

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 100-399321

Section 11

Serials 109-126

FBI

Date: 5/22/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTELREGISTERED

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
IS - NOI  
(OO: NY)

ReNYtel, 5/21/64.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 6 copies of a LHM reflecting subject's arrival in the U.S. on 5/21/64.

The pretext on 5/20/64 was a telephone call by [REDACTED] Information from  
INS Inspector ADAMS was furnished to SA [REDACTED]

- 3 - BUREAU (Encl. 6) (RM)
- 1 - NY 100-152759 (MMI) (43)
- 1 - NY 105-8999 (43)

TLB:mfd (#43)  
(6)

ENCLOSURE

sent to State, CIA, Comm  
Marshall, [REDACTED]  
by routing slip for  
☒ info ☐ action  
Date 5/25/64  
by [REDACTED]

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

53 JUN 1 1964

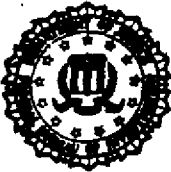
See release 100-103357  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/19/83 BY 8269/HK/LLS/uy  
#235,1215

b7C  
b7E

b7C  
100-379321-109

MAY 23 1964

SUBV



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-399321

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York  
May 22, 1964

Re: Malcolm K. Little  
Internal Security - NOI

On March 12, 1964, Malcolm X Little, former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and Minister of NOI Mosque No. 7, New York City, publicly announced the formation of Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI), the philosophy of which will be black nationalism.

Characterizations of the NOI and NOI Mosque No. 7 are attached hereto [REDACTED]

b7D  
b7C By means of a pretext by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on May 20, 1964, it was ascertained [REDACTED] that subject was scheduled to return from his tour of Africa on May 21, 1964, and would arrive at the John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City, at 4:30 p.m., May 21, 1964. A press conference by subject was scheduled for 7:00 p.m. on that date and a reception for him was scheduled at 8:00 p.m. on May 21, 1964, in the Skyline Room, Hotel Theresa, New York City.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/14/83 BY 8269 JHE/WER/uy

#235,295

See release

196-10535-9

Re: Malcolm K. Little  
Internal Security - NOI

On May 21, 1964, Supervising Inspector John Adams, Immigration and Naturalization Service, New York City, advised that subject, using the name Malik El Shabazz, arrived at 4:25 p.m. that date aboard Pan American flight 115 from Paris, France. He had passport number C294275, and his destination was his residence at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York City.

Concerning the press conference mentioned above, the following article (in part) appeared in "The New York Times," a New York City daily newspaper, of May 22, 1964, Late City Edition, page 22, column 5:

**"MALCOLM SAYS HE IS BACKED ABROAD**

**"Asserts U.N. Will Get Case on U.S. Negro This Year**

"Malcolm X, the Negro nationalist leader, said yesterday he had received pledges of support from some new African nations for charges of discrimination against the United States in the United Nations.

"The case against the United States for its treatment of the Negro people, he said, would be prepared and submitted to the United Nations sometime this year. He did not say which nations intended to lodge the formal charges.

"Malcolm, speaking at a press conference in Harlem following his return from a trip to Africa and Mecca, said the pledges had been received from the heads of all the countries he visited. Among the nations on his itinerary were Ghana, Algeria, Nigeria, Morocco and Saudi Arabia.

"The case to be presented to the world organization, he asserted, would compel the United States Government to face the same charges as South Africa and Rhodesia.

Re: Malcolm K. Little  
Internal Security - NOI

"The United States, he asserted, has colonized the Negro people just as the people of Africa and Asia were colonized by Europeans. He described the American method as neo-colonialism.

"Stresses Dignity

"My racial philosophy has only changed to the extent that in Mecca and Saudi Arabia I met thousands of people of different races and colors who treated me as a human being," he said...."

Re: Malcolm K. Little  
Internal Security - NOI

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

On July 10, 1963, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2,5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon".

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

Re: Malcolm K. Little  
Internal Security - NOI

2.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On July 10, 1963, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

Re: Malcolm K. Little  
Internal Security - NOI

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM  
MOSQUE #7, NEW YORK CITY

On May 3, 1963, a source advised that the Nation of Islam (NOI) affiliate in New York City is known as Mosque #7, also known as Temple #7, and is located at 102 West 116th Street, New York City. Mosque #7 is a part of the NOI headed by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. Mosque #7 follows the policies and programs as set forth by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

The date Mosque #7 originated in New York City is not known.

However, in connection with the origin of Mosque #7, it should be noted that in 1953, a second source advised that there was a temple of the NOI (known to source then as the Muslim Cult of Islam) in New York City located at 135th Street and Seventh Avenue, as far back as 1947.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) \_\_\_\_\_ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
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- ☒ Document(s) originating with \_\_\_\_\_ appropriate agency, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-399321-110

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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XXXXXX  
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET1

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deleted under exemption(s) \_\_\_\_\_ with no segregable material available for release to you.
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Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-399321-Not Recorded 5/24/64

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 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 6/8/64

FROM : SAC, NEW ORLEANS (105-1429)(P)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka.  
IS - NOI  
(OO: New York)

Re New York airtel 3/9/64, and Bureau letter, 3/27/64.

Enclosed for the Bureau are six (6) copies of a letterhead memorandum captioned as above. Enclosed for New York are two (2) copies of letterhead memorandum and for Chicago one(1) copy.

67D  
67D  
67C  
[REDACTED] furnished  
to SA [REDACTED]

New York is requested to furnish any information regarding plans of LITTLE to visit State of Louisiana.

