyalty, family, discipline.

"I have often made the point," said Salim Muwakkil, an editor at *In These Times* who is a former member of the Nation of Islam, "if it were not for his expressions of anti-Semitism, Minister Farrakhan would be the candidate of the Newt Gingriches, because he is basically talking their talk. It's the same message that the church is trying to sell, but the young aren't listening to the church. They are listening to Farrakhan."

Though a critic of the Nation of Islam, Mr. Muwakkil says he plans to attend the rally.

Just as some of the marchers tomorrow will embrace the message but shun the messenger, blacks who approve of the family-values themes often denounce House Speaker Newt Gingrich and the tone of his "Contract With America." Blacks make the case that their values have been as solid and traditional as those elsewhere in America.

"This whole notion that the right has a patent on family values is absolute nonsense," said Connie Tucker, director the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice, an

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Atlanta-based group involved in environmental issues in Southern black

The New York Times

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communities. "We believe a lot of our families have been destroyed by racism, and now we have to build them back up. What the far right is saying now has been discussed in our community for years, and it has nothing to do with conservative politics."

Dennis M. Walcott, president of the New York Urban League, agreed. "I don't think the march represents a rightward shift," he said. "What it represents is the true beliefs of blacks for years: self-determination, strengthening families. Minister Farrakhan is not saying anything new, and this march does not represent anything new."

But Mr. Farrakhan has added another reason for the decline of the black family: the black man. His call for black men to atone is one of the most controversial elements of the march. For some supporters and opponents of the march, it sounds a lot like blaming the victim.

"I don't support this march for a variety of reasons," said Roger Wilkins, a professor of history at George Mason University. "The first thing is, I don't think black men have to atone to the nation at large. What black men need is not atonement, they need jobs. You need jobs to make strong families."

But Conrad Muhammad, minister of the Nation of Islam's Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, said, "We never blame the victim." He added: "White America has to accept culpability for the condition of black people. But we have reached a point where as black people we don't have another moment to waste waiting for government."

Ron Walters, a professor of political science at Howard University and a march supporter, said the notion of a collective atonement has caused much discomfort. "But the main thing is people want to make a statement about the condition of the black male," he said. "The black male is the most vilified symbol of our society."

Ms. Tucker, who supports the march, voiced reservations about its philosophy of patriarchy. "My concern is that there be no implication that somehow black men are more oppressed than black women," she said. "While black men are undergoing a character assassination from external forces, black women are undergoing an assassination internally. Just listen to gangster rap."

No matter what the turnout tomorrow, Mr. Farrakhan should be smiling like a lottery winner. He has collected a jackpot of publicity, the coin of politicians as well as tabloid celebrities and demagogues.

"If the march is successful," Mr. Wilkins said, "it seems to me a lot of people who are not in the Nation of Islam and who are not nationalists will view him as somebody who has provided the black community a great service."

"I think that's bad," he said. "His attacks on Jews, whether direct or indirect, are vile. They distort our history and our struggle and who we have been as a people."

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Others argue that tomorrow's rally has already grown beyond the reach of one man.

"This is not about Minister Farrakhan," Mr. Walters said. "He

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issued the call and started this, but it has taken on a life of its own. This could be a watershed march. It could mark the renewal of grassroots political organizing. This march belongs to the people, and they've taken it over.'

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 15, 1995

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NOTE: Oct. 18, 1995 After March **The New York Times** PRINTED: 09:43 04-DEC-95
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FOCUS - 6 OF 103 STORIES
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October 18, 1995, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1217 words

HEADLINE: After March, Lawmakers Seek Commission on Race Relations

BYLINE: By STEVEN A. HOLMES

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Oct. 17

BODY:

Seeking to build on the momentum generated by Monday's rally of hundreds of thousands of black men in Washington, six members of Congress today asked President Clinton to appoint a national commission on race relations, while Louis Farrakhan, who organized the gathering, suggested that the event had made him a force on the national scene.

