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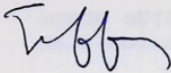
November 28, 1995

Mr. Norman Mailer
142 Columbia Heights
Brooklyn, NY 11201

Dear Norman:

James Atlas and Jack Rosenthal of the NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE asked us to forward the attached article from THE NEW REPUBLIC.

Yours sincerely,



Andrew Wylie (President) Gillon Aitken Brian Stone Sarah Chalfant Bridget Love Jeffrey Posternak Jin Auh Maureen Shelly

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November 28, 1995

Ms. Judith McNally
c/o Mailer
142 Columbia Heights
Brooklyn, NY 11201

Dear Judith:

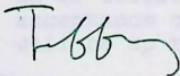
I enclose copies of the following contracts for Norman's signature:

- TOUGH GUYS DON'T DANCE, ANCIENT EVENINGS, THE NAKED AND THE DEAD/Holland;
- revised THE EXECUTIONER'S SONG/Holland;
- OSWALD'S TALE/Poland;
- file copy of OSWALD'S TALE/Latin America - signature missing.

As you know, I'll forward the OSWALD'S TALE and THE EXECUTIONER'S SONG contracts on to Larry Schiller for his signature. I'm also enclosing copies of THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE's expense and fact-checking policies, which I thought might be useful.

I'll look forward to receiving all of the contracts back soonest, and hope all's well.

Yours sincerely,



Andrew Wylie (President) Gillon Aitken Brian Stone Sarah Chalfant Bridget Love Jeffrey Posternak Jin Auh Maureen Shelly

Mr. Norman Mailer

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The New York Times Magazine pays reasonable expenses incurred by writers in researching and writing stories.

Before undertaking an assignment, writers should estimate the amount of expenses to be incurred and discuss the figure with the story editor. The amount must then be authorized by the Magazine editor.

The Magazine cannot pay expenses beyond the amount authorized.

If a writer sees a need for further expenses, the writer should notify the story editor and obtain additional authorization.

All major expenses must be accounted for. Send COPIES of all receipts no later than four weeks after the article is completed. For tax purposes, it is very important that you keep all receipts for your records, since the 1099 tax form that The New York Times sends at the end of the year combines ALL monies paid to you.

If trips are to be taken in the course of writing a New York Times Magazine article, under no circumstances can traveling expenses be paid for by governments, airlines, tourist offices or any organization that would involve a conflict of interest.

A writer who has been assigned to do a New York Times Magazine article is obligated to inform the story editor if he has been connected in any way with a recent article on the same subject in another publication.

Norman Mailer and The New York Times Magazine, by which you are commissioned to write an original article about Louis Farrakhan. The article is to be approximately 6000 to 8000 word and is due on or before February 1, 1996. Times will pay a fee of \$30,000 up acceptance of the piece. The amount of expenses to be reimbursed will be up to \$2,000.

The New York Times

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FACT-CHECKING POLICY

As writers are researching and writing stories for The New York Times Magazine, they should keep in mind our fact-checking process. When the piece has been accepted by the Magazine, the author is expected to provide a package of relevant source materials, such as:

1. Any written material that is quoted or used as a source or as background for the piece. This would include books, newspaper or magazine articles, medical or scientific papers and legal documents. Please send photocopies when possible, though there will be times when the actual book or document will be needed. We don't usually ask for the writer's notes or for tapes of interviews, but there will be occasions when they should be provided.

2. A list of phone numbers of people used as sources. When possible, include both home and office numbers.

It is not sufficient to send a bibliography because the publications cited may be impossible to track down given our time limitations.

If writers will keep all this in mind as they are writing and researching a story, they can gather the material as they go along. What we'd like to avoid is a last-minute scramble to assemble and send the materials when deadlines are looming; this makes everyone unhappy.

We will return any material the writer wants us to.

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BY: DDD ;11/28,11:06 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:06 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:20
NOTE: Oct. 31, 1995 Talk With Farrakhan PRINTED: 17:20 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 2 OF 103 STORIES

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company

The New York Times

October 31, 1995, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 27; Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 558 words

HEADLINE: Talk With Farrakhan

BYLINE: By J. J. Goldberg; J. J. Goldberg, a contributing editor of The Jerusalem Report, an Israeli newsmagazine, is completing a book on the American Jewish community.

BODY:

The leaders of American Jewish groups should drop their failed boycott of Louis Farrakhan and take up his offer of dialogue.

The reason is not that he is less dangerous than Jewish organizations have claimed over the years. It is that he is far more dangerous.

Mr. Farrakhan has called for a dialogue several times, most recently at his Million Man March in Washington. The Jewish groups' position, reaffirmed in a post-march conference call among officials of major organizations, is that he is not a fit partner for dialogue because he has not repudiated his anti-Jewish comments.

The cold-shoulder approach once made sense as a way of keeping Mr.

Farrakhan from the national stage. But he is there now. For more than a decade, Jewish leaders, together with non-Jewish political allies, have tried to marginalize Mr. Farrakhan by depicting him as a person of flawed character. They have warned of his bigotry, as shown by his many anti-Jewish, anti-white, sexist and homophobic comments. They have pressured black civil rights leaders to distance themselves from him and his views.

This strategy has failed. Many in the black community are turning to Mr. Farrakhan because he seems to offer solutions to real crises in African-American life. No other leader matches his ability to reach disaffected youth with a message of personal responsibility.

Mr. Farrakhan's foes have trivialized the case against him by making it a matter of his distasteful comments and imperfect character.

The real problem is not his personal expressions of bigotry. It is that the Nation of Islam, his multimillion-dollar organization, is waging a campaign to demonize and dehumanize Jews in the eyes of African-Americans. The campaign is conducted in print and in public gatherings, in black neighborhoods and on campuses. It is beginning to yield disturbing results.

The Nation of Islam peddles copies of "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion," a fraudulent document that purports to be a

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blueprint of a Jewish plan to enslave the world.

Mr. Farrakhan's research department has made its own contribution to the literature of bigotry in "The Secret History of the Black-Jewish Relationship," a pseudo-scholarly attempt to prove, using selective documentation and shoddy analysis, that Jews were largely responsible for the Atlantic slave trade.

A mixture of uplift and anti-Jewish invective fills The Final Call, his newspaper.

Polls show that most African-Americans do not hold anti-Semitic views. Yet a startling willingness has emerged, particularly among black academics and other intellectuals, to defend the expression of anti-Semitism as reasonable.

Mr. Farrakhan could put an end to this - or at least to the substantial part of it for which the Nation of Islam is responsible. His calls for dialogue suggest he may be willing to change his behavior, whether his motives are tactical or not. This possibility should be explored.

Talking with an enemy is not surrender; it is a way to begin solving problems. It took years of informal dialogue between the Palestine Liberation Organization and individual Jews before Yasir Arafat renounced terror and recognized Israel.

Mr. Farrakhan can do considerable damage to Jews - and he is doing it. It is time to sit down with him and find out what it will take to make him stop.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 31, 1995

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NOTE: Oct. 17, 1995 THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON: PRINTED: 17:22 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 9 OF 103 STORIES

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company

The New York Times

October 17, 1995, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 6; National Desk

LENGTH: 1444 words

HEADLINE: THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON: OVERVIEW;

BLACK MEN FILL CAPITAL'S MALL IN DISPLAY OF UNITY AND PRIDE

BYLINE: By FRANCIS X. CLINES

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Oct. 16

BODY:

Heeding a call for personal atonement and racial solidarity, hundreds of thousands of black men gathered from across the nation in the heart of the capital today to vow stronger leadership in protecting their communities from violence and social despair.

"There's a new black man in America today," declared Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, whose call for the rally brought out an extraordinary throng - officially estimated at 400,000 - to gather in an exuberant mood of self-dedication on the Mall.

The rally was marked by a spirit of individual resolve as much as dramatic protest, with speeches by many prominent blacks, including the poet Maya Angelou and the Rev. Jesse Jackson. But it wound down in something of an ambivalent mood as Mr. Farrakhan delivered a booming, rambling keynote speech that threatened to eclipse the occasion.

Before the end of the 12-hour rally, members of the audience could be seen dispersing across the Mall even as Mr. Farrakhan, surrounded by Nation of Islam guards, extended his remarks with arcane references to the Bible, numerology and black renewal, laced with his sulfurous interpretations of history and denunciations of white supremacy.

"You allow me to speak even though you don't like what I have to say," Mr. Farrakhan declared, beaming as he addressed "white folks" watching on television, and as he denied that he has been a race baiter and anti-Semite in building his support. [Excerpts, page A20.]

One effect of Mr. Farrakhan's speech was to compound the controversy that led up to the rally over whether the message of uplift could be heard effectively beyond Mr. Farrakhan's own record as an aggressive black separatist leader. The march had been opposed by some black organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and by some prominent black women for its exclusion of women.

Official Washington was brought to a near standstill, with President Clinton out of town and many workers, white and black, avoiding

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downtown as the rally dominated a sparkling autumn day. Hours of intense speeches were offered to a relaxed, dedicated crowd that seemed more intent on its own camaraderie and personal renewal than on the abstruse, passionate manner of Mr. Farrakhan's messages in urging black men to take the initiative in their lives and communities.

"Black man, you don't have to bash white people," he declared near the end of a two-hour speech in which he seemed to relish criticizing the capital's ranking white politicians. "All we got to do is go back home and turn our communities into productive places."

Mr. Farrakhan seemed reluctant to leave the podium as he talked toward sunset and the crowd shrank. Beyond the theme of atonement and rededication, the Muslim leader - a slow-paced firebrand of an orator who could not resist numerous tangents - took issue with Mr. Clinton's own speech on racial unity earlier in the day in Texas.

"Socially, the fabric of America is being torn apart, and we can't gloss it over with nice speeches, Mr. President, sir," Mr. Farrakhan declared from the west steps of the Capitol.

Complimenting Mr. Clinton for a "great speech," Mr. Farrakhan added with some bitterness, "You spoke ill indirectly of me as a purveyor of malice and hatred."

The President had appeared to refer to Mr. Farrakhan in praising the theme of the Washington rally while adding, "One million men do not make right one man's message of malice and division."

Speaker Newt Gingrich, sharply criticized in speeches during the day, described Mr. Farrakhan in a news interview as an "unrepentant bigot" who nevertheless emerged as the "biggest winner" as the day's keynote speaker.

Gen. Colin L. Powell, in opinion polls currently the most popular of black Americans, avoided the rally but denounced Mr. Farrakhan in a television interview for previous remarks the general described as "racist and anti-Semitic." At one point in the rally, boos could be heard at the mention of General Powell.

While much of the rally's focus was on Mr. Farrakhan, other speakers sought to underline the broad mix of racial pride, self-responsibility and political protest at its heart.

"Clarence Thomas and Newt Gingrich organized this march, just like Bull Connor organized the march in 1963," insisted Mr. Jackson, referring to the sheriff in Birmingham, Ala., who beat civil rights demonstrators. Mr. Jackson praised Mr. Farrakhan for initiating the rally, not making the distinction that some in the crowd made between message and messenger.

"I'm not here for Farrakhan, I'm here to be a proud black man," said Homer Billups, a 49-year-old Vietnam war veteran from Washington. He talked more of his volunteer work with neighborhood youths than of FOCUS

Mr. Farrakhan's separatist themes.

Across the mall, Dwight Davis, a 34-year-old chemical company worker

also from Washington, made the same point as he led his 14-year-old son, Anthony, to witness "this day in history." The father described the mood on the Mall as "overpowering" for its sense of solidarity.

Mr. Davis said that Mr. Farrakhan "offers a strong message of hope, but when it's mixed with prejudice, the message gets watered."

Mr. Farrakhan, well aware of his critics, offered what he conceived of as an olive branch in discussing the resentment by Jewish leaders of his several instances of recorded anti-Semitism, most recently his use of the word "bloodsuckers" in decrying Jewish merchants and others profiting in black communities.

"I don't like this squabble with the members of the Jewish community," he said in proposing a meeting with Jewish leaders. "If you can sit down with Arafat where there are rivers of blood between, why can't you sit down with us where there are no rivers of blood?"

Up by the Capitol steps, William 10X, an insurance broker from Orlando, Fla., cautioned that Mr. Farrakhan's oratory should be heard for its blunt truth, not for imagined hints of bigotry. "This is not anti-anything," he said. "This is pro-black. This is Americanism at its finest. All we can hear ultimately is the truth."

Mr. Farrakhan's speech, while punctuated with shouted endorsements from his followers, was a difficult essay for the uninitiated. At one point, deep into Biblical allusions, he urged Mr. Clinton to "clear the scales from your eyes" and, like the troubled pharaoh, turn to "the children of slaves" for advice, as if offering his own services.

But he also had some more concrete ideas. He asked those in attendance to register voters when they returned to their communities, and to join a "church, synagogue, temple or mosque that is teaching spiritual and moral uplift."

While few outsiders anticipated the million men that Mr. Farrakhan called forth and claimed had actually shown up, the turnout offered by the counting process of the National Park Service, a throng of 400,000, was an impressive measure of the occasion. This crowd, virtually all black men, exceeded by more than 100,000 the integrated turnout in the 1963 civil rights march on Washington led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Mr. Farrakhan appeared to offer no oratorical competition to Dr. King, who delivered his historic "I have a dream" speech in 15 minutes.

Elected black politicians faced something of a dilemma in being wary about Mr. Farrakhan even as popular support for the rally clearly was growing in recent weeks in the black community. Representative Charles B. Rangel, Democrat of Harlem, initially had said he would not attend. He expressed enthusiasm for the theme of renewal but questioned the idea of "a day of atonement," saying he had no personal apology to FOCUS

offer the nation as a black man.

Today, Mr. Rangel did speak, praising the gathering and urging, "Let us go back home and reap the harvest you have sown."

In the heart of the day, the crowd was deeply stirred by a foreign visitor, Boubacar Joseph Ndiaye, introduced as the chief curator of

Goree Island, Senegal, who hailed the throng as the gifted progeny of 15 million slaves kidnapped from Africa. "You have broken the chains," he exulted as the crowd cheered.

As the day wore down, Mr. Farrakhan's lengthy, convoluted speech resounded in marked contrast to the simpler spirit quite evident amid the crowd: a sense that the men assembled had dealt singularly and victoriously with the sad pathos of the American black man portrayed memorably 40 years ago in Ralph Ellison's classic novel, "Invisible Man."

"James, tell the man why we're here," 43-year-old Edward Russell instructed his 4-year-old son.