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 6)(RM)
- 2-New York (Enc. 2)(105-8999)(RM)
- 1-Chicago (Enc. 1)(100-35635)(Info)(RM)
- 2-New Orleans

EBL/sms  
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/19/83 BY 8869 AE/wEB/ky  
8275,295

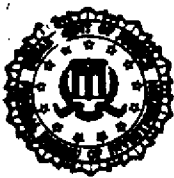
REC-13

100-399321-111

6 JUN 9 1964

SUBV CONTROL

62  
67C  
72 JUN 17 1964



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New Orleans, Louisiana

June 8, 1964

MALCOLM X. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY -  
NATION OF ISLAM

b7D

[REDACTED] did not have any information that  
Malcolm Little was to be in Louisiana.

b7D

[REDACTED] did not have any  
information that Little was to be in Louisiana during  
the summer of 1964.

This document contains neither recommendations  
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the  
FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents  
are not to be distributed outside your agency.

See 196-10535-9 release  
CONTAINED  
12/14/93 5:8269 JHE/wes/hg  
# 235,295

FBI

Date: 6/1/64

~~Confidential~~Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971-38)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-4593) (P)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM - GENERAL  
IS - KOL100-10535-98 JHE/WEB/ug  
ON 12/19/13  
#205,275 Remyairtel 4/13/64. UEnclosed for the Bureau are the original and four  
copies of a letterhead memo [REDACTED][REDACTED] Two  
copies of the LHM are enclosed for Chicago and New York and  
one copy for Phoenix. UClassified By: 6055  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
6/1/77 Dmb/aw

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM) (AM)  
 2 - Chicago (100-35635) (Enc. 2) (RM)  
 2 - New York (105-7809) (Enc. 2) (RM)  
 1 - Phoenix (105-931) (Enc. 1) (RM)  
 2 - Atlanta

ENCLOSURE

AGENCY

REC-100

DATE FOR

HOW FOR

BY

NOT RECORDED

Sent

Per

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

JUN 8 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 25-330971-1901

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET3

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-399321-Not Recorded 6/1/69

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 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

AT 100-4593

~~Confidential~~

The enclosed LHM has not been classified as there appears no reason therefore.

~~Confidential~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia  
June 1, 1964

NATION OF ISLAM

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

A characterization of the Nation of Islam (NOI)  
is attached hereto.

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

A characterization of Muhammad's Mosque 15 is  
attached hereto.

12/19/83 158269 /41 [signature]  
# 235-65

NATION OF ISLAM

b7D [REDACTED]

MALCOLM X currently desires to appeal to all black people but primarily those on a social and economic level above those reached by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. He recognizes that Islam is the natural basic religion of all black Africans. In order that he may hold some appeal for such persons, MALCOLM during his visit to Mecca became a converted Moslem.

As a Moslem, MALCOLM can no longer adhere to the teachings and principles of the NOI as propounded by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

b7D [REDACTED] view that MALCOLM X's future activities may well follow the path of a legitimate religious organization and if capably managed could be an effective and useful force in the current Civil Rights Movement in the United States. If it is used indiscriminately behind the guise of legitimacy, it presents a dangerous potential.

[REDACTED]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Church of Islam, and known  
as Muhammad's Temples of  
Islam

In January, 1967, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

On July 10, 1963, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2,5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

12/10/67 1004-1004

2

On July 10, 1963, a third source advised Muhammad had early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #15, formerly known as  
MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLE OF ISLAM #15,  
Atlanta, Georgia

b7D [REDACTED] JAMES AX SHABAZZ, 547  
Tabash Avenue, N.E., had signed a one-year lease for a hall  
on the sixth floor of the Odd Fellows Building, this lease  
to run from January 1, 1956, to January 1, 1957. [REDACTED]  
SHABAZZ represented the "Temple of Islam." [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] advance rental payment was made [REDACTED] from [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] MUHAMMAD, 4847 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] MUHAMMAD, who  
called his religion "Islam", and stated his Temple #2 was  
located at 5335 S. Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

b7D [REDACTED] MUHAMMAD'S  
TEMPLE OF ISLAM #15 had [REDACTED] name to MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE  
#15. [REDACTED] that  
MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE #15 is presently active and is holding  
meetings at 361 Edgewood Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

INDEXED  
DATE 12/14/56 BY [REDACTED] OF W.F.A.  
[REDACTED]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia  
June 1, 1964

Title NATION OF ISLAM

Character

Reference Letterhead memorandum dated  
June 1, 1964, at Atlanta,  
Georgia, captioned as above

67D

[REDACTED]

ALL  
FBI  
DATE 12/11/83 8269 JHC/WKS/mj  
#235,245

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outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
JUN 5 1964  
WESTERN UNION

FD 205 NY 6-12-64  
NY 6-19-64  
NY 6-18-64

BIA017 927P EDT JUN 5 64 SYA334  
SI SIA631 SI NEW YORK NY 5 MR J EDGAR HOOVER, F.B.I.  
WASHDC  
DO SOMETHING ABOUT MALCOM X ENOUGH OF THIS BLACK VIOLENCE IN  
NY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-15-1966 BY 60326/UC/MS/MS  
#255245

REC-34  
MAINTAINED

address furnished

pg-8

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

67C

6-19-64  
JUN 11 1964  
JUN 11 1964

Date of Mail 6-4-64

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

INDEXED  
DATE 12/19/83 BY 8269 JAC/ER/hg

Subject JUNE MAIL *Malcolm K. Little*

Removed By 65 JUN 16 1964

File Number 100-399321-113

F B I

Date: 6/9/64

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)  
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)  
 SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
 IS - MMI  
 (OO: NEW YORK)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning subject's appearance on the "Barry Gray Show" over Radio Station WMCA, NYC, on 6/8 and 9/64.