"I know you do not know me," Mr. Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, said at a news conference, "but I know you will get to know me. And you're going to have to live with me. To some, I am a nightmare. But to others, I am a dream come true."

With the memories of Monday's rally fresh in their minds, politicians, academics and civil rights leaders groped today to find meaning in the Million Man March, wondering if it represented a watershed in race relations or a one-day love-in with no lasting effect.

Commentators, intellectuals and others agreed that the rally, coming in the aftermath of the divisive acquittal of O. J. Simpson on murder charges, focused the attention of the nation's leaders on the subject of race as no recent events have. And indeed, the two events prompted extensive statements by President Clinton and Speaker Newt Gingrich.

What was clear was that the event - which, the Park Police said, drew a throng of 400,000 to the nation's capital - captured the attention of much of the country. Officials at the Cable News Network said today that 2.2 million households tuned in to Mr. Farrakhan's rambling and complex speech - meaning that more people watched the two-hour-long address on CNN than any other speech this year, including Mr. Clinton's State of the Union Message and the Pope's address to the United Nations.

"We got the kind of numbers that basic cable only sees for first-run movies," said Howard Polskin, a vice president at CNN.

And it was equally clear that the event elevated Mr. Farrakhan's standing and posed a dilemma for traditional civil rights organizations

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At today's news conference, the Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., who helped organize the event, said he would convene a meeting of the National African American Leadership Summit - a coalition that has included the Nation of Islam - next month to plan a political and economic agenda that would seize upon the momentum built from the march. Mr. Chavis invited groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and the National Baptist Convention, which declined to endorse the march, to participate in next month's meeting.

In doing so, he placed these groups in the same vexing position they were in before Monday's rally: Either shun Mr. Farrakhan or embrace an effort that will include him and risk alienating white, especially Jewish, supporters.

Today, six members of the House wrote Mr. Clinton urging him to appoint a bipartisan commission to study race relations in the United States since the 1960's and to then make recommendations for improvements. The lawmakers said they envisioned a panel similar to the Kerner Commission, which in 1968 issued a report concluding that the United States was "moving towards two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal."

The biracial, bipartisan group of members of Congress who asked that the commission be appointed were: Representatives Charles E. Schumer and Charles B. Rangel, Democrats of New York; Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton, Democrat of the District of Columbia; Representative John Lewis, Democrat of Georgia; Representative Jim Leach, Republican of Iowa, and Representative Bill McCollum, Republican of Florida.

But even as the group was pleading for steps to build understanding between blacks and whites, organizers of Monday's rally were accusing the Park Service of racism and of deliberately underestimating the size of the crowd at 400,000.

At his news conference today, Mr. Farrakhan said that "racism, white supremacy, and the hatred of Louis Farrakhan disallows them to give us credit" for breaking the record for the largest crowd to ever gather on the Mall. The record was set by the 1964 inauguration of President Lyndon B. Johnson, which attracted 1.2 million people to the Mall.

Officials with the Nation of Islam threatened a lawsuit to force the Park Service to issue what they insisted was the true number of the size of crowd.

The squabbling over the size of the crowd threatened to draw attention from an event that people from the far ends of the political spectrum agreed was a milestone.

The rally prompted Mr. Clinton to give a major address on race relations at the University of Texas at Austin in which he chided blacks and whites to "clean their houses" of racism. The peaceful march also drew comments from Mr. Gingrich

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"The march ought to be a wake-up call for all of America," Mr. Gingrich told a group of conservatives who were celebrating the 10th anniversary of Radio America on Monday night. "And, in a wonderful irony, typical of American history, all of us owe Louis Farrakhan a thank you for having told all of us, if the pain level is great enough for him to be a leader, then we all have a lot bigger challenge to lead."

But beyond agreeing that the rally caused the country to think about race relations - at least for one day - there was little consensus on whether the event, with its twin calls for blacks to take more responsibility for their actions and for the country to atone for its sins against blacks, would produce much change.