"All black people can work together," the boy instantly piped up. GRAPHIC: Photos: Louis Farrakhan urged black man to "turn our communities into productive places." (Stephen Crowley/The New York Times) (pg. A1); Hundreds of thousands of black men rallied in Washington, vowing stronger leadership of their communities. (Paul Hosefros/The New York Times) (pg. A1); Members of the Nation of Islam guarded the stage on the west side of the Capitol yesterday while their leader, Louis Farrakhan, spoke to the crowd, officially estimated at 400,000, on the Mall for the Million Man March. (Ozier Muhammad/The New York Times) (pg. A19)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 17, 1995

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NOTE: Oct. 17, 1995 THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON: PRINTED: 17:23 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 7 OF 103 STORIES

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The New York Times

October 17, 1995, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 18; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 810 words

HEADLINE: THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON: THE REACTION;

With Farrakhan Speaking, a Chorus of G.O.P. Critics Joins In

BYLINE: By JOHN KIFNER

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Oct. 16

BODY:

Louis Farrakhan's rambling speech from the Capitol steps began drawing criticism, much of it from predictable quarters, even before it ended.

Republicans in particular took the occasion not only to attack Mr. Farrakhan, but also to bash President Clinton for not forcefully, and by name, denouncing the leader of the Nation of Islam.

Senator Bob Dole, singled out in Mr. Farrakhan's speech for advocating legislation that undermines the black community, issued a statement declaring: "If you want to talk about anti-Semitism, it's written all over Louis Farrakhan. That's his message of hate."

Later in New York, at a \$1,000-a-plate fund-raising dinner for his Presidential campaign, Mr. Dole continued his double-barreled barrage, saying: "I was shocked and dismayed that President Clinton did not find the moral courage to denounce Louis Farrakhan by name. Farrakhan is a racist. He is unhinged by hate. He has no place in American public life and all who lead must say so."

Standing at a lectern between Gov. George E. Pataki and Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, Mr. Dole continued: "I resent the implication by the President of the United States that ours is a racist nation. That the Million Man March could take place is a testament to America's openness. That it was so peaceful is proof of the good motives of our people. Yes, there are racists in America, on the left and on the right. We should name their names and shame them out of our presence, as I and others have done with David Duke and as the President of the United States should have done today with Louis Farrakhan."

But Mr. Dole, like other critics, sought to draw a distinction between Mr. Farrakhan and the black men who thronged the mall in a display of solidarity.

"There are probably a lot of well-intentioned people coming to Washington," Mr. Dole, a Republican from Kansas, said. "And I like the talk about self-reliance, about picking yourself up, cleaning up our cities and getting kids off drugs. But I don't think Farrakhan

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should be the leader of the march. He spreads suspicion, separatism and hate wherever he goes. No cloak can cover the ugliness of Farrakhan's purpose."

Throughout the day, other Republican leaders and candidates for President, combined their criticism of Mr. Farrakhan with attacks on President Clinton.

Newt Gingrich, paired with Mr. Dole as oppressors of a "once mighty people," joined in Mr. Dole's criticisms as well.

Mr. Gingrich's spokesman, Tony Blankley, said, "This is the largest gathering in our history, probably, and it is being led by a notorious anti-Semite." Then, referring to Mr. Clinton's speech on race relations earlier in the day, he said: "I find it stunning that he was not able to articulate Farrakhan's name for condemnation. His speech was a classic Clinton straddle and a disgraceful one."

Abraham H. Foxman, the national director of the Anti-Defamation League, who has been sparring with Mr. Farrakhan over his disparaging remarks about Jews, said tonight that the speech did not raise any possibility of dialogue.

"It was a melange of religion, metaphysics, reason, emotion, psychology and politics," Mr. Foxman said. "There were moments of true spiritual message and moments of frightening demagoguery and threat."

Overall, Mr. Foxman said: "There was an arrogance at times, the arrogance of someone who believes they have the truth directly from God. He did not purge himself of the racism or the bigotry."

Upset by the uniformed Fruit of Islam guards who surrounded Mr.

Farrakhan and stationed themselves along the Mall, Mr. Foxman likened them to the supporters of Hitler and said, "I felt disturbed by the presence of those brownshirts."

David Garrow, who wrote "Bearing the Cross," the Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., unfavorably compared Mr. Farrakhan's performance with Dr. King's famous 1963 "I have a dream" speech, which, he noted, lasted just more than 15 minutes.

"The question is whether Farrakhan has shot himself in the foot here," Mr. Garrow said. "What looked like a very significant success has been markedly reduced by his going on for more than two hours. He has certainly bruised himself by going on for this long."

John Lewis, a Democratic Congressman from Georgia who had been a major figure in the civil rights struggle of the 1960's but who shunned today's march, said he found Mr. Farrakhan's speech one of "moderation."

"He did, near the end of the speech, throw out the olive branch to the Jewish community," said Mr. Lewis, who had led the Student

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Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. "I thought that was encouraging. And he reached out to established and mainstream organizations and suggested people join them. He appealed to those of us who stayed away.

For the most part, it was a speech to the African-American community."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 17, 1995

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

FOCUS - 8 OF 103 STORIES

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October 17, 1995, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 19; Column 5; National Desk

LENGTH: 1199 words

HEADLINE: THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON: THE ORGANIZER;

In the End, Farrakhan Has His Day in the Sun

BYLINE: By DON TERRY

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Oct. 16

BODY:

A sea of black men at his feet, the Capitol at his back and millions watching him on cable television, Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, delivered the kind of speech today that he often makes to his religious faithful on a lazy Sunday afternoon back home in Chicago. It was part inspiration, conspiracy theory and numerology, with a good dose of black nationalism and the joys and necessity of bootstrap capitalism. He attacked white supremacy in one breath and then turned around and condemned what he called the failures of black manhood.

"I point out the evils of black people like no other leader alive," the Muslim minister bellowed, a group of stern-faced members of the Nation's paramilitary detail, the Fruit of Islam, at his sides and back, dressed in their dark blue uniforms.

The speech, or "lecture," as he called it, began in bright sunshine and ended near dusk more than two hours later, as thousands of those who had come for his Million Man March began leaving to catch buses back to their cities and towns around the United States. According to the National Park Service, they had answered his call 400,000 strong for a day of prayer and protest; organizers put it at more than a million.

The 62-year-old grandfather has been working toward this moment for nearly four decades, since his days as a Calypso singer billed as "The Charmer," but especially in the last 17 years, as he traveled the country talking to small crowds in small churches.

As he methodically went about rebuilding the Nation of Islam in his image, most people beyond black neighborhoods ignored or dismissed him as the head of a sect with a penchant for bow ties and bean pies. And more recently, his public image has been haunted by accusations of anti-Semitism, sexism and homophobia. Just last Friday, in a broadcast interview released by Reuters, he accused some Jewish and Asian business owners of being "bloodsuckers."

But at least parts of his message of pride and anger have struck a chord across class lines, from the brother on the block to the FOCUS

brother in the board room.

"Minister Farrakhan is like E. F. Hutton," said Derick Williams, a 25-year-old resident of a Washington public housing project. "When he speaks, black people listen."

At major events, Mr. Farrakhan often speaks as long as he did today, or longer. At times today he stirred the crowd to cheers, as when he rebuked his critics and delivered his message of black empowerment. "Whether you like it or not, God brought the idea through me, and he didn't bring it through me because my heart was dark with hatred and anti-Semitism," he said, adding, "If my heart were that dark, how is the message so bright, the message so clear, the response so magnificent?"

But other parts of the speech left many baffled. "What is so deep about this number 19?" Mr. Farrakhan asked at one point. "Why are we standing on the Capitol steps today? That number 19, when you have a nine, you have a womb that is pregnant, and when you have a one standing by the nine, it means that there's something secret that has to be unfolded."

At least for this day, Mr. Farrakhan may have earned himself top billing in the drama of black political leadership. But as impressive as the sea of black men on the Mall was, it is unclear what it will mean for Mr. Farrakhan or what it says about the heart and direction of black America.

The turnout makes one thing clear. Mr. Farrakhan, unlike anyone else in some time, has tapped into a deep and wide sense of discontent in black America. Roger Wilkins, a historian at George Mason University, said Mr. Farrakhan had become a powerful voice largely by default.

"Responsible black people," Mr. Wilkins said, "have been trying to get the attention of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party for a long time to tell them that black people were unemployed at double-digit levels for two decades, that black teen-agers are in trouble, black families are falling apart largely because they do not have adequate incomes. White people have not listened."

"Their response," he continued, "was Gingrich's programs to punish the poor. By ignoring moderate black leaders, they sowed the seeds for the emergence of Farrakhan as a more important figure."

Mr. Farrakhan started his own version of the Nation of Islam in 1978, three years after the death of his mentor, Elijah Muhammad, the founder of the Nation 60 years ago.

In 1980, 15,000 people turned out to hear Mr. Farrakhan speak in New York City, and he has been packing them in ever since, said Lawrence H. Mamiya, a professor of religion at Vassar College, who has studied the minister and his Nation for years

FOCUS

"I think he would like to be perceived as one of the legitimate leaders of black America," Mr. Mamiya said. "I think one reason he called for the march is he feels that the Nation of Islam, in order to grow, will have to begin including people from the member class."

Still, Mr. Mamiya said, Mr. Farrakhan "remains an enigma to those of us who study him."

"How do I characterize his politics?" Mr. Mamiya asked with a laugh. "Disruptive. You can never predict what he is going to say."

Mr. Farrakhan is a Booker T. Washington-style conservative and a Marcus Garvey black nationalist. He lives in the lap of luxury in an integrated neighborhood on Chicago's South Side, just blocks from some of the city's worst black poverty.

He is often portrayed as a militant, but much of what he says sounds ghost-written by a Republican, with its talk of self-help and bootstraps. He is a Muslim but tends to quote more frequently from the Bible of his youth.

In the year before this march, Mr. Farrakhan was devoting time to reconciliation and image polishing. In January, Malcolm X's daughter, Qubilah Bahiyah Shabazz, was charged in Federal court in Minneapolis with trying to hire a hit man to kill Mr. Farrakhan, whom Malcolm X's family had long suspected of playing a role in his death.

But instead of speaking out against Ms. Shabazz, Mr. Farrakhan condemned the Government, saying Ms. Shabazz had been set up. That led to a public embrace by Malcolm X's widow, a show of unity and healing that went a long way toward enhancing Mr. Farrakhan's reputation beyond the Nation.

That is a prospect that worries Prof. Adolph Reed, a professor of political science at Northwestern University.

Professor Reed said the march was a symbol of a growing sense of desperation in many blacks, including middle-class blacks who fear attacks on affirmative action.

"People are feeling pinched and threatened, and a lot of political leaders don't seem to have any answers," Professor Reed said. "People like Farrakhan feed on that sort of desperation. The substance of his message and agenda meshes well with right-wing Republicans."

But Professor Reed's concerns seemed far removed from the black men who had listened to Mr. Farrakhan for more than two hours. After the minister had finished, they hugged and shook hands with friends and strangers. Then they headed home past dozens of vendors selling T-shirts, videos, books and candy bars. Most of the items had a picture of a smiling Louis Farrakhan.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

FOCUS

LOAD-DATE: October 17, 1995

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SL: METRO\$MATQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0097 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:23 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:23 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:25
NOTE: May. 8, 1995 METRO MATTERS;An Unlikel PRINTED: 17:26 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 18 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company
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May 8, 1995, Monday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 1; Column 2; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 1090 words

HEADLINE: METRO MATTERS;

An Unlikely Matchmaker for Shabazz and Farrakhan

BYLINE: By Joyce Purnick

BODY:

THE hundreds who filled Harlem's Apollo Theater Saturday night to see the improbable meeting between Louis H. Farrakhan and Dr. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow, reveled in the irony. They spoke about it, laughed at it, winked at it the way people do when they share a wicked joke.

Think of it, so many of them said. If not for the Federal Government acting as unintentional matchmaker, this evening might never have happened. If not for the Federal Government's decision to charge Dr. Shabazz's daughter with involvement in a sketchy plot to murder Mr.

Farrakhan, the 30-year estrangement between him and Dr. Shabazz - who has long maintained that Mr. Farrakhan had a role in her husband's death - might have continued.

"When I practiced law, I never thanked the Government for a conspiracy, but F.B.I., thank you for this!" shouted C. Vernon Mason, a disbarred lawyer and confrontational civil rights figure.

Speaker after speaker denounced the Government at the combination prayer meeting, political rally and fund-raising event, voicing sentiments that were markedly similar to the concerns of the right-wing militia groups that have attracted so much attention lately. The specifics of the perceived wrongs were different, but not the broader complaint - that the Government conspires to undermine the freedom of its citizens.

"Members of the Nation of Islam were involved in the assassination of Malcolm," acknowledged Mr. Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam and final speaker in the more than four-hour event in the gilded theater on 125th Street. "We cannot deny our part."

"But we cannot let the real culprit get away with dividing us," he continued, his voice rising to a crescendo as the audience intoned agreement. "The Government of the United States is the outside force that divided us."

Mr. Farrakhan, who denied any involvement in Malcolm X's murder himself, was harshly critical of the authorities for charging Qubilah Shabazz in a murder-for-hire case that was suddenly settled last week

when she agreed to "accept responsibility" for her involvement in the FOCUS

plot; prosecutors agreed not to take the case to trial if she sought psychiatric, drug and alcohol treatment.

But the 34-year-old Ms. Shabazz subsequently appeared to contradict her statement, blaming the plot on a former classmate and Government informer. Mr. Farrakhan joined others Saturday night in saying that the case was one of entrapment, part of a "much wider conspiracy" to divide black Muslims, going back to the assassination of Malcolm X on Feb. 21, 1965, in the Audubon Ballroom.

CURIOUSLY, Dr. Shabazz was the only main speaker who did not dwell on conspiracy theories. Instead, she spoke eloquently of her husband's legacy, even saying that he predicted his murder and told her, "Don't be bitter."

If she was, she must be no longer, since by her very appearance in the hall, she legitimized the man whom she has long linked to Malcolm X's death and allowed him to use this opportunity to his advantage.

It was hard to tell Saturday night who was the most popular figure with those assembled at the Apollo - Dr. Shabazz, Malcolm X or Mr.

Farrakhan, his disciple turned enemy turned "brother." Every mention of each brought cheers from the audience, more than 1,400 people who paid \$50 to \$100 for tickets, then were frisked by grim-looking young men wearing red bow ties and women in white gowns. Reporters and photographers also paid admission and were also frisked.

Those who may have avoided the pat-downs were the celebrities, and the audience was rich with them. They ranged from Mike Wallace and Representative Charles B. Rangel of Manhattan, each of whom pledged \$1,000 to the Shabazz family. Almost every recognizable personality either had a seat on the stage or was introduced, including Lionel Hampton; the Rev. Calvin O. Butts of the Abyssinian Baptist Church; Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., who was ousted as executive director of the N.A.A.C.P., and Percy Sutton and William Kunstler, Ms. Shabazz's lawyers.

AMONG those noticeable for their absence was former Mayor David N. Dinkins. He was "otherwise engaged," he said yesterday, but added that he doubted he would have gone if he were free. "The quarrel I had with

Farrakhan had nothing to do with Malcolm X," Mr. Dinkins said. "It had to do with what he was saying about Jews and the Jewish religion." Mr. Farrakhan has referred to Judaism as a "gutter religion," praised Hitler and accused Jews of dominating the slave trade.

