

Muhammad Ali: And the Vietnam Resistance Movement

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Muhammad Ali is one of the most recognized and controversial figures in the world. Not only did revitalize the sport of boxing, he sent shock waves through the American Government and public. Historians, boxing fans, and the general public alike have sought answers and motives for Ali's actions and beliefs, questioning why this young champion, equipped with all the tools and ingredients to bring about positive change and reconciliation between the races, used his position to create more dissension than reconciliation. Opinions and theories on what or who was behind the Ali's intentions are prevalent in the world today, with the true reasons being known to only the man himself, Muhammad Ali.

In 1960, Cassius Clay, a young man from Louisville, Kentucky, returned home from winning a Olympic gold medal in boxing for the United States. He was very proud of his accomplishment, and assumed his countrymen would be as well. However, racial tensions in the United States were seemingly stagnant and little progress was being made. Upon returning home, he noticed that he was still denied entry into certain restaurants, stores, and areas of town. Cassius was a determined young man, and envisioned himself becoming world heavyweight champion, and becoming the sole provider for his family. He stayed out of trouble, did not get involved with alcohol or drugs, and he worked tirelessly at his craft.

Prior to 1964, Cassius Clay did little to rock the boat, he was tall and handsome, very sharp, was not a rebel, and had no criminal record. He was simply a young man with unprecedented boxing ability, with the sole ambitions of wealth and the world heavyweight title. White America viewed him as a "toy that presumably could be discarded as soon as his entertainment value waned."¹ Cassius had never focused his attention on race relations, but instead focused on his boxing career and on expanding his popularity and fame. He had fallen in love with wrestling great Gorgeous George, who he had heard

in an interview before one of George's matches. In the interview George mouthed off to the press about what he intended to do to his opponent. Cassius was intrigued by the man's boastfulness and openness and learned that the excitement George built up leading into his own matches is what attracted fans. No matter what the outcome of the fight would be, there was a "must-see" attribute that George brought along to all of his fights. This type of self-publicity was right up Cassius Clay's alley. The young boxer had dealt with racial hatred for much of his boyhood and saw how many of his friends and other blacks were treated. The story of Emmett Till, a young black man who was fatally beaten and executed by a group of white men for allegedly whistling at a white woman in a store, frightened the young Cassius. In an era where many young blacks were ridiculed, called ugly, and told they would never amount to anything simply because of their skin color, Cassius felt he was the complete opposite. He had learned to love himself through these times, and developed a deep self-awareness that fueled his fire and ultimately allowed him to exceed many expectations.

Cassius knew that if he were going to reach his goal of heavyweight champion, he would need to generate interest in himself and in his ability in order to make a claim for his shot at the title. He feared that the example set by many blacks before him had failed because they were not vocal or forceful enough with their aspirations to become successful. They had played into the desires of the "white man" and eventually fizzled out over time or were run out of the business. Cassius had his own formula for generating a hype around himself, which would come to define his personality. "Where do you think I'd be next week, if I didn't know how to shout and holler and make the public take notice? I'd be poor and I'd probably be down in my hometown, washing windows or running an elevator and saying 'yes suh' and 'no suh' and knowing my place. Instead, I'm one of the highest paid athletes in the

world. Think about that. A southern coloured boy has made a million dollars.² Cassius knew his personal attributes were what would pave his way to the top. He knew that he had to be different if he had any chance at bringing about the success that he longed for.

Cassius used his charisma, his loose personality, and his witty jokes to help break out of a racial stranglehold that had inhibited the black athlete for decades. He felt that those champions before him who he admired for their boxing ability, but disavowed for their complacency and compliance with the white man's orders and parameters for how they should carry themselves, could not be effective in the black community in erasing racial oppression. He drew much attention to himself with his style, which is exactly what he wanted, for he knew his boxing ability would captivate his audiences, and he could channel the attention to himself.