"Obviously, a lot of goodwill was built yesterday," said Hugh Price, president of the National Urban League. "It was a very spiritual experience and there is quite a good chance that it will be built into increased responsibility, changed behavior and heightened engagement in civic life on the part of black men."

But others were not so sure. Some said that while a change in the behavior of many black men would go a long way toward solving some of the problems of the inner city, it was not the only answer.

Glenn Loury, a black conservative economist, said he was impressed by the rally and its themes. But he was caught up short when asked if it would have any lasting effect.

"Be better fathers and better husbands," said Mr. Loury, a professor of economics at Boston University. "It all sounds kind of empty when you say it out loud. It makes sense and these things should be done. But it doesn't sound like much of a program."

The discussion over the rally's significance went beyond the country's intellectual elite.

As drug dealers plied their wares nearby, Eugene Hampton, 28, and Lamont Beckham, 55, got into a spirited argument on a bench in Wilson Park in Compton, Calif., an economically depressed city south of Los Angeles.

"He's a good role model for the generation to come and the young people my age," Mr. Hampton said of Mr. Farrakhan.

But Mr. Beckham would have none of it. "To me, Farrakhan is mostly out for himself, not for blacks, and that's the way I think," he said. "And to me, he has a personal thing about the Jews, and there are some statements he never should have said about them."

Mr. Beckham was also unimpressed by Mr. Farrakhan's speech. "It's the same things he was saying in the 60's, it's just that a new generation hasn't heard it before," he said

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GRAPHIC: Photos: In Compton, Calif., Lamont Beckham, left, and Eugene Hampton 3d had differing opinions about the speech given by Louis

Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader, at the Million Man March in Washington on Monday. (Luis Sinco for The New York Times); Refuse flew on Capitol Hill yesterday as a tractor cleaned up after the Million Man

SLUG: AFTER\$MAR

PAGE: 4

The New York Times

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March. On Monday, a crowd officially estimated at 400,000 heard various black leaders speak about pride and racial solidarity. (Associated Press) (pg. B9)

Chart: ``KEEPING TRACK: Largest Crowds in Washington`` lists National Park Service estimates of the number of people attending events in Washington since 1965. (pg. B9)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 18, 1995

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SL: THE\$MA\$03QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0168 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:17 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:17 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:32
NOTE: Oct. 16, 1995 THE MARCH **The New York Times** PRINTED: 09:43 04-DEC-95
WASHINGTON
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

Your Search Request: **HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)**

FOCUS - 10 OF 103 STORIES
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The New York Times
October 16, 1995, Monday, Late Edition - Final
Correction Appended

SECTION: Section B; Page 6; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1376 words

HEADLINE: THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON: THE OVERVIEW;
Debate on March, and Farrakhan, Persists as Black Men Converge on the
Capital

BYLINE: By MICHAEL JANOFFSKY

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Oct. 15

BODY:

A stream of black men began arriving here today for the Million Man March conceived as a demonstration of black unity, even as many prominent supporters of the rally continued to wrestle with the debate that has sprung up over the role of the event's chief organizer, Louis Farrakhan.

Many of the 11,000 buses march organizers say are destined for Washington began arriving over the weekend. Today at the rally site, the Mall between the Capitol and the Lincoln Memorial, hundreds of black men strolled in the sunshine, many with their sons, many posing for pictures before the White House or the Capitol with their fists raised in a sign of pride.

Planes arriving at the three airports serving Washington brought scores of men who intend to participate, and Amtrak trains pulling into Union Station were jammed with marchers. But a vast majority of the march participants are expected to arrive in the early hours of Monday, creating the strong possibility of chaotic traffic patterns and miles of backups.

Planned by the Nation of Islam for more than a year, the rally has been promoted as a national ``holy day of atonement and reconciliation`` for black men to pledge responsibility to themselves and their families and to promise to reject behavior that has led many of them to abandon their children, commit crimes and indulge in drugs.

Mr. Farrakhan remained at the center of the debate about the march today, but some supporters continued to argue that his role was being given too much prominence.