Those and other incendiary Farrakhan views about Jews, whites and racial separatism were not heard from the stage Saturday night. They were represented in the audience, however, by Professor Leonard Jeffries, who was dismissed as chairman of the black studies department at the City College of New York for making anti-Semitic remarks. After Mr. Farrakhan and Dr. Shabazz, he drew the loudest cheers, as well as a standing ovation

FOCUS

Other than Mr. Farrakhan, though, the draw of the evening was Dr. Shabazz, a determined-sounding woman who grew a bit impatient when the event's organizers tried to get her to shorten her remarks. They were a bit agitated because their time on a satellite - which was sending the broadcast to audiences around the country - was running out, and Mr.

Farrakhan hadn't spoken yet. Dr. Shabazz continued to speak and the Nation of Islam bought another hour of satellite time.

DR. SHABAZZ'S rambling speech ended with an emotional defense of her husband, and included an unmistakable jab at Mr. Farrakhan. Noting that Mr. Farrakhan had recently referred to her husband as "Brother Malcolm," Dr. Shabazz said, "I hope he will continue to see my husband as Brother Malcolm."

If there was a mild edge to Dr. Shabazz's voice, she also thanked Mr. Farrakhan graciously. Was the reconciliation genuine? Opinions differ. Some standing behind the police barriers outside the theater on Saturday night were dubious, theorizing that Dr. Shabazz had believed her daughter would go to trial and needed the financial support Mr.

Farrakhan offered.

Representative Rangel offered another viewpoint, suggesting that both Mr. Farrakhan and Dr. Shabazz made a show of peace to prevent a possible act of retaliation against the Shabazz family. "Who cares whether Rabin loves Arafat?" Mr. Rangel asked. "Who cares whether Nelson Mandela really liked his jailers well enough to have them at his inauguration? It's not what is in their hearts that counts. It's whether they are both working towards peace."

GRAPHIC: Photo: Louis H. Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, and Dr. Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, meeting Saturday at the Apollo Theater in Harlem. (Associated Press)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 8, 1995

(END)

SL: CROWDS\$FIQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0092 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:24 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:24 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:25
NOTE: May. 7, 1995 Crowds Fill Apollo to Wi PRINTED: 17:26 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 19 OF 103 STORIES

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May 7, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 45; Column 2; Metropolitan Desk; Second Front

LENGTH: 1086 words

HEADLINE: Crowds Fill Apollo to Witness Shabazz and Farrakhan Meet

BYLINE: By CHARISSE JONES

BODY:

In an evening laced with paradox and history, Dr. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, shared the stage of the Apollo Theater in Harlem last night with Louis H. Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam and the man who she has considered at least partly responsible for her husband's death,

The appearance - all in the name of offering support to Dr. Shabazz's daughter, Qubilah, who has admitted a role in a plot to kill Mr. Farrakhan, her father's former protege turned foe - was called "A New Beginning." It had the festive air of a celebration and was filled with music, song and prayer. There were poetry readings and speeches, hip hop music and impromptu legal analysis. And speakers tackled a range of issues, from the Contract with America to injustice.

But the highlight of the evening was the joint appearance of Mr. Farrakhan and Dr. Shabazz, who had not appeared together publicly in 30 years. When the two finally took the stage and Minister Farrakhan walked over and said a few words to Dr. Shabazz, the crowd roared, then hushed.

Dr. Shabazz, dressed in burgundy, had gone on stage first, just before 11:30 P.M. to tumultuous applause, and began her remarks by saying, "One of the things Malcolm always said to me was, 'Don't be bitter.' "

She also thanked Mr. Farrakhan for his "original gentle words of assurance for my daughter, myself and my sisters."

Her speech, mostly an emotional paean to Malcolm X, ended with: "May the God of our forefathers forever guide you on your journey. May your conceptual framework keep developing. May you pick up the mantle and do God's work."

Mr. Farrakhan greeted people on the stage and leaned over to say a few words to Dr. Shabazz before speaking.

"I am grateful to each and every one in this audience and in the audience across this nation," he said, "whose hope is brightened by the possibility of our reconciliation. There is a Chinese proverb that says a journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step. The loss of Malcolm X is comparable to a thousand-mile journey, and our efforts

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represent the first step in a journey to end with total reconciliation as members of one family."

Indeed, it was an evening many heralded as a reconciliation, and early in the night, at the mere mention of the names of the evening's two hosts, the crowd roared.

The Nation Of Islam has described the evening as a possible first step toward restoring a relationship and repairing a rift that has divided many in the black community since Feb. 21, 1965, when Malcolm X was shot to death inside the Audubon Ballroom.

Others, including some present at the event, were more skeptical, saying they did not believe 30 years of pain and suspicion could be so quickly forgiven and forgotten. It might merely be an occasion for a religious leader to quiet old questions and for a mother to help support her daughter, some said.

But last night, people wanted to believe.

"I'm sure she has changed her mind because he didn't have to do this," said Ruth Weatherill. "I could see it in her face, in her picture, how glad she was Minister Farrakhan supported her daughter. Both of my parents are sick, but I told them I had to come. I like it when my people get together."

Qubilah Shabazz, who was indicted in January, was to go to trial last Monday. But prosecutors agreed to drop the charges after two years if Ms. Shabazz, 34, seeks counseling and stays out of legal trouble. She signed an agreement saying she accepted responsibility for her involvement in the sketchy assassination plot but maintained her plea of not guilty.

The case unleashed much of the pain and emotion of the 1960's, but last night seemed to be a celebration of what for many was best about that turbulent decade - black pride, unity and creativity. The poet Sonia Sanchez recited a poem that evoked the memory of African ancestors and modern-day civil rights leaders. The Rev. Calvin O. Butts said a prayer, and some of today's most popular hip hop artists rapped a tribute to unity. Everyone gave thanks for Dr. Shabazz and Mr.

Farrakhan's offering the entire black community a lesson in unity.

"We are here to thank you for coming together tonight to show our young brothers and sisters we know how to walk in dignity," Ms. Sanchez said.

Outside the theater in the hours before the program began, 125th Street took on a festival atmosphere. The street was cordoned off, vendors hawked T-shirts and hundreds of people lined the sidewalks. As the famous arrived, from Lionel Hampton to the singer Johnny Gill to the attorney William Kunstler, the benefit took on the air of a Hollywood premiere

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A coalition of ministers and community activists joined the Nation of Islam to coordinate the fund-raiser. Though Ms. Shabazz no longer faces a trial, the proceeds are to help pay for her counseling and for

the care of her son. The program was broadcast by satellite to mosques, churches and auditoriums around the country. And for \$10 a ticket people could watch the event in another theater next door.

On the stage beneath a red-and-white banner that said "Celebrating Unity," sat a virtual Who's Who of black politics, entertainment and community activism. Among them were Percy Sutton, the former Manhattan borough president and a lawyer for Ms. Shabazz; Dr. Leonard Jeffries and Representative Charles B. Rangel, Democrat of Manhattan.

At the start of the program, Mr. Butts offered a prayer thanking God for bringing together "those who had been estranged for so long in the black community. And may a signal arrive from this gathering that lets our enemies beware that a people united can never be defeated."

Though the event often took on the tenor of a tribute or 1960's revival, in the end it was a fund-raiser. The 1400-seat theater was filled to capacity. Those in attendance paid between \$15 and \$100 for tickets. During the course of the evening, there were much larger pledges made, including one for \$10,000 from Rock Newman, a boxing promoter, who also promised \$50,000 to the benefit from the proceeds of a boxing match in June.

C. Vernon Mason, the community activist, said that the event represented more to him than a personal reconciliation. "For me, having worked in the movement for 20 years, it represents a coming together of the black world. For those of us who love Dr. Shabazz, who love Farrakhan, who love Malcolm X, we no longer have to choose sides. What Dr. Shabazz and Minister Farrakhan have shown us in a very real way is unity."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 7, 1995

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SL: DESPITE\$AQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0047 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:29 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:29 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:26
NOTE: May. 31, 1994 Despite Attack, Group Se PRINTED: 17:26 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 35 OF 103 STORIES

Copyright 1994 The New York Times Company

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May 31, 1994, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 10; Column 5; National Desk

LENGTH: 545 words

HEADLINE: Despite Attack, Group Seems to be Close-Knit

BYLINE: By DON TERRY, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: CHICAGO, May 30

BODY:

For months before he was shot and wounded on Sunday in California, Khallid Abdul Muhammad had been making inside and outside the Nation of Islam angry.

At a time when the group's leader, Louis Farrakhan, appeared to be moving slowly toward the Islamic mainstream, Mr. Muhammad, its national spokesman, was pulling in the opposite and racist direction. Indeed, his list of enemies was growing as fast as the lines of young, disaffected blacks who would turn out to see him as though he were a touring rap star.

Last February, Mr. Farrakhan suspended his spiritual stepson for his fiery language, a drastic move that touched off nervous talk of a power struggle, the kind that might have ended in violence in the old days of the Nation.

For a brief time on Sunday, those bloody days seemed to be back when Mr. Muhammad was shot after giving a speech at the University of California at Riverside. James Edward Bess, 49, who was expelled from the Nation a few years ago, was held in the attack..

Internal Violence Is Rare

Scholars who study the close-knit group say that under Mr. Farrakhan's leadership such internal violent conflict is almost unheard of and that it is unlikely that Mr. Farrakhan or his Nation had anything to do with the shooting. Nation of Islam officials declined to comment on the incident.

Lawrence H. Mamiya, an associate professor of religion and African studies at Vassar College, said, "This is the first time we've seen this kind of violence since Farrakhan began in the late 1970's."

Professor Mamiya said that despite Mr. Muhammad's suspension and his popularity, especially among young blacks, he remained loyal to Mr. Farrakhan.

"Khallid's speaking out has caused Farrakhan some problems," he said. "It's made it harder for Farrakhan to move into the mainstream, but not to the point where he'd send people after him."

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A former member of the Nation, who spoke only on the condition of

anonymity, said there was growing discontent toward Mr. Muhammad and his oratory, but not enough to provoke violence.

"People are upset with his refusal to adhere to Farrakhan's orders," he said. "But there are a lot of hard-core, fire-breathing members of the Nation of Islam who really like Khallid. Certainly, there's been a little bad blood, but most of it has been congenial."

Shortly after learning of the attack, Mr. Farrakhan was said to have moved to insure that no more blood would be shed. "He has told everybody to keep calm and not to overreact," said Ahmed Tijani, a Sunni Muslim from Ghana who has known Mr. Farrakhan for 10 years. "An Aggrieved Person"

Mr. Tijani said that although he was not completely discounting "outside influences" playing a role in the attack on Mr. Muhammad, it appeared that the gunman was "an aggrieved person" trying to settle a score for being dismissed from the Nation.

In the early 1990's, Mr. Muhammad was the regional minister for the West Coast and may have been in charge of Mr. Bess. "But there is no power struggle," Mr. Tijani said. "Minister Farrakhan is the clear and absolute leader of the Nation of Islam."

But Aminah McCloud, a professor of Islamic studies at DePaul University, said Mr. Muhammad was acquiring a following and "is making a lot of people nervous."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 31, 1994

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SL: FARRAK\$01QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0069 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:29 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:29 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:26
NOTE: Mar. 30, 1994 Farrakhan Softens Tone B PRINTED: 17:27 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 36 OF 103 STORIES

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March 30, 1994, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 4; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 778 words

HEADLINE: Farrakhan Softens Tone But Sticks To Message

BYLINE: By JON NORDHEIMER, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: UNION, N.J., March 29

BODY:

By the time Louis Farrakhan released his oratorical grip on a Kean College audience early today and the students filed outside a campus theater well past midnight, a fine raw rain that greeted them did not lessen the new enthusiasm many professed for the Nation of Islam leader.

It was a performance that swelled with defiance at perceived enemies in the news media, at Hollywood image-makers he insinuated were dominated by Jews, and at a mass culture he accused of robbing black Americans of the chance to succeed. Perhaps less predictably, for nearly three and a half hours he kept up a drumbeat of criticism, gentle at first and then volcanic, aimed at young blacks who he said were more concerned with sex, rap music and drugs than with working to elevate themselves and the condition of all black society.

Through much of the long evening, as banks of television cameras recorded every word and about 60 police and security personnel kept watch on an audience of nearly 900 students and guests, he skirted pointed attacks like those that had infused a speech last Nov. 29 at Kean by his lieutenant, Khalid Abdul Muhammad. It was that speech that created much soul-searching on a state campus struggling with a quest for multicultural diversity and a firestorm of condemnation beyond the campus.

A Rambling Defense

But toward the end of his speech, in a rambling defense against recent allegations that sought to link him to the murder of Malcolm X three decades ago, Mr. Farrakhan accused Jewish power brokers of trying to destroy him.

"The same people opposed to him are opposed to me right now," he stormed. Then, alluding to the crucifixion of Christ, he said: "It's the Passover season. It's the right time."

But phrases like this, which may register on many ears as patently anti-Semitic, did not produce that reaction with many in audience

FOCUS

Fabianna Tassini, an 18-year-old freshman from Brazil, said, "I came

here expecting to hear a lot of bigotry, but there was none of that.'

In fact, Mr. Farrakhan went back and forth between declaring he was not anti-Semitic and that it would be wrong to be against Jews as a people, and then moving on to attacks on individual rabbis and Jews with influence in newspapers and the entertainment industry who, he said, sought his destruction and held black America in their thrall.

Part of the confusion is perhaps attributable to Mr. Farrakhan's speaking style. He often moved quickly from one thought to another within the context of a larger story, at points referring to Jews in nonthreatening ways, and then, anger rising in his voice, using the words "you," "they" and "them" with unclear antecedents to condemn those who mistreated the black race.

Hints of Reconciliation

Compared to Mr. Muhammad's unallayed declarations that left no room for equivocation, Mr. Farrakhan's words in his speech Monday night were honeyed and appeared to offer reconciliation.

To some extent, the speech approached the goal set earlier in the evening by Patricia Rivera, a Kean College trustee. "I hope the speech he gives tonight is an exercise in caution and tempered by his religious beliefs," she had said minutes before Mr. Farrakhan entered Wilkins Theater flanked by 15 bodyguards. Outside, phalanxes of state and local police officers watched over several hundred anti-Farrakhan demonstrators, including many Jewish groups, who gathered in the rain and mud to condemn hatred and bigotry.

About 200 yards away, a few dozen pro-Farrakhan demonstrators milled about, telling reporters that Americans needed to heed his message.

Inside, Mr. Farrakhan demanded that young blacks regain their pride and turn their backs on a violent and hedonistic popular culture that he said was destroying them.