Cassius first heard about the Nation of Islam and their Messenger and chief leader Elijah Muhammad in 1959 in Chicago while participating in the Golden Gloves Tournament. He didn't think much of it, but arbitrarily took a copy of the newspaper entitled *Muhammad Speaks* and looked at it during his spare time. Contrary to popular belief, the Muslims did not seek out Cassius. He was intrigued by and drawn to them after hearing bits and pieces of their message. He did not have an instant interest from the beginning and was quite skeptical and weary of many of the things he first heard and learned about the organization. After returning from Rome and being invited to a Muslim temple in Miami, Cassius first began to think seriously about the Nation of Islam: "the first time I felt truly spiritual in my life was when I walked into the Muslim temple in Miami. A man named Brother John was speaking, and the first words I heard him say were, 'Why are we called Negroes? It's the white man's way of taking away our identity.'³ After the speaker began elaborating on how many blacks got their names from their slave owners, Cassius felt like he had come across something he could fully identify with. He was named after one of the largest plantation owners in the South, who later turned into a valiant abolitionist, Cassius Marcellus Clay. His father had also had the name, as well as his grandfather, and great-grandfather. This stood out in his mind and generated his further interest in the message.

Cassius became increasingly interested

in the Nation of Islam's message and sought to learn more while still maintaining his doubts and questions. He had been raised in a Christian home and attended church with his mother regularly. The only God he had ever been exposed to and worshipped was Jesus Christ. Continuing to endure racial hardships and witnessing the stagnant state of racial tensions, his speculation turned into an increased interest and he continued to be taught by different ministers within the faith who were generally assigned to him. Elijah Muhammad was initially unsupportive of Cassius Clay in his early years, as the organization was against violent activities such as boxing, in which men fought each other often to the death, in pursuit of a pay check from the "white man." He even originally reprimanded one of his ministers who taught Cassius for engaging with the boxer, reminding him he been sent south "to make converts, not fool around with fighters."⁴ Muhammad's disdain for Cassius's trade eventually turned into support once he realized what a prized possession had stumbled upon. This realization sparked a new interest in the young boxer which made the Muslim leader deeply invested in the well-being of his future and the proper management of his undertakings.

Malcolm X, rising leader of the Muslim organization and prominent speaker of his day, was introduced to Cassius in 1962. Of their meeting, Malcolm X said: "I liked him. Some contagious quality about him made him one of the few people I ever invited to my home. Betty liked him. Our children were crazy about him. Cassius was simply a likeable, friendly, clean-cut, down-to-earth youngster. I noticed how alert he was even in little details. I suspected there was a plan in his public clowning."⁵ Cassius and Malcolm's relationship grew into a sibling type of friendship. The two were seen together by the media on several occasions, which began to raise questions about what they were doing together. Malcolm was already a prominent leader in the organization and his involvement in Cassius's camp only generated speculation about what the young contender had in mind.

Cassius had not gone public with his ties to the Nation and the only information known was that which was speculated by media members and others who witnessed Cassius in the company of known Muslim activists. Of his keeping his interest a secret, Cassius stated: "for three years, up until I fought Sonny Liston, I'd sneak into Nation of Islam meetings through the back door. I didn't

want people to know I was there. I was afraid, if they knew, I wouldn't be allowed to fight for the title. Later on, I learned to stand up for my beliefs."⁶ It wasn't until after Cassius won the title by defeating World Heavyweight Champion Sonny Liston on February 25, 1964, that he came out with his conversion and his new alliance with one of the nation's most radical racial groups, the Nation of Islam, also known in America as the "Black Muslims." This announcement sent shockwaves around the world and showed just what the new champion intended to promote with his newly acquired position. In a speech 2 days after the Liston victory, Clay announced his ties with Islam and claimed that all he wanted was peace and did not want to force integration or force himself places he was not welcome: "I know where I belong. I'm not going to force myself into anybody's house. I'm not joining to forced integration movement, because it don't work. A man has got to know where he belongs." Cassius spoke to the press about the hate crimes that continued to take place all over the country and how many of those fighting for their rights were the very ones being killed daily. He states: "they want me to carry signs. They want me to picket. They tell me it would be a wonderful thing if I married a white woman because this would be good for brotherhood. I don't want to be blown up. I don't want to be washed down sewers. I just want to be happy with my own kind."⁷ By pronouncing his faith and beliefs to the entire world, Cassius was beginning a long and difficult journey that would come to define his entire life.