``Whites are more likely to see this as a rally of divisiveness,`` said Ronald Walters, a political science professor at Howard University, who like other supporters acknowledged the disgust with which many people view Mr. Farrakhan for his years of racist and anti-Semitic comments

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But Mr. Walters argued that with retreats on welfare programs and a paucity of good jobs, problems facing blacks have reached such desperate levels that the politics of one individual grows insignificant beside the everyday worries over adequate food, housing and employment.

"For most blacks, this is about pain," Mr. Walters said. "The discussion of Farrakhan is a side issue for us."

Organizers have predicted that more than a million men will attend from around the country, a crowd that would make it the largest political demonstration in the city's history, far surpassing the 250,000 who heard Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. speak at the civil rights demonstration in 1963.

The rally has won the support of many leading black groups, like the Congressional Black Caucus and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as well as prominent individuals, like the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson and big-city mayors, like Dennis Archer of Detroit, Marion S. Barry Jr. of Washington and Kurt Schmoke of Baltimore, all of whom said they planned to attend.

But many other respected black voices, including leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and the National Baptist Convention, have not endorsed the march, citing Mr. Farrakhan's racist oratory and the separatist agenda of the Nation of Islam as wrong ideals. Roy Innis, chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, said this weekend that march organizers were "exploiting the legitimate aspirations of the rank and file of black America."

Expressing many of the same sentiments, black political figures, like Representative John Lewis, a Democrat from Georgia and a veteran of civil rights battles in the 1960's, and two black House Republicans, J. C. Watts of Oklahoma and Gary A. Franks of Connecticut, said they did not plan to march.

In New York, H. Carl McCall, the State Comptroller, was adamant about refusing to attend. "My reasons for not going are based on my longstanding disagreements with Farrakhan," Mr. McCall said. "I personally cannot participate in anything he is leading."

Representative Charles B. Rangel, a Democrat from Harlem, and Representative Floyd Flake, a Democrat from Queens, did not plan to march either, though Mr. Rangel, despite his district being heavily Jewish, was careful not to criticize Mr. Farrakhan.

But several officials said that they planned to attend, and that they considered the march important. "Anytime you put that many people together in unity, it's excellent," said Adam Clayton Powell 4th, a New York City Councilman who represents East Harlem, parts of the Upper West Side and the South Bronx

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The march has also been denounced by black women's groups and gay and lesbian groups for excluding them from participating. While several

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black women, including Maya Angelou, the poet, and Rosa Parks, from the early civil rights period, have been invited to speak, all others have been urged to stay home - from their jobs, their errands and the march -- in a show of solidarity.

But, as many leading black voices have withheld their support, they have nonetheless expressed sympathy for the goals of the march. To shore up support, organizers last week backed off an assertion that support for the march equaled support for Mr. Farrakhan, fearing that larger issues might be obscured by Mr. Farrakhan's reputation among many blacks and whites as a racist and hater.

"There's a racial divide in our country, and this march can help heal it," said the Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis, national director of the march who was dismissed last year as executive director of the N.A.A.C.P. over the use of association money to settle a sex discrimination charge.

"If we can improve our quality of life, we can renew benefits to other people," he said. "If we can stop black-on-black crime, all crime will go down. If we can build strong economic development, if young men can find employment, if they can get a good education, then the whole of society benefits. When you hold down black people, you hold down the whole country."

State Senator David A. Patterson from Harlem said he could not be at the march but said today that he supported the ideals behind the march.

Mr. Jackson, a former Presidential candidate, expressed ardent support for the march today. And while he would not condemn Mr.

Farrakhan for his views, Mr. Jackson urged critics to consider "the state of emergency in which the black community finds itself."

"Pain and predicament is driving this march," he said, laying specific blame on conservatives like Speaker Newt Gingrich and Associate Justice Clarence Thomas of the Supreme Court for their role in promoting an agenda against Government support for people in need. "Many cities now have two new buildings, a new jail and a new ballpark. Between those two mountains is a canyon where jobs are sucked out and youth are sucked up."