'A Giant Crib'

Mr. Farrakhan repeatedly had driven home his point that blacks were unwittingly abetting an orchestrated plan to relegate them to uselessness in a world economy that increasingly demanded higher educational skills like science and mathematics. In thundering tones, he said white racism and lack of black self-discipline relegated blacks to the bottom of achievement.

"The ghetto has become a giant crib for immature children to play with themselves so others can go on to rule the world," he stormed, evoking sustained applause from the audience that was sprinkled with relatively few white faces

FOCUS

Mr. Farrakhan said he was planning to mount a march on Washington next year to demand "reparations" from the Government for the years in slavery. "You worked us for 300 years - where's our money?" he said, adding that only black men would be invited to join the march.

GRAPHIC: Photo: At the Kean College appearance by Louis Farrakhan on Monday, security was a prominent part of the night. (Norman Y. Lono for

SLUG: FARRAK\$01

PAGE: 3

The New York Times)
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH
LOAD-DATE: March 30, 1994

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SL: FARRAK\$02QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0189 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:30 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:30 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:27
NOTE: Mar. 3, 1994 Farrakhan: Fiery Separat PRINTED: 17:28 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 40 OF 103 STORIES

Copyright 1994 The New York Times Company

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March 3, 1994, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

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

LENGTH: 2186 words

HEADLINE: Farrakhan: Fiery Separatist in a Sober Suit

SERIES: Ministry of Hope, Message of Hate: First of three articles on the Nation of Islam.

BYLINE: By DON TERRY, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: CHICAGO, March 2

BODY:

The ornate mansion where Louis Farrakhan lives and directs his separatist Nation of Islam is in an integrated neighborhood of doctors and lawyers and corporate captains, a sheltered place where people are judged less by the color of their skin than by the contents of their wallets.

Two blocks away in the Kenwood neighborhood lie the segregated precincts of 47th Street, in bygone days a bustling thoroughfare through the heart of black Chicago but now a street of sorrow. Today, liquor stores thrive and the corners are crowded with men without means to earn a legal living.

Like his neighborhood, Mr. Farrakhan and his Nation are full of contrasts. His bodyguards project an air of militancy, but his dark suits and bow tie are straight out of a chamber of commerce meeting. He advocates self-sufficiency but seeks out government contracts for his followers. He calls himself a minister of love but says there is no shame in hatred.

Though the basic tenets of the Nation have changed little over seven decades, the group has received new attention, starting last year with Mr. Farrakhan's campaign to reach out to other black groups. Then came a widely condemned speech in November by his spokesman, Khalid Abdul Muhammad, at Kean College in New Jersey, in which Mr. Muhammad castigated whites, Jews, homosexuals and the Pope.

Recent efforts by companies affiliated with the Nation to win multimillion-dollar security contracts from public housing agencies have added fuel to the running debate over religion, racism and what the Nation represents.

Although Mr. Farrakhan has attracted attention for his broadsides against whites and Jews, much of his oratory and writings about everything from homosexuals to abortion to bootstrap capitalism could come from the Republican Party platform

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Mr. Farrakhan was recruited into the Nation almost 40 years ago by Malcolm X. He has called Malcolm X the adored father he never had, but in 1964, when Malcolm X left the Nation for mainstream Islam and its creed of universal brotherhood, Mr. Farrakhan was among his harshest critics.

In private, Mr. Farrakhan is a cordial 60-year-old grandfather who loves to play the violin in the wee hours of the morning. But once he steps before the thousands who come to hear him speak in New York or Chicago or in Atlanta, where he once outdrew a World Series game a few blocks away, he breathes fire. He has spent most of his adult life fighting bigotry with bigotry, hate with hate, justifying his fury and his hope with the Koran in one hand and the Bible in the other. 'Truths' in Slurs

When he suspended Mr. Muhammad for the way he had delivered a speech filled with anti-Semitic remarks and slurs against Catholics, homosexuals and blacks, Mr. Farrakhan said he still agreed with the 'truths' Brother Khalid had spoken.

On Sunday afternoon, Mr. Muhammad sat in the front row among 12,000 people at the Nation's annual convention in Chicago. Mr. Farrakhan acknowledged him several times and, after spending nearly two hours talking about eugenics and how whites were created 6,000 years ago by a troubled black scientist named Yakub, Mr. Farrakhan told the convention that though Mr. Muhammad needed to be more diplomatic, he was still 'a warrior, a fighter for his people.'

'I'm on the Cross'

Mr. Farrakhan said he and his Nation were under attack simply for telling the truth.

'I'm on the cross,' he told the crowd as it jumped to its feet and roared its support. 'I'm being crucified. But I'm being crucified to raise your consciousness.'

Echoes of the speech and others ripple throughout the nation in the group's newspaper, The Final Call, in television and radio broadcasts and on audiotapes and videotapes. But no one seems to know for sure how big the Nation of Islam is - estimates range from fewer than 10,000 members to 100,000 - and its leaders generally do not give interviews. Nor does anyone know how much support Mr. Farrakhan really has among blacks outside the insular world of the Nation.

He does get plenty of attention these days. He smiles and scowls from the covers of magazines and from the couch of Arsenio Hall's television show. But the 30-second sound bites have also turned him into a one-dimensional character: the black twin of David Duke. A Black Horatio Alger

FOCUS

What has been lost in the outcry over his remarks, like his statement in 1984 that Judaism is a 'gutter religion,' is how politically and socially conservative Mr. Farrakhan actually is, said Chip Berlet, an analyst with Political Research Associates of

Cambridge, Mass., which studies right-wing and fringe groups.

"If you look at the content of his politics, it's either conservative or reactionary," Mr. Berlet said. "It's all based on Horatio Alger myths, separatism, relying on authoritarian measures to promote security and safety, and scapegoating Jews."

But Mr. Berlet said too much time is spent discussing and condemning Mr. Farrakhan while bigoted white organizations, many larger and more influential than the Nation of Islam, are treated less harshly.

"The problem of racial nationalism is a real problem, but Minister Farrakhan is a minor player," he said. "There are much bigger white players who don't get the same level of criticism, and that's unfair."

At the convention on Sunday, Mr. Farrakhan again denied he is anti-Semitic or anti-white or that he is motivated by anything other than a love for his people.

Michael Pfleger, a white Roman Catholic priest in Chicago who has known Mr. Farrakhan for 10 years, agrees. The two men have visited each other's homes, and Mr. Farrakhan has lectured twice from Father Pfleger's pulpit.

"I have never found him to be anti-Semitic or anti-white," Father Pfleger said. "I don't think there is any group or religion in America that has done more for the African-American male than the Nation of Islam. I feel the real problem is, America does not know how to handle Louis Farrakhan or the truth."

The Beliefs

Whites, the Curse Of the Chosen

The truth according to Mr. Farrakhan is laid out twice a month in the pages of The Final Call, the Nation's newspaper. It can also be found between the covers of his 1993 book, "A Torchlight for America" (FCN Publishing, Chicago) and in the group's theology - a blend of nationalism, racial chauvinism, capitalism, Christianity, U.F.O.'s and Islam.

According to the Nation, whites were created by Yakub, the mad scientist, as a test for the superior black race, who are the chosen people, and also as a curse on it.

On Sunday, Mr. Farrakhan told the few whites in the crowd, "You are not a devil by the color of your skin; you are the devil by the teachings you have accepted."

Mr. Farrakhan has also said that while he would never mistreat or mock a gay person, God does not approve of homosexuality. In his FOCUS

book, Mr. Farrakhan writes: "We must change homosexual behavior and get rid of the circumstances that bring it about. We must change all behavior that offends the standard of moral behavior set by God through His laws and prophets."

Abortion, Mr. Farrakhan writes, is equivalent to murder. But he says he is "pro-choice in that women should have the right to choose to whom they will commit their lives."

On crime, he talks law and order like a politician 20 points behind in the polls. Saudi Arabia, he writes, has little crime because it is willing to cut off a limb or snuff out a life to punish the wicked.

Solution for Crime

But, so far, he says, "America has not found a way to curb crime and reform those in her society who consistently break her laws, particularly in the black community."

Part of his solution: send black convicts to Africa under Nation of Islam supervision.

Adolph Reed Jr., a professor of political science at Northwestern University who has been following Mr. Farrakhan's career for years, said: "What is most disturbing about Farrakhan has nothing to do with what he says about whites. He has a very conservative, regressive, repressive take on blacks."

The Fruit

A Polite Presence On the Streets

A chorus of voices rang out recently from the top floors of a 16-story building at the desperately poor Robert Taylor Homes, a public housing development and one of Chicago's toughest and saddest stretches of real estate.

"Where's Farrakhan?"

"We want Farrakhan."

"I want to be on the Arsenio Hall show too."

The residents were shouting to 75 neatly dressed, stern-faced men standing at attention in the snow below.

The Fruit of Islam had arrived.

The Fruit is the Nation's paramilitary, unarmed bodyguard. Wherever he goes, Mr. Farrakhan is surrounded by the bow-tie-wearing members of Fruit, who thoroughly search everyone attending one of their leader's speeches.

Next to Mr. Farrakhan, the Fruit of Islam is the most visible part of the Nation. Its members politely hawk the Nation's newspaper and FOCUS

bean pies on city street corners from Washington to Los Angeles.

They also work as security guards in public housing projects in several cities, including Chicago, and are trying to expand their operations, sometimes with the backing of local politicians and often over the opposition of Jewish groups.

During its glory years in the 1950's and 1960's, the Nation built a reputation for turning desperate men away from a life of crime. Its most famous convert, Malcolm X, was a pimp and a drug pusher before joining the movement.

That work continues today, Mr. Farrakhan says. So on a cold Saturday afternoon, the Fruit marched through the project to show their colors and to convince the residents that as Mr. Farrakhan's chief of staff and son-in-law, Leonard Muhammad, put it, "This is a love thing, brother to brother."

Mr. Muhammad led his men past a line of residents, shaking hands and promising free tickets to anyone who wanted to hear Mr. Farrakhan speak at the convention.

"We come in peace," Mr. Muhammad said.

"You're always welcome here," said a 17-year-old resident, Alphonso Lewis. "You're coming to tell us how to live right."

As the Fruit marched through the development, at times chanting Mr. Farrakhan's name, a van of white college students on a sociology class trip pulled up. The students seemed reluctant to get out.

"Tell them they're safe," Mr. Muhammad said and smiled. "They're under the protection of the Fruit of Islam."

The Rumors

Power Struggle In the Nation?

Black writers and leaders of community groups who monitor the Nation of Islam say that for months there has been talk of a power struggle within the group - pitting a more moderate Mr. Farrakhan against a more hardnosed right wing that cherishes the Nation's unbending past. Khallid Muhammad is believed to be part of the Nation orthodoxy and is widely popular with its youngest members, who, as one former member put it, "like their rhetoric red hot."

It is difficult to determine how serious the talk of internal conflict is because of the heavy curtain of secrecy the Nation operates behind. In The Final Call, both Mr. Farrakhan and Mr. Muhammad have denied a conflict.

On the surface, at least, the focus remains on Mr. Farrakhan. When he bounded onto the stage on Sunday, the crowd applauded and shouted his name, sounding like distant thunder

FOCUS

"Farrakhan! Farrakhan!" a woman shouted. "Teach, brother! Teach!" But in his speech Mr. Farrakhan seemed to be answering any potential challenges to his throne. "Some of you want the crown, but you're running from suffering," he said. You would-be leaders, you don't have no government against you talking in an alley. You don't have the might of the Jews against you talking in a basement. I've got it all arrayed against me."

Hint of Amity

Before Mr. Muhammad's speech in New Jersey last November, however, Mr. Farrakhan had appeared to be moderating his views and asking to talk with Jewish groups. He had also been mending fences with more mainstream black political figures, including the Rev. Jesse Jackson; Benjamin Chavis, president of the N.A.A.C.P., and Representative Kweisi Mfume, Democrat of Maryland.

And in the last couple of years, Mr. Farrakhan has seemed to be inching closer to orthodox Islam.

"We still have hopes that Farrakhan is going to come into the Islamic mainstream," said Abdul Karim Hasan, an orthodox Muslim and a

former member of the Nation of Islam who has known Mr. Farrakhan for almost 40 years. "Muslims are conservative. Farrakhan is conservative. He's no radical.

"But I do know there will be a great falling away if he just jumps into the mainstream all of a sudden," Mr. Hasan said. "He has to do it gradually; otherwise he won't have anything left."

On Sunday, with all his talk of eugenics, Mr. Farrakhan seemed to be signaling his followers that he was still a true believer.

"I ain't going nowhere!" he bellowed.

A Look Ahead

TOMORROW: Security companies affiliated with the Nation are taking in \$1 million a year from public agencies.

SATURDAY: The group's base in New York is a nondescript building on 125th Street, but its influence reaches much farther.

GRAPHIC: Photos: Along with Louis Farrakhan, the bodyguards known as the Fruit of Islam are probably the best known symbols of the separatist Nation of Islam. Members stand at attention at a housing project in Chicago. (Ozier Muhammad/The New York Times) (pg. A1); Security is tight when Louis Farrakhan gives a speech. Men were searched outside a Nation of Islam convention on Sunday at the University of Illinois in Chicago. (Ozier Muhammad/The New York Times) (pg. B9)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

FOCUS

LOAD-DATE: March 3, 1994

(END)

SL: UNEASY\$ALQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0061 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:32 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:32 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:27
NOTE: Feb. 1, 1994 UNEASY ALLIANCE OF BLACK PRINTED: 17:29 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 50 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1994 The New York Times Company
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February 1, 1994, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final
SECTION: Section A; Page 18; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 711 words

HEADLINE: UNEASY ALLIANCE OF BLACK GROUPS

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

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Jan. 31

BODY:

Recent bigoted remarks by a chief aide to Louis Farrakhan, minister of the Nation of Islam, and Mr. Farrakhan's failure to disavow them have interrupted the tenuous rapprochement between mainstream civil rights leaders and the Muslim group.

The discomfort being felt by some black officials reflects their continued inability to decide how to deal with the Nation of Islam, a group whose membership numbers are a mystery and whose ability to influence elections directly is slight.

Although black officials have been repelled by some of Mr. Farrakhan's more contention remarks and those of his aides, leaders of mainstream black organizations have been reluctant to criticize Mr. Farrakhan. They often praise his emphasis on black self-reliance and his group's statements on fighting crime and drug abuse.

"Black leadership has never before been willing to confront what Farrakahn and the Nation of Islam had been saying and distance themselves from it," said Milton Morris, vice president of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, a Washington research organization specializing in black issues. "They're always found a way to say it's not been our business."

Mr. Farrakhan's failure to disavow himself from remarks made by Khalid Abdul Muhammad, a spokesman for the Nation of Islam, has placed in jeopardy the fledgling political alliance that was announced with much fanfare last September between the Nation of Islam and the Congressional Black Caucus.

At the time, Representative Kweisi Mfume, the Maryland Democrat who heads the caucus, said his group and Mr. Farrakahn's had entered into a "sacred covenant" and would work together on issues like drug abuse and crime in inner-city neighborhoods.