The program was listened to by SA [REDACTED]

During the interview, subject made absolutely no mention of the illegitimate children of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, in spite of his recent efforts to publicize this information, as reflected in NY communications of 6/6, 7 and 8/64, under the NOI and MMI caption.

See 100-10535-2 release  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12/18/83 BY 8261 JHE/WES/ry  
 #235,205

5-enc. made  
 CC + Encl 8/7

3-Bureau (Encls. 5) ENCLOSURE  
 3-New York  
 (1-105-7809) (NOI) (43)  
 (1-100-152759) (MMI) (44)

REC-121

EX-108

ABF: dbr  
 (7)

JUN 10 1964

SUBV CONTROL

C C. Wick

Approved: [Signature]  
 72 JUN 17 1964  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. Bureau 100-399321

New York, New York  
June 9, 1964

Malcolm K. Little  
Internal Security-Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

67D  
Characterizations of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), Nation of Islam (NOI) and NOI Mosque Number 7, New York City, are attached [REDACTED]

From 11:40 p.m., June 8, 1964, to 12:30 p.m., June 9, 1964, subject was the guest on the "Barry Gray Show" over Radio Station WMCA, New York, New York. Prior to the interview of subject by Mr. Gray, the latter telephonically interviewed Alabama's Governor George Wallace.

In commenting on Governor Wallace, subject stated that he made no distinction between Governor Wallace and President Lyndon B. Johnson, except in their methods. Little also characterized the United States Government as a racist government since the majority of all congressional committees are headed and dominated by Congressmen from the South.

Subject spoke of his recently completed tour of Africa, describing it as the "greatest place on earth". He stated he had toured Arabia, Egypt, Lebanon, Nigeria, Ghana and Morocco. In Arabia, he made the twelve day pilgrimage to Mecca, where his outlook was broadened when he saw how belief in Allah by men of all races eliminates racial distinctions.

Little claimed that while in Ghana he met with the Ambassadors there from Cuba and Communist China, both of whom gave dinners in his honor. He also addressed members of the Ghana Parliament and he impressed on all of these people the fact that racial discrimination in America is sponsored by the government.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

RECEIVED  
DATE 12/19/83 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/mg  
#225,295

Malcolm K. Little

1.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and Minister of NOI Mosque #7, New York, who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in times of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

During an appearance over KYW - Television, Cleveland, Ohio, on April 7, 1964, MALCOLM X stated that the MMI does not stand for integration, but for complete freedom, justice, and equality for Negroes. He stated that Islam was the religious philosophy of the MMI, while the political, economic and social philosophy was black nationalism.

On May 15, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City, where they were established on March 16, 1964.

Malcolm K. Little

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

On July 10, 1963, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2,5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon".

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

Malcolm K. Little

2.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On July 10, 1963, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

Malcolm K. Little

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM  
MOSQUE #7, NEW YORK CITY

On May 3, 1963, a source advised that the Nation of Islam (NOI) affiliate in New York City is known as Mosque #7, also known as Temple #7, and is located at 102 West 116th Street, New York City. Mosque #7 is a part of the NOI headed by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. Mosque #7 follows the policies and programs as set forth by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

The date Mosque #7 originated in New York City is not known.

However, in connection with the origin of Mosque #7, it should be noted that in 1953, a second source advised that there was a temple of the NOI (known to source then as the Muslim Cult of Islam) in New York City located at 135th Street and Seventh Avenue, as far back as 1947.

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Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 15 1964

TELETYPE

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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CODED TELETYPE

DATE 2/14/83 BY 8264 JHE/ED Hg 1

FBI NEW YORK

URGENT 6-15-64

DAE

4-51 PM

TO DIRECTOR -10-

100-399321

FROM NEW YORK 105-8999

MALCOLM X LITTLE AKA., IS- NMI.

REPRESENTATIVE.

EVICTON PROCEEDINGS BY NOI

AGAINST SUBJ BEGAN THIS AM IN PART TWO OF QUEENS COUNTY CIVIL  
COURT, QUEENS, NY. TRIAL ADJOURNED AT ONE FIFTEEN PM TO CONTINUE TEN  
AM SIX SIXTEEN NEXT. MEMBERS OF NOI AND NMI IN COURTROOM., BUT THERE  
WERE NO INCIDENTS.

END

MR. BELMONT FOR THE DIRECTOR

6 JUN 16 1964

53 JUN 16 1964 PM DC

CC-MR. SULLIVAN

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. Belmont ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Casper ☒  
Mr. Callahan ☒  
Mr. Conrad ☒  
Mr. DeLoach ☒  
Mr. Evans ☒  
Mr. Gale ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Tavel ☒  
Mr. Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Miss Holmes ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

013

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 16 1964

CODED TELETYPE

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI NEW YORK

.603 PMSSS URGENT 6-16-64

TO DIRECTOR 100-399321

FROM NEW YORK 105-8999

MALCOM K LITTLE, IS-MMI.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE SIX, FIFTEEN, SIXTY FOUR.

QUEENS

COUNTY CIVIL COURT, ADVISED TODAY THAT EVICTION TRIAL BROUGHT BY NATION OF ISLAM /NOI/ AGAINST SUBJECT ENDED AT ONE THIRTY P.M. THIS DATE. JUDGE HAS RESERVED DECISION WHICH WILL BE HANDED DOWN AT UNKNOWN FUTURE DATE.

ADVISED THAT APPROXIMATELY TEN MUSLIM MOSQUE INC. /MMI/ MEMBERS AND FIFTY NOI MEMBERS WERE PRESENT IN AND AROUND THE COURTHOUSE BUT THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS. ONE OF SUBJECT/S BODYGUARDS OBSERVED IN CAR OUTSIDE OF COURT WITH A RIFLE AND WAS CHECKED OUT. HE HAD TWO UNLOADED RIFLES BUT NO AMMUNITION. NO ARREST MADE SINCE POSSESSION OF RIFLE IS NOT AN OFFENSE. IN SPITE OF ALLEGED THREATS TO SUBJECT HE HAS MADE NO REQUEST TO THE NYCPD FOR PROTECTION.