Mr. Jackson evaded several attempts to be pinned down on his level of support for Mr. Farrakhan.

Despite the calls to separate the leader from the event, the march on Monday could prove a turning point for Mr. Farrakhan, who is known by many Americans mostly for his racist comments.

Mr. Farrakhan, who canceled two television appearances today, citing exhaustion, stirred more criticism last week when Reuters television released an interview in which he called some Jews and other ethnic groups "bloodsuckers" for the way they have operated FOCUS

businesses in black communities.

On Saturday he said those comments were taken out of context. On behalf of Mr. Farrakhan and other leaders of black organizations, Mr. Jackson offered to open a dialogue with prominent American Jews,

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much in the way Mr. Farrakhan offered last week to meet with officials from the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith.

Matching the swiftness and response of the League, Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles rejected any conversation between Jewish leaders and Mr. Farrakhan until Mr. Farrakhan ``publicly apologizes for his bigotry and anti-Semitism.''

Like many critics of the march, Mr. Hier said he could not look past Mr. Farrakhan to consider any positive message that might reach blacks on Monday.

``The only reasons we have not come out and told people not to go is because many have already arrived,' he said. ``It's ridiculous to think you can separate the message from the messenger,' he said. ``You can't.''

CORRECTION-DATE: October 17, 1995, Tuesday

CORRECTION:

An article and a chart yesterday about the black men's march in Washington misstated the participation plans of Representative Charles B. Rangel, Democrat of Harlem. While he did say he would not march, he did not rule out other roles. And he was one of many speakers at the event yesterday.

GRAPHIC: Photo: At the State Fairgrounds in Detroit yesterday, hundreds lined up to get on buses headed for the march. One official estimated that at least 7,000 men from Detroit would attend. (Associated Press)

Chart: ``Whether To Be One in a Million``

Prominent blacks have split sharply over the march in Washington and its organizer, Louis Farrakhan. Below is a small sampling of participants and nonparticipants.

Not Attending the March:

Representative Gary A. Franks: Republican of Connecticut

Roy Innis: Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality

Representative J.C. Watts: Republican of Oklahoma. Representative Franks and Watts are the only two black Republicans in Congress.

Representative John Lewis: Democrat of Georgia and veteran of the civil rights movement. He was one of the speakers at the 1963 civil rights march on Washington.

Roger Wilkins: A history professor at George Mason University and the FOCUS

nephew of Roy Wilkins, the late civil rights pioneer and a co-founder of the N.A.A.C.P.

The leadership of the N.A.A.C.P.

Julian Bond: Veteran of civil rights marches and board member of N.A.A.C.P.

Shelby Steele: Author of ``The Content of our Character`` and professor of sociology.

Mary Frances Berry: Chairwoman, United States Commission on Civil

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Rights.

Representative Charles B. Rangel: Democrat of Harlem.

Angela Davis: Professor and rights leader.

H. Carl McCall: New York State Comptroller

Supporting or Attending the March:

Rev. Jesse Jackson: Civil rights leader.

Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis: Former executive director of the N.A.A.C.P.,
national director of the march.

Representative Kweisi Mfume: Democrat of Maryland

Mayor Marion S. Barry Jr.: District of Columbia

Representative Floyd H. Flade: Democrat of Queens

Maya Angelou: Poet and author

Rosa Parks: Civil rights pioneer

Dorothy I. Height: National Council of Negro Women

Adam Clayton Powell 4th: New York City Councilman who represents East
Harlem, part of the Upper West Side and the South Bronx

Kurt L. Schmoke: Mayor of Baltimore

Joseph E. Lowery: Leader of the Southern Christian Leadership
Conference.

Representative Donald M. Payne: New Jersey Democrat who heads the
Congressional Black Caucus.