Declined to Criticize Aide

Ten days ago, after several civil rights leaders denounced Mr. Muhammad's speech as bigoted, Mr. Mfume wrote to Mr. Farrakhan demanding to know if his aide's remarks represented those of the FOCUS

Nation of Islam. Don Willson, a spokesman for Mr. Mfume, said today that the Congressman had yet to receive a reply.

Several civil rights leaders, including the Rev. Jesse Jackson, condemned the remarks made by Mr. Muhammad, who in a speech in November at Kean College in New Jersey excoriated Jews as "blood suckers of the black community." These civil rights leaders urged Mr. Farrakhan to dissociate himself from the remarks.

But so far, Mr. Farrakhan has declined to criticize his aide. In a speech last week before 10,000 black men in Harlem, Mr. Farrakhan accused the Federal Government and some black leaders of trying to use Mr. Muhammad's words to divide his group.

Some black politicians have made a point of distancing themselves and the black caucus from the Nation of Islam.

Since the publication of Mr. Muhammad's remarks, senior members of the black caucus have emphasized that no joint programs were established with Mr. Farrakhan's group, and they point out that the full black caucus never ratified the partnership that Mr. Mfume had announced.

Some black officials say the problems of drugs, violence, high rates of teen-age pregnancy, poor schooling and poor discipline that are overwhelming low-income black neighborhoods are so great that some form of unity among black groups - including the Nation of Islam - is necessary. Mr. Mfume essentially made that argument in October when he met with leaders of Jewish groups who expressed concern about the announced alliance with Mr. Farrakhan's group.

But some students of black politics say achieving a rapprochement between Mr. Farrakhan and leaders of mainstream black groups involves each side taking some chances. When it came to the Nation of Islam, only the leaders of mainstream black groups took the risks. Mr.

Farrakhan, who made no promises, now has them squirming.

"Everybody wants unity and nobody likes the idea of somebody who is not one of us to set the standard of relationships between us," said William Raspberry, a syndicated columnist who is black. "It's also understandable that Farrakhan wants to come to the table. After all, it's been a little bit lonely out there. But if you have been outside and you want to come to the family table, it's not asking too much to ask you to wash your hands first."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 1, 1994

(END)

SL: FARRAK\$07QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0084 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:34 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:34 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:27
NOTE: Dec. 19, 1993 Farrakhan Urges Black Cl PRINTED: 17:29 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 54 OF 103 STORIES

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December 19, 1993, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 47; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 814 words

HEADLINE: Farrakhan Urges Black Cleanup of Violence

BYLINE: By JONATHAN P. HICKS

BODY:

After serving as the catalyst for a bitter debate in this year's mayoral contest, the Rev. Louis Farrakhan finally made his postponed public address yesterday, combining a message of black pride with a denunciation of what he called the corrupted moral tenor of the nation.

In a fiery speech, Mr. Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, told an audience of nearly 25,000 in the Jacob K. Javits Convention Center in Manhattan of the need for black people to take greater responsibility for addressing the violence in the black community and the necessity to develop stronger spiritual discipline.

"Look, men: We must make our community decent for our women, children and the elderly," said Mr. Farrakhan, whose organization provides security services for some urban areas plagued by drugs. "We can do it better than the police. If we clean up our communities, we will be able to walk the streets in peace and security."

The appearance of Mr. Farrakhan - originally scheduled for three days before the Nov. 2 mayoral election - was a heated issue during the campaign. Mr. Farrakhan, while admired by many young black people for his message of economic power and discipline, has been bitterly criticized by many people for his comments nine years ago calling Judaism a "gutter religion."

Embarrassment Feared

The rally, originally scheduled for Yankee Stadium on Oct. 30, was seen as being potentially embarrassing to Mayor David N. Dinkins, who has often faulted the black Muslim leader. Rudolph W. Giuliani, then Mr. Dinkins's opponent, criticized the Mayor for allowing the minister to use the stadium, which is operated by the city. Mr. Giuliani said he would have sought to prevent Mr. Farrakhan from using the stadium, a stand that drew fire from many elected officials and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Ultimately, the speech was postponed, after some of the Mayor's close black political allies asked Mr. Farrakhan to wait until after the election.

Yesterday, before the speech, Mayor-elect Giuliani said Mr. Farrakhan's message in the past had been "despicable, and I think FOCUS almost everyone in New York feels that way." Mr. Giuliani added that "he has a right, like others do, to express their opinion, even if you believe that opinion is despicable."

Two-Hour Speech

Mr. Farrakhan's address attracted a cross-section of black New Yorkers, from Wall Street bankers and managers in Park Avenue corporations to high school dropouts and the unemployed. Some of the audience had to watch on closed-circuit television screens in an adjacent room.

The rally, at which Mr. Farrakhan made his first public speech in New York since an appearance at Madison Square Garden in 1985, also drew a collection of people representing celebrity and controversy. They ranged from the Rev. Al Sharpton, the political activist, and Leonard Jeffries, who was deposed and reinstated as head of the black studies department at City College, to Stephanie Mills, the Broadway singer and recording artist, and Wesley Snipes, the actor.

In the "Stop the Killing" rally, whose ticket prices ranged from \$10 to \$100, Mr. Farrakhan spoke for nearly two hours, touching on everything from a defense of the entertainer Michael Jackson to a perspective on the sexual misconduct of some Catholic priests.

Most of Mr. Farrakhan's speech dealt with topics religious and moral. Time and time again, he said that the reason for the violence within the black community was not only the proliferation of guns and drugs but also what he described as the decay of morality in the United States.

"The United States of America, the greatest nation on earth, invincible to any outside force," Mr. Farrakhan said, "is now vulnerable because of an internal rot and corruption." The country, he said "is a brilliant nation that can send men and women to outer space to correct a telescope, but can't help students out of high school with a 30 percent functional illiteracy. The morality of the country has gone to the depth of a bottomless pit."

Mostly the Young

The rally was attended principally by young black men and women, many of whom stood in line waiting to enter for nearly an hour and most of whom were followers of Mr. Farrakhan. They included ever-courteous, crisply dressed men in dark suits and bow ties and women dressed all in white, with long dresses, gloves and hair coverings.

Some of Mr. Farrakhan's rhetoric was racially charged, suggesting frequently that the history of white Americans had been filled with instances of oppression of black, Hispanic and Asian people not only in the United States but abroad

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But he added: "I'm neither a racist nor an anti-Semite. But if I point out your evil with truth, then call me a preacher of truth. And if you will correct your behavior, then love will come as a result. But you can't pass hate on me."

GRAPHIC: Photos: Crowds waiting yesterday outside the Jacob K. Javits Convention Center, top, to hear a speech by the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam. (Lee Romero/The New York Times); During his speech before a sold-out crowd of nearly 25,000 people, Mr.

Farrakhan defended himself against charges of racism and anti-Semitism. (Andre Lambertson for The New York Times)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 19, 1993

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SL: POLITI\$01QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0089 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:35 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:35 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:32
NOTE: Oct. 31, 1993 Political Memo;Farrakhan PRINTED: 17:33 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 55 OF 103 STORIES

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October 31, 1993, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 20; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1041 words

HEADLINE: Political Memo;

Farrakhan Posing a Difficult New Challenge for Black Officials

BYLINE: By RICHARD L. BERKE, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Oct. 30

BODY:

Nearly a decade after Louis H. Farrakhan became a symbol of ethnic tension, he has re-emerged in the 1993 campaigns, again forcing politicians to confront the raw power of race in politics.

Mr. Farrakhan, the militant minister of the Nation of Islam, is trying to soften his image and deflect attention from his attacks on Jews and on mainstream black politicians by emphasizing his concern for the troubles of inner cities. But he has still managed to put many black candidates in an uncomfortable position.

How do they broaden their appeal to white voters while reaching out to Mr. Farrakhan, who is viewed by some blacks as a straight-talking leader beholden to no one?

"Look, if you're a black politician, Farrakhan poses a problem because he sure as hell has said some obnoxiously and profoundly anti-Semitic things," said Roger Wilkins, a professor of history at George Mason University and a longtime civil rights campaigner. "On the other hand, he strikes some deep chords in the disaffected black community."

It is not simply a tug between black and Jewish voters, who have not forgotten Mr. Farrakhan's reference to Judaism as "a gutter religion" and who has made other anti-Semitic remarks. Often lost in the furor over Mr. Farrakhan is the fact that he has antagonized many black politicians for years, more than once branding some as "those silly Toms."

Their responses seem driven more than anything by political pragmatism. Most black politicians seem to view Mr. Farrakhan as a major liability. Although he draws large audiences, his influence at the polls is not seen as daunting, and many black politicians say they are more concerned about offending other supporters than about building relations with followers of the Nation of Islam.

Criticism in Atlanta Race

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But black candidates differ over just how much distance to put

between themselves and Mr. Farrakhan. In Atlanta last week, Michael L. Lomax, a candidate for mayor, stood before a gathering of Nation of Islam supporters and vowed that if elected, he would never invite Mr.

Farrakhan to the city. "I reject anti-Semitism," he declared. The two other leading candidates, also black, criticized Mr. Farrakhan at another forum.

Their positions could not have been more different from that of Representative Kweisi Mfume, Democrat of Maryland. Mr. Mfume, who is chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, announced last month that the caucus would enter into a "sacred covenant" to work with Mr.

Farrakhan on problems that affect blacks. Seeking a middle ground was Mayor David N. Dinkins of New York, who received death threats after condemning Mr. Farrakhan eight years ago for "his blatantly anti-Semitic remarks." Careful not to stir divisiveness in a campaign in which racial tensions are already in the open, Mr. Dinkins referred to his past statements, but did not repeat them, recently after Mr.

Farrakhan announced plans to hold a rally in New York.

Breaking Unspoken Rule
In September, a black caucus meeting offered another display of the strains among black politicians over Mr. Farrakhan's presence.

For years, the unspoken rule among black politicians had been to present a united front. But Mr. Farrakhan began breaking that rule when he was featured with great fanfare at rallies in the Rev. Jesse Jackson's Democratic Presidential campaign in 1984, forcing other politicians to choose sides.

The breach has since widened with Mr. Farrakhan's attacks on established black political figures, including his one-time ally, Mr. Jackson, and Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, both of whom he criticized for not inviting him to the civil rights march in Washington last August. But at the caucus meeting, Mr. Farrakhan apologized to Mr. Chavis and Mr. Jackson.

Representative John Lewis, Democrat of Georgia, said there was far from a consensus among blacks in Congress over making overtures to Mr.

Farrakhan. "I don't think many of the members necessarily feel comfortable," Mr. Lewis said. "I don't see Minister Farrakhan as part of what I call the civil rights movement."

But Mr. Lewis and several other black politicians spoke reluctantly about Mr. Farrakhan, complaining that publicity about him only detracts from efforts to strengthen ties between blacks and Jews. 'Significant Contributions'

For the three leading mayoral candidates in Atlanta, there is no such electoral comfort. Despite Atlanta's largely black population, there is also a small yet very active Jewish population that is FOCUS

influential in Democratic politics.

"Louis Farrakhan has made significant contributions in the African-American community, specifically in the areas of self-help,

drug abuse and teen pregnancy," said Denise McFall, a spokeswoman for Mr. Lomax. But, she said, the city's Jewish voters form "an activist constituency and a powerful constituency, politically and economically."

In New York, there is much more open tension between the blacks and Jews, and Mr. Dinkins is counting on strong support from both groups. So while the Mayor has not challenged Mr. Farrakhan as he has in the past, his advisers worked behind the scenes to see that Mr. Farrakhan abandoned his plan to hold a rally at Madison Square Garden three days before the election.

There is no record this year of any major black candidates seeking out Mr. Farrakhan to campaign on their behalf. In fact, it is only the efforts of Mr. Farrakhan and his followers to seek to press the bounds of his acceptability that his involvement has become part of the campaign dialogue in New York and Atlanta.

"Maybe the message is getting through that Farrakhan is a general liability for mainstream black candidates," said Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

But David A. Bositis, a senior analyst at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, said that as much as some black politicians disagree with Mr. Farrakhan, they feel obliged to seek his views. "A lot of them have the feeling that things are so bad in the inner cities right now," he said, "that they're almost willing to try any approach," Mr. Bositis said.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 31, 1993

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SL: FARRAK\$09QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0064 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:36 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:36 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:32
NOTE: Apr. 14, 1988 Farrakhan Restates His S PRINTED: 17:33 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 64 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1988 The New York Times Company
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April 14, 1988, Thursday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section D; Page 27, Column 5; National Desk

LENGTH: 722 words

HEADLINE: Farrakhan Restates His Support Of Jackson in Criticizing
the Press

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

DATELINE: PHILADELPHIA, April 13

BODY:

Louis Farrakhan, the Black Muslim leader who is widely viewed as anti-Semitic, said tonight that although the Rev. Jesse Jackson had denied and rejected him, he still supported Mr. Jackson for President.

"There are some things in life that are bigger than personal differences," the head of the Nation of Islam told a cheering, predominantly black audience of about 2,000 at the University of Pennsylvania. "Here's a man running to save the nation, a man running to save a people. Don't you think I can see beyond his denial of me? Rejection of me? That's irrelevant. That's unimportant."

Tonight's speech was the second in little more than a week in which Mr. Farrakhan defended himself against charges of anti-Semitism and expressed his continued support for Mr. Jackson.

Four years ago, Mr. Jackson's Presidential campaign was seriously embarrassed by the candidate's association with Mr. Farrakhan, who was quoted at the time as calling Adolf Hitler a "great man" and Judaism a "gutter religion."

Tonight, Mr. Farrakhan charged that those quotations were distortions, purveyed by the press to embarrass Mr. Jackson.

"Hell, no, I didn't praise him," he said of Hitler. "I said he was a great man, but he was wickedly great. Why didn't you put that in the paper? Why did you say, 'Jackson Pal Praises Hitler'? Because you were so bent on destroying Reverend Jackson you had to raise the ire and the anger of the Jewish people, and you wanted to use me to galvanize Jews against Jesse Jackson."

'Dirty Religion'

"Farrakhan never mentioned the word Judaism one time," he said, adding that he respected the Torah and Jews who try to live it. What he did say, Mr. Farrakhan continued, was that religion is not what one preaches, but what one practices; that the state of Israel "was not gained lawfully" and that it practices "lying and stealing and murder," while "trying to cover it with God's holy name," thereby

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also practicing ``dirty religion.``

Of Mr. Jackson, he said: ``You should thank God that Jesse Jackson has emerged to bring America up out of the position that America is in.``

``The brother has a vision,`` he said of Mr. Jackson. ``He's saying the right things, and there are many whites in this nation who are listening, and there are many whites who know that no President has really served them for a long, long time.``

Mr. Farrakhan asserted that the news media were again trying to use him to hurt Mr. Jackson. ``Since Jesse has been in New York and now he's coming to Pennsylvania,`` the Muslim leader said, the media have been ``all over Louis Farrakhan,`` seeking comment from him.