Now that the Muslims had their champion and a new figurehead for their movement, they could use him for whatever means they desired. Elijah Muhammad began involving himself with the affairs of the young champion, assigning his own son to become his manager and head man in Clay's camp. They handled the majority of his business affairs, as well as his promotional endeavors. This new alliance angered many Americans and frightened a host of others. This icon of boxing was embracing a militant hate group, the less radical equivalent of the Ku Klux Klan, and announcing to the world his allegiance to it. Support for Cassius slowly declined and he was vilified by many members of the media. Jim Murray of the *Los Angeles Times* labeled him the "white man's burden." Jimmy Cannon of the *New York Journal-American* referred to Clay's ties to the Nation of Islam "the dirtiest in American sports since the Nazis were shouting for Max Schmeling as

representative of their vile theories of blood."⁸

Not long after his acquisition of the title, Cassius Clay announced that he would no longer be recognized by his slave name, but was now to be called Cassius X. A few days later on March 6, Elijah Muhammad, via radio broadcast, proclaimed: "This Clay name has no divine meaning. I hope he will accept being called by a better name. Muhammad Ali is what I will give him for as long as he believes in Allah and follows me."⁹ This name change signified the freeing of self from past oppression and from the stranglehold of the "white man" on his inner being. He was liberated and free to do as he pleased, as he was now a new creature with the birth of Muhammad Ali. Elijah Muhammad knew it was in the best interest of the organization to fully support Ali and embrace him during this time, as relations between Malcolm and the Muslim leader had soured. Despite the close relationship of Ali and Malcolm, Ali sided with Elijah Muhammad and denounced Malcolm X and his retreating from the principles espoused by the Nation of Islam. The two former "brothers" only encountered one another on one occasion in front of a hotel in Ghana. Their words were short, with ultimately Ali turning his back and walking away from Malcolm, in a public display of allegiance to Elijah and disdain for Malcolm.

Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam continued to influence every decision the young champion faced. His 1967 decisions would come to define him. With the escalation of the Vietnam War imminent, the draft board changed its aptitude requirements for inductees. Ali, once classified as 1-Y (not qualified under current standards for service in the armed forces) had been reclassified after a lowering of draft standards to 1-A (qualified for service). Robert Lipsyte, who was with Ali when he first received news that he had been reclassified and was likely to be drafted, described the scene of a terrified young man. He recalled the champion repeatedly questioning, "How can they do this to me? I don't want my career ruined."¹⁰ Ali viewed this as an attempt by the white man to sabotage his career and force him to serve overseas, which he felt was the only way he could be defeated. He immediately spoke out against the draft and hinted towards the possibility of refusal of induction. While taking calls from the press concerning his newly acquired draft status, and after hours of questioning, Ali infamously replied, "I ain't got no quarrel with them Vietcong." This phrase made

headlines all over the country the following day and many who supported Ali were now against him, for they concluded he placed self about country. Ali's statement seemed innocent in his mind; a simple statement that reflected how he truly felt concerning the situation. At this time most Americans still supported the war and anyone not willing to serve his country was considered a rebel and a traitor. It also showed Ali's belief and support for the separation of races and his non-alliance with white America and its' endeavors. Ali's religious ties did nothing to help his cause and his statement only revealed his true feelings, in the mind of many Americans. The young champion now feared for the well-being of his career, as well as his life. His initial reaction seemingly had little to do with political or religious ambitions or desires, but solely rested on his fear for his career as a boxer.

In a statement released after his refusal to take the ceremonial one step forward to signify induction into the Armed Forces on April 28, 1967, Ali made his objections public:

It is in the light of my consciousness as a Muslim minister and my own personal convictions that I take my stand in rejecting the call to be inducted in the armed services. I do so with the full realization of its implications and possible consequences. I have searched my conscience and I find I cannot be true to my belief in my religion by accepting such a call. My decision is a private and individual one and I realize that this is a most crucial decision. In taking it I am depended solely upon Allah as the final judge of these actions brought about by my own conscience.¹¹

In this statement, Ali's articulated his stance and justification for his actions. It also began a new chapter in American history, in which youth of all races were questioning the motives of the American policies and the current system which seemed to have little to no concern for the well-being of middle and lower class families.