END

22

84 JUN 23 1964  
FBI WASHDC

10 JUN 18 1964

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 15 1964

TELETYPE

Confidential

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

01 URGENT 6-15-64 JAM

TO DIRECTOR /5/100-399321

FROM NEW YORK 105-8999 1P

MALCOLM X. LITTLE, AKA, IS-MNI.

APPROPRIATE FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) DATE 5/12/83

LITTLE SCHEDULED TO APPEAR IN QUEENS COUNTY CIVIL COURT AT

NINE THIRTY AM, THIS DATE, FOR EVICTION TRIAL BROUGHT BY NOI (NATION OF ISLAM) IN EFFORT TO OUST HIM FROM HIS RESIDENCE WHICH NOI CLAIMS IT OWNS. 4

END

LRA

FBI WASH DC

MR. BELMONT FOR THE DIRECTOR

66 JUN 24 1964

Confidential

Classified by 6555  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5/10/83 DML/GRB

10 JUN 18 1964

100-399321-117

EX 105

REC-44

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67D

# HUCKSTERS OF HATE— NAZI STYLE

Joseph Wilson and Edward Harris

Malcolm K. O'Little

See memo 190-10535-9  
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JUN 22 1964

61 JUN 24 1964

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have been unwilling to do so." The station executive noted that there was nothing in the option agreement giving the LBJ Company authority to police Capital Cable's programs.

The FCC took Kellam at his word. No documentary evidence was submitted to support the claim. And on December 11—two days after Kellam made his last reply—the Commission denied TV Cable's petition for a waiver. The majority opinion held that there were no special circumstances in the Austin case to warrant an exception to the no-waiver policy. The lone dissenter, Commissioner Lee Loevinger, said there had been no showing that the local Johnson station, KTBC-TV, was in need of protection from TV Cable through the blackout rule. Loevinger, the Commission's newest member, had only recently been imported from the Justice Department's anti-trust division, which he headed.

Meanwhile, as a result of the Bobby Baker case, Washington newsmen were already prowling through FCC records on the Johnson family broadcasting empire. And so the Austin case fluttered directly into the bright spotlight of public attention, hitting the national news media for the first time.

Emboldened by the publicity, TV Cable made one more assault on the blackout rule last January. It asked the FCC for reconsideration. Nearly four more months of deliberation passed, and finally last month the Commission announced it would stick to the earlier verdict. The grounds: TV Cable had not shown good faith but tried to change the rules in the middle of the game by accepting the restriction and then attempting to have it annulled.

Nevertheless, the FCC failed to address itself to the central issue of the dispute: why the government should use its power to insulate from competition a prosperous station like KTBC-TV, which had a big stake of its own in the success of a community antenna system. Because the question remains unanswered, and because Presidential family interests are substantially affected, the Austin case will continue to rattle in the political closet long into the year.

## The Cult of MALCOLM X

by JAMES A. WECHSLER

*"Doesn't Black Nationalism carry with it the notion of returning to Africa?" I asked.*

*"Yes!" he replied, "but this is our long-range goal . . ."*

*"In joining the civil rights struggle, are you not contradicting your previous position, that is, of not working with whites, and having given up on America?"*

*His answer was immediate;*

*"No! First I believe the black man must lead his own fight; in fact, the Black Nationalist must become more involved and force the white man out, for he is the most deceitful creature on earth. I intend to prove that you can't get civil rights in this country. Then I intend to elevate the idea of civil rights to the plane of human rights; this way, we can go to the United Nations and show the world what this country really is. . . . The black man is maturing, he is waking up. That is why I say that we will have real violence. I have found out that the black man in the street thinks like I think. Where they are unwilling to talk in front of others, they are willing to tell me what they really feel. . . ."*

—FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH MALCOLM X, PUBLISHED IN *The Liberator* MAGAZINE.

I FIRST encountered Malcolm X some-  
what over a year ago when we were participants on a radio forum. I had read a good deal about him and had a general notion of what he had been saying to increasingly large

audiences on Harlem street corners. I had been told that he was articulate, well-informed, quick and skillful in debate. I rather looked forward to the evening as a phase of my own education; it was on a program conducted by Barry Gray and I knew there would be an hour or more available for the discussion.

Malcolm is a tall, slender, graceful man with a highly intellectualized face that can alternately light up with anger and laughter; one might easily mistake him for a young academician; off the air, he is disarming and quiet-mannered. But when he is performing, bitter sarcasm becomes his favorite tone.

Two aspects of the discussion stand out in memory. One was an outgrowth of his harsh and by now familiar denunciations of the established Negro leadership. I suggested to him that there was a certain presumptuousness in his derisive dismissal of such figures as A. Philip Randolph who have rendered so many years of dedicated, selfless service to the struggle against oppression. Malcolm's answer was swift and disdainful: "Randolph fought Marcus Garvey"—a reference to an ancient episode in the history of the Negro liberation movement in which Garvey fought for a separatist, nationalist policy for Negroes. Malcolm rendered the verdict with the finality of a Stalinist of the early Thirties to whom someone had ventured some favorable comment about a leader of the Second International. One could hardly avoid wincing as one listened to this self-righteous, self-possessed, self-proclaimed young savior condemn a man whose life has been so rare a

blend of nobility and courage.