``What you want me for?`` he said. ``You're hoping I'll say something that you can use to derail by brother? You're so desperate to stop this black man to stoop so low to bring up those things that were said four years ago?``

Mr. Farrakhan, who spoke tonight for more than 2 1/2 hours, devoted only a small part of his address to Mr. Jackson. The bulk of his wide-ranging speech was devoted to such topics as his Muslim philosophy, black pride and relations between blacks and whites. His speech, for which he was paid \$10,000 plus travel expenses, was sponsored by 10 university groups, led by the Organization of Black Consciousness and the predominantly white Penn Political Union.

Earlier, at a news conference, Mr. Farrakhan said: ``I disagree that I am racist, or bigoted or anti-Semitic.``

``I don't know whether my statements have been inflammatory, but what has been taken of my statements, my words, have been used to hurt the Rev. Jackson.`` He said that although Mr. Jackson has ``stated he does not need my help nor needs my support, I would advise all people of good will to listen carefully to him because he has a message for them.``

On April 6, in a talk at Rutgers University, Mr. Farrakhan said he was not planning to serve as an adviser to Mr. Jackson this year, as he did in 1984. He said, however, that he would continue to support the Jackson candidacy. ``I'm not going to allow Jackson to go down,`` he said.

Mr. Farrakhan's appearance tonight was greeted by a protest rally attended by more than 500 students next door to Irvine Auditorium, where he spoke. Students waved signs saying, ``Unity, Yes. Anti-Semitism, No,`` and ``Free Speech, Yes. Hatred, No.``

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: FARRAK\$10QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0056 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:37 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:37 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:33
NOTE: Jun. 22, 1987 FARRAKHAN SAYS HE WILL N PRINTED: 17:33 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 68 OF 103 STORIES

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June 22, 1987, Monday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section B; Page 16, Column 4; National Desk

LENGTH: 630 words

HEADLINE: FARRAKHAN SAYS HE WILL NOT BACK JACKSON BID

BYLINE: By DIRK JOHNSON, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: CHICAGO, June 21

BODY:

The Rev. Louis Farrakhan, the black Muslim leader, has said he will not publicly support the Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaign for President because it would hurt the black Democrat's chances among white voters.

But, he told his followers here Saturday, any divisions between him and Mr. Jackson were largely fomented by the press and white leaders whose "ultimate goal is to divide black people." Referring to Mr. Jackson, the Black Muslim leader said he wanted to "make peace with my brother and walk on."

Mr. Jackson recently vowed not to accept money or support from Mr. Farrakhan, who has been charged with making anti-Semitic remarks from his pulpit, including the statement that Judaism was "a gutter religion." During the 1984 campaign, Mr. Jackson was criticized for his association with Mr. Farrakhan.

Statements Termed 'Unfortunate'

Mr. Farrakhan, speaking Saturday night at a Baptist church on the city's South Side, termed Mr. Jackson's statements "unfortunate," but urged his followers not to turn away from Mr. Jackson.

"We must send a message: If there is a difference between the Rev. Jackson and me, we will solve our problems behind a closed door, not in the press," he said.

He added that while Mr. Jackson sought the support of all races and religions, "I don't have that problem - I want to serve black people first and foremost."

Mr. Farrakhan denied that he was anti-Semitic, and said remarks attributed to him had often been taken out of context, and that he merely meant to criticize some actions by Israel.

Mr. Farrakhan also served what seemed a warning for those who denounce him. He said that Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles had denounced him and later lost his bid for the governorship. He said Mayor Marion Barry of Washington denounced Mr. Farrakhan, "and now
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229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

he's in trouble."

Black Leaders Denounced

"I think if you don't like me," Mr. Farrakhan said, "you better leave me alone."

Mr. Farrakhan denounced the established black leadership as "mentally ill, sick" and accused some leaders of seeking to foster dependency among poor blacks to advance their own interests.

Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago, who has repudiated Mr. Farrkahn, sent no representatives to the meeting. Several former associates and supporters of Mr. Jackson appeared at the lecture and insisted that any divisions between the two camps were exaggerated.

"I will choose between right and white, but I am not going to choose between Jesse and Farrakhan," said Representative Gus Savage, who represents a predominantly black district on the Southeast Side of Chicago. "The more white folks hate a black, the more I love him. The more they fear him, the more I want to befriend him."

Mr. Savage denounced Mr. Farrakhan's critics, especially "the Zionists who may think they were chosen by God - that would be an awfully strange God that chose one over another."

Others urging support for both Mr. Jackson and Mr. Farrakhan included, the Rev. Hycel Taylor, former director of Operation Push, the Chicago-based civil rights group founded by Mr. Jackson and Representative Charles A. Hayes of Chicago.

Mr. Farrakhan's meeting was called to announce a line of personal hygiene products, "POWER," to be sold door to door in black neighborhoods around the country, an enterprise that he said would immediately create 5,000 jobs in the inner-city.

"For black people to be truly free, we must have not just the symbol of political leadership, but the substance of economics," he said. He said that although black politicians have won office at every state and local level, the problems of the ghetto continue to worsen.

"You depend too much on your leaders and too little on yourselves," he said, pointing to the crowd.

GRAPHIC: Photo of Farrakhan (A.P.)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: FARRAK\$11QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0063 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:37 OP: DDI The New York Times MR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:37
NOTE: Jun. 30, 1986 FARRAKHAN, BACK IN CHICAGO NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036 PRINTED: 17:37 29-NOV-95

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

FOCUS - 71 OF 103 STORIES

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The New York Times

June 30, 1986, Monday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 12, Column 3; National Desk

LENGTH: 708 words

HEADLINE: FARRAKHAN, BACK IN CHICAGO, TELLS OF SUIT ON BANS ON LIBYA

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

DATELINE: CHICAGO, June 29

BODY:

It was billed as "the triumphant return" of Louis Farrakhan, the fiery Black Muslim leader who had been abroad since Feb. 6, but at a rally Saturday night Mr. Farrakhan spoke as much about the possibility that he might face Federal prosecution for defying a 1981 executive order against traveling to Libya as he did about his "triumph."

He issued a challenge to the Government's right to ban travel to Libya, which he has challenged in a suit against the Reagan Administration.

In defiance of the prohibition, and a January ban on doing business with Libya, Mr. Farrakhan stopped there on what he described as an 11-nation tour. He said he was in Libya from March 12 to 29 for a religious conference that various news accounts have described as an international gathering of terrorists and other disaffected people, including a delegation from the United States.

Mr. Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, one of two main Black Muslim sects, is indicating that he expects to be arrested. The penalties for violating the ban on trading with Libya could be a fine of \$10,000 and up to 10 years in prison.
He Cites a Duty to Others

Addressing a crowd of 3,000 at the Chicago Hilton, Mr. Farrakhan said that he had gone to the Libyan conference because it was his duty to tell the world of "the wickedness" of the American Government, which he said was guilty of lying, deceit and hypocrisy.

He said that while President Reagan had the right to issue executive orders, "he must exercise that right on the basis of truth and justice and not use lies and deceit to rob the American people of their constitutional right to travel."

To Mr. Reagan, he said: "You do not deprive me of my right to travel on your flimsy lies, saying that Qaddafi is a terrorist." He said that Libya, under Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, was a base "for international revolutions against oppressive regimes," not a base
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for terrorism as Mr. Reagan has said.

Mr. Farrakhan said that on his tour he received "chilly" receptions by Caribbean governments, was banned from Bermuda and Nigeria and was detained in London. All this, he said, was due to a Government campaign of "disinformation."

'I Am Too Popular With People'

Addressing his words to the Reagan Administration, he said: "You want to do me like you did Jesus, get him on trumped-up charges. You don't want to arrest me just yet because I'm too popular with the people."

Mr. Farrakhan said he had learned that the Government had planned to seize him as he re-entered the country. Then he said: "God brought me back to America and they never saw me come in." He made no further reference to how he returned or when.

In a rambling three-hour address, Mr. Farrakhan touched on the American bombing of Tripoli, Libya, in mid-April, apartheid, the treatment of the American Indians, homosexuality, the dangers of cocaine and the Statue of Liberty. He also made a pitch for deodorant, toothpaste, lotion and shampoo that his organization is distributing.

Near the end of his speech, Mr. Farrakhan, who is 53 years old, told his followers about a lawsuit filed in Washington last Wednesday against Mr. Reagan, George P. Shultz, the Secretary of State, James A. Baker 3d, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Edwin Meese 3d, the Attorney General.

Infringement Is Charged

The lawsuit charged that the ban on doing business with Libya prevented Mr. Farrakhan's organization from repaying the Libyan Government \$5 million it received as a loan 15 months ago. It also charged that the ban against travel unduly infringed upon Mr.

Farrakhan's constitutional rights.

The complaint said: "The minister's trip to Libya was a form of symbolic speech utilized to question the efficacy of United States foreign policy and to focus public debate within the United States upon the policies of the Reagan Administration."

Organizers of the welcoming reception had said that "noted black leaders and supporters from across the country" would participate, but the guests on stage with Mr. Farrakhan consisted predominantly of local politicians, preachers and activists, as well as Representative Gus Savage, a Democrat whose South Side Congressional district is predominantly black.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: FARRAK\$12QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0082 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:39 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:39 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:37
NOTE: Oct. 8, 1985 FARRAKHAN ~~The New York Times~~ PRINTED: 17:38 29-NOV-95
229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

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

FOCUS - 75 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1985 The New York Times Company
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October 8, 1985, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section B; Page 3, Column 1; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 973 words

HEADLINE: FARRAKHAN SAYS HIS CRITICS ADD 'FUEL TO THE FIRE'

BYLINE: By SAM ROBERTS

BODY:

Louis Farrakhan, the Black Muslim minister, electrified an overflow crowd of 25,000 at Madison Square Garden last night with a message of economic and spiritual renewal coupled with a ringing denunciation of his critics.

"They call me racist, they call me bigoted, they call me anti-Semitic," Mr. Farrakhan said. "But I want you to listen very carefully tonight. If anything like that comes out of my mouth, I want you to raise your hand and stop me. That's what they say I am. Tonight I want you to judge for yourself."

In the days leading up to last night's speech, Mr. Farrakhan generated emotional responses, both against him and for him, from many prominent New Yorkers. Security outside the Garden was heavy last night, and the speech began hours late because Mr. Farrakhan's uniformed followers searched everyone entering the arena.

He said Mayor Koch, Governor Cuomo and "some of your pitiful black leaders" had "called me a lot of ugly names, but the words only serve as fuel to the fire in me to make me fight harder."

"Mayor Koch said I should burn in hell," Mr. Farrakhan said. "Dear Mr. Koch: The black people of New York City live in hell."

Audience's Response

"Who," he asked, "are the people who are against Farrakhan? Are the people against me the righteous? Would you say the Jews against me are righteous people?" "No," the crowd thundered. What about the United States Government, he asked, the Mayor, the Governor? "No," they roared again. "Why did the press not say you remind me of Jesus?" Mr. Farrakhan asked. "Jesus had a controversy with the Jews. Farrakhan has a controversy with the Jews. Jesus was hated by the Jews. Farrakhan is hated by the Jews."

Mr. Farrakhan, who heads the Nation of Islam, one of several Black Muslim sects, said that last night's address, the final stop on a 14-city nationwide tour, would be "his final speech for a long time." He said he would carry his message abroad and then return to "take the word of God and make it flesh."

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Flanked by an honor guard of Muslim women in white, Mr. Farrakhan began speaking at 9:47 P.M., nearly five hours after the first of the faithful and the curious began streaming into the Garden past a phalanx of uniformed members of the Nation of Islam. All those who entered were searched.

About 250 uniformed and plainclothes police officers ringed the Garden, while Muslims provided security and crowd control inside. Mr. Farrakhan continued to speak past 11 P.M.

Earlier yesterday, Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward echoed Mayor Koch's appeal to Mr. Farrakhan's critics "not to demonstrate" and turn the speech "into a media event, which is exactly what he wants."

And, by the time the speech began, it appeared that their appeal had been heeded. By 9:30 P.M., police reported only one arrest, for pickpocketing.

Mr. Farrakhan, the 52-year-old head of the Chicago-based Nation of Islam, has struck a responsive chord in the black community by preaching a message of economic empowerment and black pride.

But in speeches last year, Mr. Farrakhan also referred to Judaism as a "dirty religion" and described Adolf Hitler as a "great man." Last month in Los Angeles, he told 15,000 people that Jewish people "are not the chosen people of God" and predicted that "with political power, 40 million blacks can be as wise and manipulative as the Jews in America are today."

Mr. Farrakhan also said in Los Angeles that some black leaders there had bowed to pressure from Jews to repudiate him. In New York, however, Jewish groups have taken pains not to create the impression that black leaders who criticized Mr. Farrakhan were responding to appeals from the Jewish community.

Message From O'Connor

Yesterday, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York issued a statement from John Cardinal O'Connor denouncing Mr. Farrakhan. The Cardinal said he was addressing "statements persistently attributed in the media" to Mr. Farrakhan because "I cannot remain silent about such, lest it be assumed that such statements are acceptable to Catholic teaching, which categorically abhors anti-Semitism and racism in any form, under any pretext."

Also yesterday, on the steps of City Hall, several local ministers and others rallied to Mr. Farrakhan's defense.

The Rev. Lawrence Lucas, the pastor of Resurrection Roman Catholic Church in Harlem, said, "I see 99 percent of Louis Farrakhan's message as positive."

Father Lucas said it was hypocritical of Mr. Koch to denounce Mr. Farrakhan without similarly condemning Israel for failing to impose

sanctions against South Africa to protest that nation's policies of racial separation. Also, he said black leaders who have criticized Mr. Farrakhan were not representative of the black community.

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Father Lucas was joined at a City Hall news conference by the Rev. Calvin O. Butts of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker of Canaan Baptist Church of Christ, by local political candidates from the New Alliance Party and by Dr. Muhammad T. Mehdi, president of the American Arab Relations Committee.

In a letter to the Mayor, Dr. Mehdi said that because Mr. Farrakhan was "opposed to racism everywhere - America, South Africa or in Palestine," he was "more consistent and therefore more honorable" than the Mayor.

Also on the City Hall steps yesterday, Mr. Farrakhan's presence in New York was addressed by the Mayor and by Governor Cuomo, who was there to endorse Mr. Koch for a third term.

"While Farrakhan says many things we can agree to," the Governor said, "he speaks a language of divisiveness and polarization, and that I deplore." Mr. Cuomo urged Mr. Farrakhan to use last night's speech as "a wonderful opportunity to speak a different language, one that would bring us together rather than separate us."