Ali didn't view his actions at the time as radical, but simply believed he was fighting for what he felt in his heart of hearts was just and right. However, the fear of the fate that lay before him being shipped to a foreign land to engage in warfare that he believed was not warranted troubled Ali more than anything else, more than his religious

beliefs, and more than his effort to become a voice for the youth. Ali's stated peaceful mentality and desire to refrain from aligning himself in the fight for integration allowed him a political leg to stand on and gave him a justifiable reason for opposing the war and his induction. Ali believed that justice would prevail, and that his religious affiliation provided more than a substantial basis for refusing induction: "as a prospective defendant in criminal proceedings, Clay is expected to attempt to establish that 'preaching and teaching' the tenets of the Muslims is a full-time occupation and that boxing is the 'avocation' that financially supports his unpaid ministerial duties."¹²

After being denied conscientious objector status by the Army on two separate occasions, Ali did not initially apply for it a third time when he came before the appeal board on March 17, 1966. Ali instead sought a ministerial deferment, which would keep him from any form of service or obligation in a war he viewed as unjust. To demonstrate that the ministry was his primary occupation, he told Judge Lawrence Grauman, a retired jurist and a special hearing officer for the Justice Department, that he typically spent several hours a day speaking at mosques and college campuses on behalf of the Nation of Islam. He went on to say: "Sir...it would be no trouble for me to go into the Armed Services, boxing exhibitions in Vietnam or traveling the country at the expense of the Government or living the easy life and not having to get out in the mud and fight and shoot. If it wasn't against my conscience to do it, I would easily do it."¹³

Ali felt as though he was the victim of a brutal plan aimed at redirecting support for him in exchange for vilification and a sentence to fight overseas in an effort to mar his career and discredit his stand as an influential and outspoken black leader. A vast majority of the public seemed to disapprove of Ali's religious ties, claiming that he was part of a relentless racial hate group. Ali had a quite different outlook on his religious affiliation, and envisioned himself as an advocate of peace. When asked by a white reporter about his Muslim ties, Ali responded, "If I go to a Muslim meeting, what do I see? I see there's no smoking and no drinking. I see the women wearing dresses down to the floor. I see great wisdom and a way of life that will save the world."¹⁴ He believed that the message presented by the Muslims would solve racial issues by disengaging itself with forced integration and developing a pride and contentment with one's

own race. However, not all blacks agreed with their ideals for peace or their beliefs and tactics. "While the Black Muslims are thought to have recruited only a relatively small number of black Americans, most Negroes admire their discipline, thrift and their record of conversions of former criminals and drug addicts and their rehabilitation of slum neighborhoods. Alleged anti-white teachings within the sect are called 'simply very pro-black teachings' by the membership."¹⁵ Unbeknownst to many with knowledge of the Nation of Islam, as well as some intrigued by its message, is the falling away from many basic teachings and beliefs within the true and original religion of Islam.

While the Nation of Islam did cater to many characteristics of true Islam, there were many differences that were either ignored or altered to cater to the needs of blacks at the time. Warith Deen Muhammad, son of Elijah Muhammad, who eventually broke from the Nation in 1975, said that his father was aware of some of the differences in teachings between the Nation of Islam and true Islam. However, he maintained that his father's teachings were essential at the time, "...in order for blacks to pull themselves up from the circumstances of genuine degradation in which many found themselves to a station of pride and self-respect, thrift and discipline, and economic stability."¹⁶ Islam teaches that all races are equal before God, whereas the Nation of Islam taught that the white man is the devil. These admitted differences give way to the notion that the Nation of Islam maintained a political and racial agenda from its inception, and incorporated beneficial elements, while disassociating itself from teachings and beliefs that were not suitable or desirable for the times.

Ali embraced the Muslim message and was a true advocate and representation of its beliefs. He said what they wanted him to say and objected when they wanted him to object. However, times were not always happy between Ali and the Muslims. Upon releasing a statement reflecting his desire to return to the ring in early 1969, Elijah Muhammad released this statement; "I want the world to know that Muhammad Ali has stepped down off the spiritual platform of Islam to see if he can make money in the sports world. This statement is to tell the world that we, the Muslims, are not with Mr. Muhammad Ali in his desire to work in the sports world for the sake of a 'little' money."¹⁷ A week later, Elijah Muhammad would "strip" Ali of his name and he would once again be referred

to in the Muslim community as Cassius Clay. This action from the one Ali revered most came as a blow to the champion, as he lost the name he esteemed and the fellowship he cherished. Ali's disfellowship shows the dedication of the Muslims to their desired mission and anticipated outcome of martyrdom, rather than a dedication to their man and chosen figurehead of the Nation of Islam.