The other exchange I recall most clearly occurred when Malcolm kept insisting that, as far as Negroes were concerned, there was literally no difference between New York and Mississippi; the terror and servitude were the same in both states. I argued that no good purpose was served by such misstatement; that one need not minimize the wrongs and injustices of New York to recognize that there was a difference of some consequence between a state in which a white tyranny used all the police power to maintain its rule and one in which the machinery of government, however fumbling and inadequate, accepted the moral premise of equality. Moreover, I contended, Malcolm's words would surely be used by the Southern racists to justify their system and to stifle criticism. If a Negro leader really believed New York and Mississippi were fundamentally the same, how dare the North condemn Mississippi's police state?

It was a futile, exasperating colloquy; I could not believe that Malcolm really believed what he was saying, but neither could I wrest from him—on the air—the admission that there were any real variations between the two states.

When the program had ended we conversed cordially for a few moments and Malcolm, with a mischievously amiable smile, said: "Look, you'll never get me to admit there's a difference between New York and Mississippi until we've won our revolution." What he was saying, of course, was that he fully got the point but that it did not suit his rhetorical purposes; he would continue to maintain that it was a distinction without a difference. I had a feeling that I had detected a cold cynicism in the firebrand, but his answer no doubt would have been that I could not understand.

It was about two months ago when I encountered Malcolm again. Many things had happened in the interim. The high hopes and spirits of last summer's Freedom March had been diminished by a series of anti-climaxes. There was growing talk of the white "backlash" in the North stirred by the rising militancy of Northern

Negroes; the battle of Birmingham had a seemingly different dimension to too many white citizens when it became the battle of Brooklyn. The Senate was bogged down in a filibuster. Factional conflict was scaring the civil rights groups.

Things had changed for Malcolm, too. He was no longer part of Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslim movement; he was operating his own black nationalist sect. The estrangement was apparently triggered by Malcolm's callous comments on the assassination of President Kennedy (he later claimed that he had not meant exactly what he said, or not said what he meant to say). Whatever the full cause of the rift, he was now more than ever committed to a hell-raising role in the civil rights battle. Since he remained a passionate advocate of separatism, there were obvious ambiguities and anomalies about his challenge to the civil rights leadership. It was partly because I was curious about how he was reconciling these views that I found myself attending an April rally at a midtown Manhattan meeting hall at which Malcolm was to speak under the sponsorship of The Militant Labor Forum, a unit of the Socialist Workers Party (the continuing modern manifestation of what old radicals define as "Troskyism").

There was an intriguing aspect about the auspices of the meeting. It was hard to believe that Leon Trotsky had ever anticipated such an alliance would be welded in his memory; but those who wish to explore the detailed dialectics will find them elucidated at length, if not with precision, in the Trotskyist journal.

There was another, more dramatic circumstance which evoked my curiosity. Just twenty-four hours earlier, a Cleveland minister—the Reverend Bruce Klunder—had died under the wheels of a bulldozer during a CORE demonstration at a school construction site. I wondered whether Malcolm's meeting would offer some rec-

ognition to this "white liberal."

There were about 800 people in the hall. They ranged from elderly Trotskyists, veterans of the old factional left-wing wars, to young recruits, nearly all of them white; a small band of Malcolm's personal adherents was also on hand, but this was primarily an SWP show.



With mingled awe and pain, I watched Malcolm perform before this assemblage. It must be said for him that he made no visible alteration in his attitudes toward the white community. After offering a token tribute to those whites who had the wisdom to associate themselves with an organization that appreciated his message, he proceeded to deliver the same separatist speech that he has so often recited to Harlem rallies. Each time he baited those who had made the mistake of choosing white parents, there was general laughter, without regard to race; when he ventured a few poorly-veiled anti-Semitic thrusts (he was particularly sharp about Justice Arthur Goldberg's concern over the fate of Jews in the Soviet Union), he received equally non-sectarian approval. At times one had the feeling that he was playing his cosmic joke—that he knew much of the audience was so entrapped by doctrinaire shibboleth that it felt a special obligation to welcome his ridicule. (At times the spectacle evoked the revulsion one would experience if one watched a predominantly Negro audience respond warmly to a segregationist speech by a White Citizens Council spokesman).

In any case, he completed his remarks, and the dead Mr. Klunder remained unmentioned. As a journalist who suffers from a periodic inability to remain aloof from the event he is covering, I finally found myself taking the floor in the question period. My question was whether, in view of his assertion that he had met one "true white liberal," Malcolm would care to say anything about Cleveland's dead minister.

I think I really assumed that he would offer some words of regret and tribute, even if he had to accompany them with a reminder that such

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JAMES A. WECHSLER is editor of the editorial page of *The New York Post*. Among his books are "The Age of Suspicion" and "Reflections of an Angry Middle-Aged Editor."

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men were unique indeed. But he confounded me again. Instead of any remotely generous sentiment, he exploded contemptuously. "We're not going to stand up and applaud one white person when 22,000,000 American Negroes are being tortured," he cried.

Then suddenly he shouted "All right! Hurray! Hurray! Hurray!" but immediately proceeded to catalogue the list of crimes suffered by Negroes at the hands of white America. And when, a few moments later, a soft-spoken, gray-haired (white) citizen arose and implored Malcolm to let the audience observe one moment of silence in memory of Mr. Klunder, the answer was another tirade; he would never "use any energy applauding the sacrifice of a white man" in a world in which Negroes were systematically victimized.

It is many weeks since this occurred, but the image of the episode remains with me. One clings to the view that there can be certain communication in the world, and that both instinct and intelligence would have led Malcolm X to respond with a measure of common humanity—even if only to underline the sadness of the human condition—at that moment. One had the feeling instead that he believed his cause might somehow be undermined by such a display of "bourgeois sentimentality."