Armstrong Williams: Radio talk show host

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LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 16, 1995

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:09 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:09 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:32
NOTE: Oct. 18, 1995 Journal; Fixed **The New York Times** PRINTED: 09:43 04-DEC-95
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FOCUS - 5 OF 103 STORIES

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company

The New York Times

October 18, 1995, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 23; Column 2; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 720 words

HEADLINE: Journal;

Fixated on Farrakhan

BYLINE: By FRANK RICH

BODY:

At a time when white Americans can't agree among ourselves on anything, here at last is one opinion that unites us all, liberal and conservative, Democrat and Republican, rich and poor: Louis Farrakhan is a hate-filled demagogue with a divisive, separatist ideology and an appalling record of racism, sexism, anti-Semitism and homophobia.

This judgment is to my mind as indisputable as it is unoriginal, and nothing happened at Monday's march to alter it. Mr. Farrakhan's efforts to strike a benign pose were fatally compromised by his speech's lunatic digressions into crypto-mysticism and self-deification. His offer to open a dialogue with Jews was cynical and meaningless, given his refusal to acknowledge his history of hate speech, let alone apologize for it. His retinue of brownshirts injected the chilling trappings of fascism into an event otherwise resplendent in spirituality and peace.

So white America agrees: Louis Farrakhan is up to no good. But now that we've all said that as loud as we can, where do we go next? Should we keep saying it over and over, louder and louder, and hope that Mr. Farrakhan will just go away?

Apparently so, our politicians tell us. Monday began with President Clinton firmly denouncing Mr. Farrakhan and ended with Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich both following suit and attacking Mr. Clinton for not denouncing Mr. Farrakhan by name. Perhaps tomorrow Phil Gramm will accompany his attack on Mr. Farrakhan with an attack on Mr. Dole for not attacking Mr. Farrakhan at greater length.

This game can be played indefinitely with short-term political profit, since no white candidate is ever going to lose by decrying the Nation of Islam. But what exactly is being accomplished? Yes, Mr.

Farrakhan is a menace and must be watched vigilantly. Still, white America makes a fetish of him at its own peril.

The pre-march attacks on Mr. Farrakhan did nothing to deter 400,000 African-Americans, only a minority of whom support the Nation of Islam, from turning up in Washington to express their impassioned desire to stem the economic and social collapse of their own

The New York Times

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communities. Now that the march is history, attacks on Mr. Farrakhan are not going to erase the powerful and substantive message of most FOCUS

of its participants. By continuing to fixate on Mr. Farrakhan, rather than the legitimate concerns of the 400,000 marchers, white politicians only give their nemesis more credibility and power. It is the failure of the entire political establishment to heed the spiraling crisis of the black underclass in the first place that gave the extremist Mr.

Farrakhan his opening to seize a resonant mainstream issue as his own.

That opening keeps getting larger. In the two weeks of racial turmoil that have fallen between the O. J. Simpson verdict and Monday's march, the paralysis of white political leadership has been embarrassingly pronounced. The verdict that preoccupied most Americans yielded only some cautious homilies from President Clinton in a newspaper interview and shilly-shallying from most of the Republican field. At last week's forum of G.O.P. Presidential candidates, a visitor from Mars might never have guessed that the O. J. verdict had rocked the country or that the Million Man March was in the offing; there was so little talk about Topics A and B that Jack Kemp chided his fellow Republicans for muffing "an incredible opportunity to step into the vacuum."

Mr. Clinton, at least, did give a thoughtful address on both white and black racism - but from the remote perch of Austin on Monday, just as the Million Man March hit its stride at the Mall. Is it leadership to give such a speech in lockstep with Mr. Farrakhan's event rather than a step or two ahead of it? The healing, philosophic long view of Mr. Clinton's remarks seemed out of sync with the moment anyway - more appropriate to the inflammatory immediate aftermath of the Simpson verdict than to the day of the march. And since the speech offered no specific policies, the only sound bite in it not drowned out by Mr.

Farrakhan in the evening news was, inevitably, the attack on Mr. Farrakhan.