While many politicians and those engulfed in the legal system argued the nooks and crannies of the Constitution in search of a guilty or innocent verdict for Ali, the rest of America became engulfed in other questions. Black and white Americans alike debated the effectiveness and fairness of the system as a whole; race relations, draft inequalities, and other issues that were moved to the forefront. Ali's initial reaction to being drafted had nothing to do with becoming a hero, nor did he aim to cause an uprising about the nature of our country and its values.

I never thought of myself as great when I refused to go into the army. All I did was stand up for what I believed. There were people who thought the war in Vietnam was right. And those people, if they went to war, acted just as brave as I did. There were people who tried to put me in jail. Some of them were hypocrites, but others did what they thought was proper and I can't condemn them for following their consciences either.¹⁸

However, his actions lead to a variety of reactions, each differing depending on who was asked. Many in the African-American community followed the Ali story closely because racial progress was often measured by the government's treatment of black celebrities and politicians. Many young blacks protested the government's persecution of Ali, while they felt white celebrities were being allowed the privilege to live their lives at elite status with no interference from the government. In their eyes, only a conspiracy fueled by racial intolerance could explain the actions against such an outspoken and well-known black man. This time period revealed America's true feelings toward race, and ultimately the shifting perceptions of the war in Vietnam.

Although he had the support of many communities, others were terrified, insulted, and openly against the champion and his values. Congressman Frank Clark of Pennsylvania voiced his opinion: "The heavyweight champion of the world

turns my stomach. I am not a superpatriot. But I feel that each man, if he really is a man, owes to his country a willingness to protect it and serve it in time of need. From this standpoint, the heavyweight champion has been a complete and total disgrace."¹⁹ Facing intense criticism such as this, as well as that of many others in positions of authority and leadership, Ali continued his fight for what he believed to be right. Although he gained much of the anti-war attention, others all across the country began to participate in the resistance movement. In 1967, a group of antiwar men around the San Francisco Bay Area voiced their intent to stop all association with the Selective Service System. They hoped to join with other resistance groups, arguing that noncooperation with a government conducting an immoral war was the only appropriate moral path.²⁰ The entire tone of the discussion of the Vietnam War in America was rapidly changing. From a war of peacemakers and liberators; it was now being viewed by many as criminal activity. The Resistance Movement that began in California had now become a nationwide movement with organizations in New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Iowa, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, Oregon, and California. In October of 1967, the organization declared, "We will publicly and collectively return our draft cards to the selective service system in major cities throughout the country. We will clearly challenge the government's right to use any young lives for its own nefarious purposes. Our challenge will continue, and we will openly confront the Selective Service System, until the government is forced to deal with our collective action."²¹ Ali was the initiator and leader of something much larger than what he had originally envisioned; however, the champion was prepared to become a symbol of youth in America, and the hope and freedom that they sought for the country.

Nonetheless, Ali's path took a different road. He had already announced to the world his conversion and allegiance to the Black Muslims. He had aligned himself with this group that many distanced themselves from and viewed as trouble to the country and to the American ideal. However, the circumstances in which Ali found himself from a racial standpoint, left him vulnerable to the Muslim idea and notions of the way life should be lived for every black man. Ali was never 'anti-white.' He had embraced his white supporters just as much as his black supporters in his early years. His trainer and leading man in his corner throughout his career

was Angelo Dundee. But Ali's position in America was altogether changed through his choice of acquaintances and influences. By the mid-sixties, the captivating champion had evolved from a symbolic warrior for the nation to a standard bearer for racial militancy. All of Ali's fights were now political and extremely racial to the very core and filled with intense cultural slurs and ideologies about different races and religions. Ali envisioned himself as the model 'black man' and any blacks that did not support him or believe as he did were instruments of the 'white man.' His fight seemed to undergo an acute transformation and took on a different meaning from when it originally started.