I have described these episodes in detail not because they were peculiarly historic but because they may help to illuminate the internal crisis confronting the Freedom Movement.

In *The Progressive* in March of this year I wrote of the moral crisis of the white liberals. It is no less serious now than it was then. Nothing written here is designed to suggest any diminution in my sense of the priority of that problem. There are innumerable half-truths in the thrush of Malcolm X.

But that is no excuse for silence about the real nature of his role, and the dead-end toward which he is leading many frustrated, alienated Negroes and some white camp-followers. Perhaps even more important is the prospect that imitators will spring

up—as they already have in some places—and that the civil rights battle will be poisoned by their presence.

Too many "militants"—white and Negro—have rationalized his performance with the claim that the threat he poses provides a certain weapon for those civil rights leaders still operating in the real world. There was a time when I found some validity in that view. But that time is past. His is an adventure in diversionary discord. It rests on acceptance of the segregationist premise that the cause of equal rights in America is essentially doomed; that Martin Luther King's dream was a delusion; that, to achieve self-respect, the Negro can do little more than take up arms to defend himself and await his deliverance to an African promised land. But the premise is false and the promise is demagoguery.

I am not pleading for patience and fortitude. I am saying only that the man who sneeringly refers to Eleanor Roosevelt as "supposedly a liberal," and who recklessly talks of substituting bullets for ballots, is inviting not liberation but disaster, and playing capriciously with human beings to whom he offers nothing but the prospect of futile violence and turmoil.

The answer to such criticism, offered by Malcolm and his more sophisticated apologists, is that the non-violence movement has proved a failure and a fraud; that the degradation of the Negro ghettos in the North grows worse rather than better; that the Southern landscape is still an unrelieved nightmare, brightened in no serious degree by scattered breakthroughs in schools and at lunch counters.

The indictment has much validity, but his alternative makes no serious sense. On that night in Manhattan, I heard Malcolm describe his vision of Harlem—a firmly-ruled black community in which "no white man will be able to set foot without a 'guide'." In his tortured dream, the black populace—during this period of transition before the ultimate return to Africa—will build Algerian-type walls around its own sectors, and thus achieve at least temporary escape from white persecution. One can only sadly observe that Georgia's

Senator Richard Russell would probably find this a satisfactory formula for settlement of the racial problem.

Its grotesque absurdity seems apparent; yet it would be self-deception to deny that, amid the stagnation and slow-motion that beset the quest for equal rights, such madness has achieved a growing appeal. It is reflected not merely in the formation of small terrorist gangs that draw spiritual inspiration, if not formal direction, from Malcolm and his agents, and who have embarked on sporadic forays of aimless violence against the "white enemy" (without regard to any specific offense allegedly committed by the victim). One also hears echoes of the same credo in conversations and correspondence with some intellectuals, Negro and white, who have joined in the revolt against non-violence.

A column that I wrote describing Malcolm's meeting, with particular reference to his scornful remarks about the Reverend Mr. Klunder, elicited a long, well-phrased letter from a Negro woman in which she said, in part:

"I know . . . I'm expected to . . . flatly denounce Malcolm X's callous reaction to the young minister's death. And I'm almost crying inside because I can't. My first thought was 'How tragic,' but before that thought was cold I was thinking 'But they started it.' Years ago after an explosion in the Gary steel mills one of my girl friends told me how her shock upon hearing of the accident changed to relieved laughter because only white men were killed. I was shocked at the coldness of it. But when that plane from Atlanta crashed in Paris it was sensitive little me who said, aloud, 'Good! It serves them right!' Isn't it still a matter of allowing color to govern your feelings for people—a mental process we learn mainly through dealing with you?"

"You are a compassionate man. This leaves you unequipped to see people as they are. I assure you that most other people, including many of mine, are not like you. You think that beneath the acquired hatred

each man has something akin to a soul, that each man, like you, is capable of love and forgiveness. But it ain't so. What did you expect Malcolm X to say in response to your question? A public response at that. You did not honestly expect a show of tenderness and sympathy, did you? I was not there but I would have expected the type of answer that you got.

"In fact, I wouldn't have asked the question. When you are dealing with conscienceless beings, anything you allow yourself to feel for them will be used to hurt you. And I suppose that goes for your dealings with us, too. I don't think Mr. X is completely without soul. After all, he seems to love us well enough.

"You speak of 'better dreams' and the 'real world.' My world is one of white domination with a white foot eternally on my neck. Ask some of your friends if they think we will ever be free in this country. Bear in mind that you are white and we habitually lie to whites. White liberals somehow expect us to be nobler while being treated like animals than white men are while being respected as men. . . . I see liberals as men with lamps, searching for gratitude, after all you have done for us. I suspect the hardest lesson liberals will learn is that you can pick Presidents and Cabinet members and solve the problems in Algeria, but you must not pick our leaders. While we accept, and at times even welcome, white help, we are not unmindful of why we need help in the first place, and that for some reason we are always being asked to commiserate with our helpers. Or go slow.

" . . . Civil rights is not an intellectual issue with us and some of us are not about to take the long view. Mr. X is saying this and telling us that if push comes to shove, and it has, we must try to free ourselves with no regard for the feelings of people who don't like us and aren't going to. It's foolish to speak of arousing animosity in people who already hate us. He is saying that it's not going to be cream and honey in a few years, and that we must build respect for ourselves, and he is touching people that other leaders have



Mauldin in The Chicago Sun-Times

### Samson X

not been able to touch. And he voices the deep distrust that experience has taught us to have for white liberals—and in spite of the contention of the white press that Muslims and Mr. X's followers are an amazing combination of ignorance and stupidity, this suspicion does not lie solely in untutored breasts.