GRAPHIC: photo of Louis Farrakhan (NYT/Larry C. Morris)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: FARRAK\$13QU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0073 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:49 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:49 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:37
NOTE: Apr. 10, 1984 FARRAKHAN ~~Cheney~~ ~~Port~~ ~~Games~~ PRINTED: 17:38 29-NOV-95
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Washington Post newsman who disclosed that Mr. Jackson had used ethnic slurs in referring to Jews.

The report dogged Mr. Jackson for over a week in the New Hampshire primary campaign as he first denied, then said he could not recall, and finally admitted using the terms.

According to Dr. Alvin Poussaint, a Harvard psychiatrist, many blacks feel the incident nearly destroyed Mr. Jackson's budding Presidential bid and they blame the reporter, Milton Coleman, whom they view as a traitor, rather than condemn Mr. Jackson for his na'ivete.

The psychiatrist said feelings were running high in the black community and that one hears, "Somebody should get that brother," meaning Mr. Coleman.

Jackson Defends Coleman

In a radio broadcast March 11, Mr. Farrakhan criticized Mr. Coleman and warned, "One day soon we will punish you with death." In a subsequent telephone call to the reporter, Mr. Farrakhan said his words had been twisted out of context and he intended only social ostracism for him "as a betrayer" of his race.

Mr. Jackson has welcomed the support of Mr. Farrakhan, whom he took with him to Syria where he negotiated for the release of Lt. Robert O. Goodman Jr., a black Navy flier who had been captured when his plane was shot down in an attack on Syrian positions in Lebanon. Later Mr. Jackson accompanied Mr. Farrakhan and several hundred followers to Chicago City Hall to register to vote for the first time in a show of unity.

Mr. Jackson disassociated himself from Mr. Farrakhan's March 11 broadcast and said Sunday after a television appearance in Philadelphia, apparently for the first time, that Mr. Coleman had "assumed his professional responsibility" in reporting his remarks and "did what tough reporters do."

Mr. Jackson said he would not "excommunicate" Mr. Farrakhan and added, "I have no ability to muzzle surrogates."

Farrakhan Called Influential

Thomas N. Todd, a Chicago lawyer who helped bring Mr. Farrakhan and Mr. Jackson together, said he was not surprised that Mr. Jackson had stood by the Muslim leader, whose influence, he said, extends far beyond the membership of his organization.

"Why should he renounce someone who is registering and turning out the vote for him to curry favor with white America when white America is not going to vote for him anyway?" Mr. Todd said

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In his speech Sunday the Muslim leader declared, "There are those who want to use my philosophy, my ideology as a student of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, to embarrass this candidate and then to drive a wedge between him and myself."

"I am a Muslim," he continued. "My brother is a Christian. Why would you judge him by what I believe?"

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Mr. Coleman, in an article in The Washington Post Sunday, contended, "Jackson must tell how he can campaign for the highest office in the land as a self-proclaimed healer of racial wounds, champion of civil rights and moral standard bearer while proudly standing beside a man some Americans would consider a racial demagogue."

In response, Mr. Jackson said Sunday on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" that if one looks at the Democratic Party one sees it takes all kinds to make a coalition.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

SL: CANDIDACYQU: PRINT2-MAG HJ: 0146 FM: FG:
BY: DDD ;11/28,11:50 OP: DDD ;11/28,11:50 FR: MAG-MAG ;11/29,17:37
NOTE: Feb. 27, 1984 CANDIDACY **The New York Times** PRINTED: 17:38 29-NOV-95
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Your Search Request: **HLEAD (LOUIS PRE/2 FARRAKHAN) AND ATLEAST3 (FARRAKHAN)**

FOCUS - 103 OF 103 STORIES
Copyright 1984 The New York Times Company
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February 27, 1984, Monday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 10, Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1784 words

HEADLINE: CANDIDACY OF JACKSON HIGHLIGHTS SPLIT AMONG BLACK MUSLIMS

BYLINE: By E.

BODY:

R. SHIPP

CHICAGO, Feb. 26 - The political ascendancy of the Rev. Jesse Jackson has focused new attention on the Black Muslims and a split in that movement.

The Nation of Islam once boasted 500,000 members under its founder, Elijah Muhammad, who was revered as Allah's anointed messenger and who died in 1975. Of the two current factions, one is headed by his son but rejects much of his teachings, instead pursuing a more orthodox version of Islam. The other, led by Louis Farrakhan, espouses Mr. Muhammad's ideals of black moral superiority and economic self-reliance.

Until Mr. Jackson began his drive for the Presidency, Mr.

Farrakhan's followers were discouraged from engaging in any political activity, even registering to vote. Now Mr. Farrakhan, who is 50 years old, has registered for the first time and is urging his followers to do likewise.

The head of the other faction, W. Deen Muhammad, first urged his followers in 1976 to become part of the American mainstream, including taking part in the electoral process, and he annually stages Fourth of July celebrations. His group, originally the Nation of Islam, has been twice renamed and is now called the American Muslim Mission. Like Mr.

Farrakhan's group, it has its national headquarters on the South Side of Chicago.

Since succeeding his father in 1975, the 50-year-old Mr. Muhammad has transformed the organization into an orthodox religious entity aligned with the worldwide Islamic community. He has also opened his movement to people of all races, though he acknowledges, "We are basically still an African-American organization."

The American Muslim Mission says it has 100,000 active followers in 250 cities. Mr. Muhammad says they operate 46 schools. He also says he broadcasts weekly addresses on 200 radio stations and that his weekly newspaper, The American Muslim Journal, has a circulation of 30,000. Protection for Jackson

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Mr. Farrakhan says he does not know how many members are in his

group, which took the name Nation of Islam. He says his group has active members in 71 cities. Its newspaper, The Final Call, is supposed to be a monthly, but is published irregularly with a press run of about 25,000. "In all honesty and candor, we are a small group, but fast growing, and our influence far exceeds our numbers," he said.

Mr. Farrakhan's security arm, the Fruit of Islam, provided protection to Mr. Jackson until a Secret Service detail was assigned. Mr. Farrakhan was also a member of the delegation that accompanied Mr. Jackson to Syria to obtain the release of a captured American flier.

Mr. Farrakhan's influence is borne out by the politicians, members of the clergy, black nationalists and civil rights leaders who are attending his group's celebration of Savior's Day, a religious holiday. Differences Toned Down

Since Friday thousands of Muslims and non-Muslims have been taking part in this year's three-day convention. Participants include Mr. Jackson, the activist Dick Gregory and former Representative Shirley Chisholm. They have answered Mr. Farrakhan's call, but their common denominator is Mr. Jackson's candidacy. They stress unity among the black electorate that they hope will transcend 1984. Religious and political differences are muted.

Thomas N. Todd, acting president of People United to Serve Humanity, the civil rights organization founded by Mr. Jackson, set the tone of the convention.

To shouts and applause, he declared: "I want the world to understand that we will stand lockstep, arm in arm, shoulder to shoulder, brother and sister, Muslim and Christian, and we will say to all the misguided Negroes and all of the disingenuous white people that America may be back, but we're not going back. We're not going back. We're not going back."

"I want them to understand that we are giving America at least one more chance. But, oh America, oh America, if you throw away this opportunity, if you destroy this opportunity, I don't know what will happen with this country."

Climate of Hatred Seen

On Saturday night, Mr. Farrakhan told the convention that Jewish groups should meet with Mr. Jackson to try to resolve their political differences. "If you want to defeat him," he added, "defeat him at the polls. We can stand to lose an election, but we cannot stand to lose our brother."

Mr. Farrakhan said that Mr. Jackson had received more than 100 death threats and that some had resulted in arrests. He charged that the tension caused by Jewish groups out to disrupt the Jackson

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campaign was akin to the climate of hatred that led to the assassinations of John F. and Robert F. Kennedy, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X.

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Mr. Farrakhan, calling Mr. Jackson "our champion," said: "If you harm this brother, what do you think we shall do?" Answering his own question, he continued: "If you harm Jesse Jackson, in the name of Allah, that will be the last one you harm. Leave him alone."

New View of Politics

Mr. Jackson was asked later if he was comfortable with the language Mr. Farrakhan used. He replied that reporters would have to ask Mr. Farrakhan about his language. He added, however, that he would hope Jewish people would not take his remarks as a threat.

Mr. Farrakhan's new approach goes beyond a willingness to get involved in politics to include sermons in Protestant churches and speeches before civil rights groups, all anathema in the past. But he still teaches the old values: that God was a man, that whites are the devil, that blacks are God's chosen people and that ultimately blacks must have a separate nation within the territory of the United States.

Mr. Farrakhan explained that he had never considered taking part in politics until the election of Harold Washington as Mayor of Chicago, the first black to hold that post here. He said he went back to Elijah Muhammad's teachings and discovered that Mr. Muhammad had said, "If a politician arose among us who was fearless, who would stand up and plead our cause and would not sell us out, that kind of politician deserved and should get the full backing and support of our entire people."

'A Tremendous Moment'

This new attitude led Miss Chisholm to declare that the audience was witnessing "a tremendous moment in history."

Joseph Gardner, an aide to Mayor Washington, said, "I think that what we have begun with Brother Farrakhan is to write a new chapter in the history of black political empowerment in this country."

Mr. Farrakhan said a separate territory was not necessary if blacks were treated justly. But, he added, "I believe ultimately when all other solutions fail, as I believe they will, then we must think in terms of a separate state or territory."

Mr. Farrakhan, who says he thought he should have succeeded Elijah Muhammad, broke with W. Deen Muhammad in 1977. He says he thinks the two groups can eventually reunite.

But Mr. Muhammad disagreed. "The last time I talked to him," he explained, "he said he still believed in the old teachings, my father being a prophet and all that."

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Revision of History

Mr. Muhammad has had to revise his father's place in history. Now he says that Elijah Muhammad was merely "a social reformer" who deliberately misinterpreted the Koran in an effort to stir blacks to do for themselves.

"I think he felt that the attraction of this new God, this black

God, would hold our attention long enough to have some sense of unity and some sense of destiny as black people, a destiny of self-sufficiency to the fullest degree that could be realized," he said.

Mr. Muhammad is a quiet, scholarly-looking man. Mr. Farrakhan has a face that radiates clean living and eyes that dance through his fiery oratory.

Beyond the original members who remained loyal to Mr. Muhammad, it is said that the American Muslim Mission appeals more to middle-class blacks than to others, while Mr. Farrakhan reaches out to "the forgotten of society," as Mr. Gardner, the mayoral aide, put it. Views About Malcolm X

In trying to forge ahead, both groups have had to rewrite history, redefining the roles of Elijah Muhammad and his chief lieutenant for 12 years, Malcolm X, who broke with him in 1964. Less than a year later, Malcolm X was assassinated in Harlem. Three followers of Elijah Muhammad were later convicted.

Elijah Muhammad, born Elijah Poole, migrated from rural Georgia to Detroit in the late 1920's. On July 4, 1930, he supposedly met the mysterious Fard Muhammad, who introduced him and other uneducated blacks of the Detroit ghetto to the tenets of Islam. Elijah Muhammad would later teach that Fard Muhammad was in fact Allah, and it is Fard Muhammad's birthday that Mr. Farrakhan's group now celebrates as Savior's Day.

In 1934, Fard Muhammad left, leading to infighting. Elijah Muhammad fled with his family and wandered the next eight years over the country trying to convert other blacks. Beginnings of the Rise

After a five-year prison term for refusing to register for the draft, he moved to Chicago and set about building the Nation of Islam.

In 1952, Malcolm Little became his protege, changing his name to Malcolm X. He became the minister of Temple 7 in Harlem and Mr. Muhammad's national representative.

He drew widespread attention and recruited hundreds to the Black Muslim movement. Among them was a Boston calypso singer, Louis Wolcott, later Louis Farrakhan FOCUS

To W. Deen Muhammad's group, Malcolm X is "a great hero." For Mr. Farrakhan's followers, he is "a defector."

When Malcolm X left, so did a lot of Muslims. When he was assassinated, even more left the Nation of Islam. Haunting Memories

His death on Feb. 21, 1965, still haunts Mr. Farrakhan and his aides, for they think a number of former Muslims would return to the fold but for their belief that Elijah Muhammad's followers murdered Malcolm X out of jealousy. Mr. Farrakhan attributes Malcolm X's death to a governmental conspiracy.

Detractors of Mr. Farrakhan say that he has a penchant for

grandiose ideas and little follow-up. Wali Akbar Muhammad, editor of The American Muslim Journal, noted that while Mr. Farrakhan led 1,000 followers to City Hall on Feb. 9, when he registered to vote for the first time, Election Commission records show that only 167 people registered in the city that day.

And they wonder how Mr. Farrakhan reconciles his belief in a separate nation with his campaigning for Mr. Jackson.

Wali Akbar Muhammad said, "If Jesse Jackson becomes President, is he going to give Minister Farrakhan a separate state?"

GRAPHIC: photo of Rev. Jesse Jackson; photo of W. Dean Muhammad
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

(END)

To Jim Atlas

" / "

This might interest
Norman Mailer, esp.
the marked passage
on 24.

Andrew, JR
for Norman -
JA

JACK ROSENTHAL

THE CULTURE OF CAUTION

By Orlando Patterson

There is a line in Colin Powell's autobiography that says much about the culture that nurtured him. He is describing the reaction of his relatives to the news that he had changed his college major from engineering to geology. What good was that, they wished to know. "And, most critical to these security-haunted people, could geology lead to a pension?"

Colin Powell knew his people. West Indians in general, and Jamaicans in particular, are more than normally obsessed with security. "Dread" is a feared and favored word in modern Jamaican creole, describing a chronic existential insecurity. And it is this dread which may account for Powell's decision not to seek the presidency. In understanding Powell's extreme caution, his West Indian immigrant background cannot be overestimated.

The Caribbean islands presented to their inhabitants a succession of challenges that instilled a sense of constant insecurity. Not only are the islands dirt poor and overpopulated but their history has been one of the most brutal in modern times, an endless series of harsh challenges. Some were man-made: slavery, the post-emancipation plantation system, the eroded peasant hillsides. Others were simply acts of god, like the volcanoes, earthquakes and hurricanes that periodically flatten or burn everything in sight, sometimes pulling whole cities undersea. To the natives, these islands were never paradise.

But they were home. The challenge to survive in these tiny, overcrowded hothouses of peoples from every corner of the world resulted in an archipelago of homelands, fiercely loved, and as fiercely loathed, eagerly departed from and obsessively longed for by exiles living in overcrowded Northern tenements smelling of rum, curried goat and coconuts. More than most other peoples, West Indians belong to a migratory culture—a continuing migration that has increased with time and inevitably focused on the United States.

There have been two great movements of West Indians to America. The first began over 100 years ago, with

more than 95,000 migrants arriving during the second half of the century, many via Panama, where mainly Jamaican and Barbadian workers constructed the canal. It escalated during the first three decades of this century, when 290,000 came, but was severely curtailed by the racist immigration law of 1924. During the next thirty years, an average of fewer than 2,000 arrived annually. This first wave defined the American image of Caribbeans, and Colin Powell is its ultimate success story.