There are differing opinions on Ali's actions and how much they truly reflected his thoughts and how much were a byproduct of the Muslim influence. Jeremiah Shabazz, one of the first to instruct Ali in the faith, declared, "Nobody put pressure on Ali not to go into the Army. The Messenger might have counseled him regarding what to say and not to say, but the final decision was all his own." While this may have been true, the mounting pressure from the higher ups in ensuring the young champion spoke the right words, maintained the same approach, and stood by each and every one of his beliefs, undoubtedly shaped and influenced his every move. Regardless of how much or how little he was directly fed in regards to how he should carry himself, he still was aware of what the faith subjected him to and the moral responsibility he had by aligning himself so closely with the religion. Ali admits that "the Muslims insisted he never be in uniform and never be given a rank."²² This "command" affected Ali's will to negotiate and presumably left him with two options, neither of which appealed greatly to the champion; go to the Army or stand trial. His miscues in adhering to the Muslims' advice in the previous year, which led to his denouncement, kept him from ever again choosing a path of self-determination.

The extent of the Muslims' influence on Ali has been a topic of debate for decades. Some believe that Ali's notorious line, "I ain't got no quarrel with them Vietcong," was fed to him directly from his Muslim counterparts, following intense questioning concerning his newly acquired draft status. Although this claim has never been fully accepted or disputed, it does provide a new angle from which to view the entirety of Ali's public statements. Mort Susman, head of the United States Attorney's Office for the Southern District of Texas claimed, that she believed

Ali and his camp were close to settling on a court deal which would have sent him into the army, but with an almost certain guarantee that he would be fighting exhibitions and entertaining troops rather than fighting in some 'rice paddy.' One conversation between Susman and the champion discussed whether or not Ali would be publicly humiliated if he changed his position and went into the Army. He later said: "and my own view...is he was very close to changing his mind but some of his advisors wanted to make a martyr out of him."²³ Ali was unwilling to do anything which might upset the Muslim leadership or bring into question his loyalty to Elijah Muhammad. He also did not want to compromise his stance by giving in to the mounting pressures and undoing all he had done in his fight for justice. He stood firm by his decisions and on several occasions, politely refused advice to compromise. A meeting with prominent black figures including Jim Brown, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, and Bill Russell, in hopes of persuading Ali to possibly lighten his stance and to consider all options and consequences of his actions, proved futile in swaying Ali from his position. The champion held true to his conviction, which ultimately won him the admiration of many.

On June 28, 1971, Muhammad Ali was cleared by the Supreme Court of the charge of refusing induction into the Armed Services. An unsigned opinion from the Court claimed that the Justice Department had misled Selective Service authorities by advising them that Ali's claim as a conscientious objector was neither sincere nor based on religious tenets.²⁴ The court found that the earnestness of Ali's beliefs and their foundation in religious training were beyond doubt. It noted that the government had conceded that Ali met these two criteria and that the Appeal Board could have made its decision on unlawful advice from the Justice Department. Ali also won his suit against the boxing commission

after his lawyers, who were provided by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, "...had documented numerous instances in which boxing authorities had licensed men who had previously been convicted of rape, theft, and military offenses."²⁵ Muhammad Ali had concluded his most epic fight and emerged victorious. Through his trials, both socially and legally, he had become the symbol of American freedom and justice. He maintained his belief in the system and endeavored to face whatever scrutiny would come his way, believing that justice would ultimately prevail.

Ali was subject to many differing opinions and received guidance from a wide range of people, all of which influenced his actions. To understand his motives, it is critical to understand his surroundings. Through his conversion, he had found the inspiration and satisfaction of a higher being, which he acknowledged as Allah. Only Allah could truly influence his decision making; and ultimately Allah would be his final judge. In his later years, Ali denounced many of the teachings of Elijah Muhammad; the man he once viewed as next to God, however he retained his belief in the basic teachings of true Islam. Time contributed to him becoming wiser and has allowed him the ability to examine the faith for himself and through conviction, shape his devotion into what it is today.

Whether Ali was manipulated by the Nation of Islam or not, he maintained his true conviction and spiritual connection throughout. He had found something that gave meaning to his life and placed a value on it that he would allow no man to take away. Even in his struggles with the Nation, he learned that following his heart and not the desires of other men would be the decisive factor in attaining his salvation. It is through his understanding, determination, and sincere belief in his morals and values that propelled Muhammad Ali to victory in the ring, in the courtroom, and in life.

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Endnotes

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- ³ Hauser, 90.
- ⁴ Clegg III, Claude A., *An Original Man* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 210.
- ⁵ Haley, Alex, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1999), 198.
- ⁶ Houser, 97.

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