"Malcolm's tragedy is the tragedy of most blacks and a few whites—that of intellectual energy, talent, lives, and yes, compassion, being spent to prove that black men are really men, when these lovely gifts could be better used in the building and discovery of beautiful things that are not so elemental. But then, compassion is elemental, and mine is gone. Like innocence, once it's gone, it can never return. This is not a pleasant feeling. You certainly shouldn't change. I surely can't, and your people simply won't. It is rather sad, and very painful, and now I wonder who has given up on who?"

In response to her letter I wrote, among other things:

"Let me make one more attempt to cut through this stalemate. I happen to be Jewish; six million Jews were murdered in Germany because they chose the wrong parents. That is a lot of people. I also know there were Germans who participated in the underground anti-Nazi movement. A brother of a close friend of

mine was executed when he was caught. Now let's suppose I was addressing an anti-Nazi meeting in which I indiscriminately denounced the German people, and someone asked me whether I would agree to a moment of silence in memory of a young German who had been executed by a Nazi firing squad. I cannot believe that I would have responded by saying that I did not give a damn about the life of any German because 'they started it.'

"I suppose the only other point I have to make is that neither Malcolm nor you has the right to say that those of us who were born white (or so we think) have no real right to speak or to be heard in this crisis. The simple truth is that inequality is a burden for the oppressor as well as the victim, and the civil rights movement is as much a struggle for white liberation as anything else. I do not claim any originality in this thought, but I believe it is still the most valid point.

"Obviously, I have no quarrel with Malcolm's militancy. What I object to is his alienation from reality and his attempt to lead people down a dead-end road. James Farmer was fighting this battle long before Malcolm discovered it; yet Malcolm's derisive remarks about Farmer were more hostile than his reference to the white Cleveland minister."



The exchange continued for a while; yet I had a sense that this was a dialogue of the deaf—that a fatal barrier to any real discourse had been created, and that no words could alter the mood.

Malcolm X, of course, is not alone responsible for this condition. Other voices in other places are saying similar things, and each day of delay and indecision in combating the sickness of oppression and inequity strengthens these appeals to unreason. But to recognize the roots of this desperate despair does not require the abdication of our own senses. Those who tell us all is lost because too little has been won, and who see the nation—and eventually the universe—doomed to some final conflict be-

tween races are in fact merely indulging themselves.

For the simple truth, as James Farmer and Roy Wilkins and others continue to proclaim amid the pressures of the so-called "militants," is that the Negro cannot go it alone; those who tell him that he can are cheating him. Those who cannot differentiate between Jim Farmer and Jim Crow, who lightly hurl the epithet of "Uncle Tom" at leaders who see both the moral and practical imperative of preserving and extending the Negro-white coalition, those who insist the "white liberal" must be banished from the Freedom Movement or reduced to the role of water boy, those who, in effect, affirm a reverse segregationism because "the white man can never understand what it means to be black" are strengthening every vile impulse in our national life, and obstructing perhaps our last best chance to achieve a national solution, too long postponed, of our racial agony.

I am not wistfully projecting some sudden, serene "revolution by consent." The white resistance, South and North, remains bitter and entrenched; if Congress enacts the civil rights bill, there will still be a long struggle ahead, in the courts and in the streets. The question is not whether the Negro has legitimate cause for impatience and outcry; it is whether his anger will be unleashed, without discipline or direction, at something called the "white world," or whether it will find purposeful expression in a concerted alliance with many thousands of other Americans who have not deserted the March on Washington.

We are, I think, at a fateful moment of transition. White defections from the civil rights cause is a tragic fact of life; but it is not the whole story. The Interfaith assemblage in Washington in April was a remarkable occurrence; perhaps the most important words spoken there were those of the Reverend Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, speaking for all the Protestant denominations. Warning against excessive preoccupation with the "legality of demonstrations," he declared:

"Unless we quickly understand that

standing insults in our society . . . make peaceful men turn violent, and patient men lose their self-control, we understand neither the first level of morals nor the depth of the crisis that race discrimination has brought to our once proud nation."

Such words were spoken by a leading white clergyman; such men do exist, and they appeared in great numbers. To deprecate their role is to assert that there has been no moral advance in our lifetime, and that Medgar Evers—and the Reverend Mr. Klunder—died in vain.

I do not know whether the battle for equality—not merely the legislative fight but the search for an authentic national community—can be won decisively in a foreseeable future. We do know that a new white generation is growing up which has, in many instances, rebelled against the folklore of its fathers. We do know that the white supremacists are on the defensive, no matter how small the evidences of progress may

be. But most of all it must be clear that this is a disastrous time for discord within the civil rights movement, and for diversionary gospels of "black separatism" that can only disrupt the Freedom legions.

Those who live in islands of white tranquility fool themselves if they believe there can be any ultimate escape—for themselves or the country—from the Negro upheaval of our time. But Malcolm X and his disciples are equally removed from reality when they advertise salvation in autonomous ghettos, and incite total war against the white community. Radical sects that encourage this delusion prove anew how little Marxism has to do with the American experience.

What gave the Freedom Movement its initial impetus was its deeply indigenous quality, its remarkable self-discipline, its inner strength. Those who divide that movement will not conquer; they can only manufacture debris and disorder.

## The High Price of the Cold War

by SENATOR WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

THE CONSTITUTION of the United States, in the words of its preamble, was established, among other reasons, in order to "provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty . . ." In the past generation the emphasis of our public policy has been heavily weighted on measures for the common defense to the considerable neglect of programs for promoting the liberty and welfare of our people. The reason for this, of course, has been the exacting demands of two world wars and an intractable cold war, which have wrought vast changes in the character of American life.