Well, Mr. Farrakhan is a bad guy, all right. But if this is the sole message white America can send to black America in the wake of the Million Man March, his reign has only begun.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 18, 1995

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:07 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:07 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:32
NOTE: Oct. 25, 1995 Seeking Statesmanship **The New York Times** PRINTED: 09:44 04-DEC-95

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FOCUS - 3 OF 103 STORIES

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October 25, 1995, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 14; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 902 words

HEADLINE: Seeking Statesmanship, Farrakhan Softens Tone

BYLINE: By DON TERRY

DATELINE: CHICAGO, Oct. 24

BODY:

In the week since hundreds of thousands of black men heeded his call and poured into Washington for a day of prayer and protest, Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, has begun to moderate his language in an apparent campaign to broaden his political support.

In a speech here on Monday night to hundreds of Muslims and non-Muslims packed into his ornate mosque on the South Side, Mr.

Farrakhan said he would try to become more statesmanlike in his language and behavior because the march had elevated his stature and his responsibility.

"You can say things in the basement that you can't say when you're on the first floor," he said. "As God starts taking you up, you have to practice more statesmanship."

Whether Mr. Farrakhan is moving closer to the political mainstream, or merely changing his message, is unclear. He has reached out before, particularly to Jews who felt aggrieved by his comments, only to plunge into new controversy.

In any case, the political fallout and broad debate touched off by the march have broadened his visibility well beyond his core followers. The major television networks have interviewed him, the BBC has followed him home to Chicago, his face (half in shadow) is on the latest cover of Newsweek magazine, and more and more black elected officials and political hopefuls, like the son of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, are willing to be seen embracing the fiery Muslim minister.

In his speech on Monday, he called once again for a meeting with the leaders of major Jewish organizations in another attempt to exorcise the ghosts and accusations of anti-Semitism that have haunted him for more than a decade. As he pounded the white marble pulpit in his gleaming mosque, he bellowed, "I am not a racist."

"It doesn't make sense for intelligent people to be fighting each other," he said. "We are dying in the streets. We don't have time for that."

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But Mr. Farrakhan has flirted with the mainstream in the past and

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has reached out to Jewish groups before, only to be embroiled in fresh controversies about his sharp bitter words.

"If he truly wants to dialogue, then he's got to publicly, specifically and continuously purge himself of his racism and anti-Semitism," Abraham H. Foxman, director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said in an interview today. "To continue saying he wants to meet is a nonstarter. It doesn't mean anything."

At least three times during his speech, Mr. Farrakhan denied being an anti-Semite. Far from hating Jews, Mr. Farrakhan said, he admired them. He said he hoped black people would follow the example of Jews, "who wield a tremendous amount of power for such a small group," because they are politically organized.

"I'm mentioning Jews in a complimentary way," he said. "Jewish people are organized and they are effective and that's a good example."

Mr. Foxman said such talk of Jewish power and influence is "another classic, anti-Semitic stereotype."

"I guess he's a moderate now," Mr. Foxman said. "He didn't really beat up on the Jews."

But in another sign of his journey toward the mainstream, or at least its right bank, Mr. Farrakhan said he would put the force of his organization behind voter registration drives. Nation of Islam members will go door to door, he said, from southern Mississippi to the South Chicago to build a black force of voters trained to use their ballots like bullets.

"The enemy," Mr. Farrakhan said, sounding like a general trying to pump up his troops, "didn't see a march, he saw an army."

But Mr. Farrakhan acknowledged that he knows almost nothing about electoral politics.

"I'm in water I've never been in before," Mr. Farrakhan said of politics. "But I do want to get in."

Mr. Farrakhan said that he did not think he would ever run for elective office because "a man is a fool who tries to be something he's not."

Mr. Farrakhan also called for more United States aid to Africa and a national convention where a black political agenda will be drawn up and used as a litmus test for Presidential candidates next spring.

"We don't want to be loyal to parties," Mr. Farrakhan said, "because the parties have never been loyal to us."

Mr. Farrakhan was interrupted several times by applause and shouts of "teach" and "preach, Brother Minister," during his speech, which FOCUS

came at the end of a long evening billed as "a victory party," celebrating the Million Man March.