These early immigrants came mainly from lower-middle and solidly working-class backgrounds. Powell's fit this pattern: his father was working class, and his mother's high-school background would have placed her firmly in the middle class at a time when less than 2 percent of Jamaicans had such education. Their light-brown complexion, another index of middle-class status, was also typical of those early immigrants.

The second West Indian wave arrived in the 1960s and continues to this day. The Hart-Cellar Immigration Reform Act of 1965 came in the nick of time for West Indian migratory culture. Only three years earlier Britain had closed its doors, blocking a growing movement by the West Indian working classes to the former metropole. The pent-up migratory force broke on America right after. By the late '60s, Jamaica alone was sending more than 10,000 people per annum. Between 1960 and 1993 a total of 845,588 arrived, 57 percent from Jamaica.

West Indians of the second wave are more complex in social origin than their predecessors. They come mainly from the two extremes of the islands' talent pool: the most and the least able. The upwardly mobile working poor have largely stayed put as the modernization of the islands' economies has opened up opportunities at the top of West Indian society. Since colonial elites no longer block internal mobility as they did in the 1920s, talented lower-middle-class and working-class people can now move into the upper middle class instead of emigrating. The very brightest people, however, still find the smallness and confinement of the islands a severe constraint on their ambitions, so they leave to swim in bigger ponds. At the same time, modern mass transportation has considerably reduced the cost of migration as well as its selective pressure, so peo-

ORLANDO PATTERSON is John Cowles professor of sociology at Harvard and author of *Freedom: Freedom in the Making of Western Culture* (Basic).

ple at the bottom of the society who find little prospect of work at home also move out. This new flow's two extremes are reflected in the fact that the post-'60s migration has, on the one hand, presented America with numerous professors, doctors, nurses, businessmen and two Nobel laureates but, on the other hand, has produced the murderous savagery of the posse gangs now taking over the nation's crack trade.

The starker difference between the old and the new immigrant waves is that the older generation were better placed educationally vis-à-vis the American black population. While the current wave of migrants have spent a couple more years in school, West Indian primary education has deteriorated since colonial days, and the prewar immigrants, who averaged eleven years of school attendance, actually enjoyed a larger advantage over American blacks. Today, African Americans have actually surpassed immigrant West Indians in years of schooling.

Moreover, the first cohort of immigrants found an America immensely different from today's. Powell's parents entered a highly segregated society. Because of the tight housing market faced by all blacks, West Indians had to live among the African American population. In this, they differed greatly from European immigrants, who established distinct ethnic neighborhoods. But this does not mean, as some have argued, that West Indians became an "invisible" group, forced to assimilate into black America. They were all too visible to the native African American population that both resented and were intrigued by their pushiness, their intellectualism, their strange ways of talking, dressing and dancing. And they were very visible to the whites who quickly stereotyped them as more adaptable and hardworking than native-born blacks.

More educated than American blacks and, like all immigrants, motivated and driven, these early West Indians quickly monopolized the role of intermediary between whites and African Americans. In the early decades of the twentieth century, black Americans remained generally hostile to the Democratic Party, and by the late '30s and '40s it was West Indians who cracked the racist walls around Tammany Hall and came to represent blacks in mainstream electoral politics. These included J. Raymond Jones, the first black to lead the Tammany machine; Bertram Baker, New York's first black state assemblyman; and MacDonald "Mac" Holder, Brooklyn's preeminent power broker for over half a century. Observers usually credit this political action to the newcomers' Afro-British heritage, and there is something to this. The British, because of their small numbers in the islands, always needed a buffer between themselves and the unusually rebellious mass of blacks. So, from the days of slavery, the "colored" middle groups developed a racial broker tradition, one which they may well have transported to America. (In any case, the West Indian experience in the U.S. fits a larger pattern. Small outsider groups have historically played an intermediary role in tightly segregated plural

societies. For example, a disproportionate number of African leaders have come from small tribes. And the Chinese minority played the same buffer role in Malaysia and Indonesia until the larger native groups woke up politically and booted them out.)

In America, native blacks woke up to mainstream politics in the '60s and gave the West Indians the boot. But West Indians of the first wave influenced radical black politics and cultural life as well, giving voice to the pent-up rage of African Americans against the racist system. They owned New York's leading black newspaper, and many West Indians influenced the Harlem renaissance, the Jamaican Claude McKay being the most famous. Another Jamaican, Marcus Garvey, led the first mass movement of urban black Americans through his separatist, back-to-Africa group, the Universal Negro Improvement Association. And up to the mid-'40s nearly all prominent black communists and labor leaders were West Indian. The late, great West Indian intellectual C.L.R. James was for several years America's leading Trotskyite theoretician, working under the pseudonym J.R. Johnson.

The West Indian cultural background helps to explain this radical legacy. Caribbean radicalism has roots in an endless series of slave revolts, a tradition continued after emancipation in the great peasant revolt in Jamaica in 1865 and the plantation riots of the 1930s. Partly this was due to the majority status of blacks in the islands and their greater sense of racial dignity. But, ironically, it was also due to the limited but unwittingly subversive nature of British colonial education itself. The British not only relied on a cadre of trained blacks to man the lower ranks of the civil service and teaching profession in the Caribbean but, with classic imperial nerve, singled out West Indians—especially Barbadians—to act as teachers, missionaries and lower-level imperial agents in colonial Africa. This strategy resembled their use of small Asian groups in the pacification of Southeast Asia.

The technique worked well enough in Africa, but it backfired in the Caribbean. Not only did radical strains in British thought take root among West Indian intellectuals like C.L.R. James, but the imperial mystique itself was absorbed and turned on its head. The grandiosity of Marcus Garvey, who, in his British Raj costume and Victorian feathered hat, planned to take African Americans on what was, in essence, an imperial conquest of Africa, was, in the sublimely absurd custom of the islands, simply a West Indian saturnalia gone awry, in which the colonial mimic decided to live his role for real.

These two great traditions of West Indian politics—the moderate interracial broker and the militant racialist invert—are apotheosized in Colin Powell and Louis Farrakhan. It is no accident that Farrakhan's first career was that of a calypsonian called "The Charmer." (Given Powell's lifelong love of calypso it is not unlikely that he once saw Farrakhan perform on a calypso stage.) Calypso is the essence of the Carnival, the music

of inversion. Farrakhan's social conservatism and inordinate pride in his half-learned classical violin are pure Anglo West Indian, his plans for the resurrection of black patriarchy represent male West Indian compensation against the Caribbean's formidably independent women, and his mystifying numerology comes straight out of the West Indian preaching tradition. And, when Farrakhan reaches for a religious metaphor, it is not to the Koran that he turns but, compulsively, to the book drummed into his subconscious as a youth: the Bible—King James edition.

Given the subjective dehumiliation of ancestry, it is hard to say how many West Indians live in the United States today. The sociologist Mary Waters, a leading researcher on Caribbeans in the U.S., suspects that the less successful, especially the troubled offspring of more recent, proletarian migrants to the inner cities, are more inclined to identify themselves as black Americans. And we have no good estimate of the large number of undocumented West Indians. A highly conservative recent estimate suggests that, as of 1990, at least 6 percent of the black population—approximately 2 million persons—are of black, non-Hispanic, Caribbean origin, of whom 86 percent are foreign born. One can safely increase this figure by a third to take account of the large number of illegal migrants, as well as temporary farm workers and documented non-migrants, many of whom end up as illegal residents. This high ratio of foreign to native born reflects the immigrant flow's rapid increase over the past three decades. It stands in sharp contrast to the final decades of the first wave, during which American-born West Indians such as Powell constituted about half of all those claiming Caribbean ancestry.

About two-thirds of American blacks of island ancestry come from the Anglophone West Indies, Jamaicans being by far the single largest group (29 percent). Haitians now rank second (19 percent) and those from the Hispanic Caribbean third (16 percent). Because they are among the most highly concentrated populations in the United States, West Indians represent a major component of the black population in states like New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts.

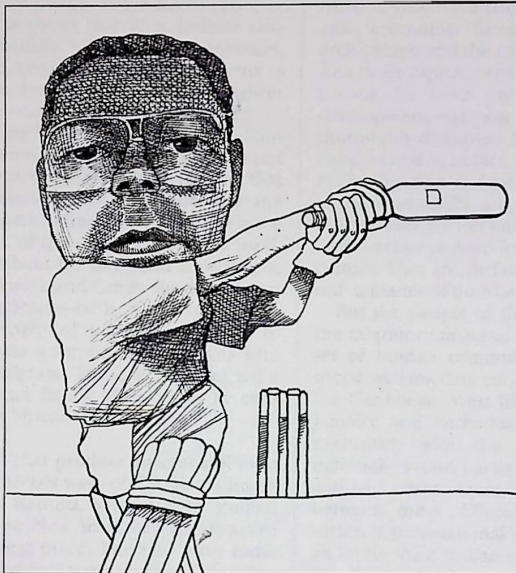
Almost half of all blacks from the Caribbean live in New York, making up 30 percent of the state's black population; the second-largest group, some 17 percent, lives in Florida; 7 percent are in New England, mainly Massachusetts, where they make up nearly a third of the state's black population. In all, over 80 percent live in the New England, Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic regions.

Is there any truth to the common view that they represent a black success story? According to the black conservative Thomas Sowell, not only is their success well attested to by the Census data, it is evidence that racism insufficiently explains African Americans' economic plight. Rather, in Sowell's view, their West Indian attitudes and values—hard work, familism, love of education, all celebrated in Powell's autobiography—provide the explanation.

Sowell's thesis has generated heated debate. All sorts of statistical maneuvers have been marshaled by the "Racism-Forever" cadre of social scientists to prove that there is no exception to the iron grip of race in American life. According to economist Kristin Butcher, the proper comparison group for West Indians is not the average African American but only those blacks who have migrated from one state to another (as if nearly all African Americans were not already internal migrants).

This done, the West Indian advantage vanishes. Racism's got them, too! The demographer Suzanne Model, however, although sympathetic to the argument, could not replicate Butcher's claim. Her view is that West Indians, especially those of the second and third generations, historically earned much more than other African Americans. This she explains partly by their unusually high rates of labor force participation (especially among immigrant women) and partly by their greater number of years in school. But, by 1990, African Americans in New York had closed both the income and educational gaps: the racism model still worked.

The problem with the racism model, however, is that its findings apply only to New York in aggregate, and, given the extremely heterogeneous nature of the West Indian populations there today, generalizations are



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highly questionable. West Indians of the first wave, such as those who live in Queens and in the Williamsbridge-Wakefield area of the Bronx where Powell grew up, continue to be solidly middle class, and their children are found disproportionately in the best public schools. Children of the new wave, whose parents come disproportionately from the lowest end of West Indian societies, are disproportionately found in the city's worst schools and, as a result, suffer the same problems that plague their African American underclass peer group.

The best recent study of the national data, done by Dutch sociologist Matthijs Kalmijn, unequivocally argues that West Indians in America have experienced disproportionate success. Far from assimilating to African American disadvantage, as the Racism-Forever analysts claim, Kalmijn shows that West Indians continue to have substantially higher annual incomes, more prestigious jobs, considerably greater returns to schooling than African Americans and on many indices practically reach a par with whites.

Sowell, therefore, has his facts about West Indians right. But his explanation is still questionable. It is not mainly the home-country values of West Indians that account for their economic success: otherwise the islands would be economic miracles. What counts is the highly selective nature of the migration process itself. Powell is right to attribute his own, and his group's, success to the ethic of work and family. But his parents were exceptional Jamaicans—both in the values they held and in the strength of their commitment to them—and it was these exceptional Jamaicans who continually chose to migrate. Those left behind tell a different story: Jamaican family life is today in even greater trouble than is African American.

Do these values that produce success still exist among the post-'60s wave of Caribbean immigrants? Philip Kasinitz, who recently studied West Indians in New York, has an attractive account of what is taking place. The new wave came just as formal segregation laws were abolished, opening up many residential areas previously denied to blacks. The result has been the rapid growth of West Indian neighborhoods very similar, in his view, to the classic old Euro-American ethnic communities. Ironically, just as the West Indians became a major demographic presence in the city, they lost their grip on mainstream city politics as African Americans took over that role. Instead, argues Kasinitz, West Indians are increasingly turning to classic ethnic politics. A new breed of politicians represents distinctly West Indian—as opposed to African American—interests. While West Indian politicians in the first wave deliberately muted their West Indianness in their public life, they now emphasize it in order to mobilize this rapidly growing ethnic turf.

It's certainly true that some West Indian activists are now desperately trying to replicate the familiar American ethnic route to local political power. But I don't think they stand a chance of success. This is not

because West Indians are inherently skeptical of politicians as Kasinitz and others argue; they are doing a pretty good job of it in England, and the new wave of immigrants come, if anything, from politically overheated democratic polities seemingly ripe for ethnic mobilization. But rather, current migration takes place in a radically new context which largely obviates the need for ethnic politics.

This context—call it the West Atlantic system—is thoroughly enmeshing the fate of the Caribbean with that of the United States. It is itself merely one part of America's transformation into a global, post-industrial polity. The West Atlantic system is a circular flow of social, demographic and economic forces embracing the Caribbean archipelago and the eastern United States. The flow of American capital, technology and mass culture to the islands, far from promoting self-sustained national development—as was once innocently hoped—has thoroughly disrupted their traditional economies and cultures and is, in fact, the main reason for the current mass migration to America. The sad truth is that these island economies are, in the long run, simply not viable—they are too small, too poor in natural resources and too close to America's overwhelming post-industrial culture. They are, *de facto*, already part of NAFTA, and it's only a matter of time before they are *de jure*.

But the people of the Caribbean aren't waiting. In the migratory process, they have created a wholly new set of human communities: genuinely transnational social systems that exist equally in both the U.S. and the Caribbean. West Indian culture, especially that of Jamaica and Barbados, can no longer be identified exclusively with the islands. Instead, it is post-national—found partly in New York, partly in Florida and to a lesser extent in Toronto. People move freely between these different locations while remaining within a transnational community. And they move at all levels. West Indian elites are endlessly mobile, with homes and bank accounts all over the West Atlantic, and the West Indian peasantry is easily the most-traveled lower class on earth. Peasant higglers and hawkers who only a decade or so ago bartered yams and sweet potatoes now think nothing of pooling their resources, chartering a plane and flying off to Florida, Panama or Hong Kong to buy their merchandise, which they then sell in any of Jamaican culture's different enclaves—either in North America or on the island itself.

This post-national context renders old models of ethnic community and politics irrelevant to West Indians living in the U.S. Caribbean Americans have seen the coming of the global economy as clear as the waters of Negril and, molded by historical insecurity into masters of survival, they have positioned themselves a step ahead of the game. Did Colin Powell's decision to eschew the siren song of electoral politics result from a similar survival instinct? Maybe it was the West Indian in him. •