Mr. Jackson, along with Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., the national director of the march, and several other black politicians and advocates also spoke, but Mr. Farrakhan was clearly star.

Mr. Farrakhan also dismissed accusations that he was sexist because women were asked not to attend the march in Washington on Oct.

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16. He said he loved and respected women.

"My mother was a woman," he said. "I'm sure yours is too."

Maybe all the press attention has put Mr. Farrakhan in a good mood because on Monday he gave a speech here that in many ways was in sharp contrast to the uneven and sometimes rambling two-and-a-half-hour "lecture" he delivered in Washington.

In Chicago, Mr. Farrakhan spoke for about 70 minutes, although he began by saying, "I didn't come tonight to do any long teaching, just six hours."

Then he smiled and everyone relaxed once they realized he was joking.

"I love the minister," a man whispered to his friend. "But I got to get up and go to work in the morning."

GRAPHIC: Photo: Louis Farrakhan, minister of the Nation of Islam, said on Monday that he would try to become more statesman-like because the march on Washington had elevated his stature. Two members of Mr.

Farrakhan's group stood watch outside the doors of a laboratory at Boston University yesterday as researchers reviewed the disputed count of the number of men who attended the march. (Associated Press)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 25, 1995

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:08 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:08 FR: MAG-MAG ;12/04,09:32
NOTE: Oct. 24, 1995 THE MEDIA **The New York Times** PRINTED: 09:44 04-DEC-95

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October 24, 1995, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section D; Page 14; Column 6; Business/Financial Desk

LENGTH: 429 words

HEADLINE: THE MEDIA BUSINESS;

Farrakhan Soliciting Publishers

BYLINE: By MARY B. W. TABOR

BODY:

Even before staging the Million Man March, Louis Farrakhan, through an agent, was busy shopping his autobiography to New York publishers for \$6 million. The book is being written with Nathan McCall, the best-selling author and Washington Post reporter, publishers said.

Ann Godoff, editorial director of Random House's adult trade division, said that a literary agent for Mr. Farrakhan had called Random House early this month to pitch the book idea.

She said that the agent, Denise Stinson, said that Mr. McCall, who wrote his own autobiography ``Makes Me Wanna Holler: A Young Black Man in America`` (Random House) last year had agreed to be the writer. Ms. Godoff edited Mr. McCall's previous book.

After considering the idea, however, Random House, which is owned by Advance Publications and which paid \$6.5 million for Gen. Colin Powell's autobiography, turned it down. The problem, Random House executives said, was the message, not the messenger.

``I'm sure it would be an interesting biography, given the involvement of such an excellent author as Mr. McCall,`` said Harold Evans, president and publisher of Random House. ``But we did not want to run the risk of publishing anything that might be construed as hate speech.``

Ms. Stinson offered the book to Simon & Schuster, a subsidiary of Viacom, early last week. But the publishing house has not made an offer. Several other publishers said yesterday that they had not been solicited.

Ms. Stinson also recently began representing Mr. McCall. When reached at her office, she declined to comment. At The Washington Post, Mr. McCall's answering machine said that Mr. McCall was on leave and referred callers to Random House. And an operator at Mr. Farrakhan's headquarters in Chicago said that no one was available for comment.

Although he has been on leave from his reporting job, Mr. McCall recently wrote an article about Mr. Farrakhan in The Post

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In the article, which appeared in the Outlook Section on Oct. 15, Mr. McCall referred to the Million Man March as ``a reflective gathering of black men.''

He also said that ``I suspect that for some white Americans, complaints about Farrakhan are a smoke screen to conceal their blanket contempt for any black man who attempts to lift us up.''

``Perhaps Farrakhan's critics should be encouraged that he proposed the idea,''' McCall wrote, ``maybe it's a signal that he, too, plans to atone for the wrong he's done.''

Robert Kaiser, managing editor of The Washington Post, said he did not know whether Mr. McCall was working on a book with Mr. Farrakhan.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 24, 1995

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