Of all the changes in American life wrought by the cold war, the most important by far, in my opinion, has been the massive diversion of energy and resources from the creative pursuits of civilized society to the conduct of a costly and interminable struggle for world power. We have been compelled, or have felt ourselves compelled, to reverse the traditional order of our national priorities, relegating individual and community life to places on the scale below the enormously expensive military and space activities that constitute our program of national security.

This, I think, is the real meaning

F B I

Date: 6/16/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

**SECRET**

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)  
(100-399321)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-151548)  
(105-8999)

SUBJECT: CEUSA-NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
IS-C

MALCOLM X LITTLE  
IS-MMI

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF 100-3-116  
DATE 6-29-64

#235245  
829 JHE/WEB/ug  
1/5/84  
See release 140-105859

Re New York teletype to Bureau, 6/13/64, captioned,  
"MALCOLM X LITTLE; IS-MMI".

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of a  
letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above; two copies  
are enclosed for Atlanta.

- (5 - Bureau (100-3-116) (Encls. 7) (RM)  
(1 - 100-399321) (MALCOLM X LITTLE)  
(1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)  
2 - Atlanta (100-6520-A) (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)  
(1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)  
1 - New York (100-111604) (HARRY BELAFONTE)  
1 - New York (100- ) (OSSIE DAVIS)  
1 - New York (100- ) (RUBY DEE)  
1 - New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X LITTLE) (43)  
1 - New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (42)  
1 - New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (42)  
1 - New York (100-120148) (SIDNEY POITIER)  
1 - New York (100-151548) (42)

JCS:gmd  
(16)

100-399321-  
NOT RECORDED  
71 JUN 19 1964

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CARDON COPY

ENCLOSURE

24

CONFIDENTIAL

**SECRET**

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-116-1571

NY 100-151548  
NY 105-8999

~~SECRET~~

Sources used in the letterhead memorandum are as follows:

b7D

[REDACTED] u  
[REDACTED] c  
[REDACTED] xc  
[REDACTED] c  
[REDACTED] c  
[REDACTED] c  
[REDACTED] c  
[REDACTED] xc

b7D This letterhead memorandum has been classified "Secret" because it contains information from [REDACTED] This source has furnished highly sensitive information with respect to the racial situation in the New York area and the Communist infiltration thereof, and it is felt that this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America - Negro Question  
Communist Influence In Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

Malcolm X Little

~~Confidential~~

Internal Security - Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

1.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and Minister of NOI Mosque #7, New York, who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in times of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

During an appearance over KYW - Television, Cleveland, Ohio, on April 7, 1964, MALCOLM X stated that the MMI does not stand for integration, but for complete freedom, justice, and equality for Negroes. He stated that Islam was the religious philosophy of the MMI, while the political, economic and social philosophy was black nationalism.

On May 15, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City, where they were established on March 16, 1964.

- 6 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America - Negro Question  
Communist Influence In Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

~~SECRET~~

Malcolm X Little  
Internal Security - Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

had associated with people whom he believed to be Communists. During the interview, Poitier said that he had received the "Daily Worker" for many months, although he neither personally subscribed to it nor rejected it. Poitier advised that he was acquainted with Ben Davis. U

On May 7, 1962, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Ben Davis, on May 6, 1962, while addressing the Crown Heights Forum in Brooklyn, New York, stated that he was the National Secretary of the CPUSA. U

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958. U

61

[REDACTED]

Malcolm X (Little) is the Minister of Muslim Mosque, Incorporated. U

For a characterization of Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, see attached. U

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America - Negro Question  
Communist Influence In Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

~~SECRET~~

Malcolm X Little  
Internal Security - Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

67D

[REDACTED]

not known to be members of the Communist Party; however, they have the reputation of supporting or aiding causes, through personal appearances, which are also supported by the Communist Party. u

Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on September 12, 1955, and again on September 14, 1955, observed Sidney Poitier entering 263 Seventh Avenue, New York City, which, at that time, was the address of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) Headquarters and the New York State Communist Party u Headquarters.

On December 29, 1954, Sidney Poitier was interviewed by Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. During the course of the interview, Poitier stated, "I am not now a member of the Communist Party and whether I have ever been would be a question of terminology", but he stated that he had never formally been a member of the CP; however, later in the interview, he stated that he had never been a member of the CP. He remarked that he had attended affairs at which current events and politics were discussed, and he stated that these might have been construed by some individuals as CP meetings. Poitier also stated that he u

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America - Negro Question  
Communist Influence In Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

Malcolm X Little  
Internal Security - Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

William Patterson made ten years ago". According to Jones, Malcolm X should "assume the responsibility of making the foreign arrangements as he's been there". Ann Jones (the wife of Clarence Jones), stated that Clarence told her that the meeting was thrilling and that Malcolm X impressed everyone with his weighty thoughts on the civil rights question. U

It is to be noted that Martin Luther King was arrested in St. Augustine, Florida, in connection with his attempt to integrate public places in St. Augustine. U

b7D

[REDACTED] according to [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Communist Party (CP) Headquarters,  
[REDACTED] before [REDACTED] came  
into prominence, [REDACTED] had been a member of the  
Young Communist League (YCL). X(U)

The YCL has been designated pursuant to  
Executive Order 10450. U

Clarence Jones is the General Counsel for  
the Gandhi Society For Human Rights, 15  
East 40th Street, New York City. U

b7D

[REDACTED] identified  
a photograph of Clarence Jones as a person  
whom [REDACTED] knew during late [REDACTED] or early [REDACTED]  
to be a member of and in a position of  
leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL). X X U

The LYL has been designated pursuant to  
Executive Order 10450. U

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America - Negro Question  
Communist Influence In Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

Malcolm X Little  
Internal Security - Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

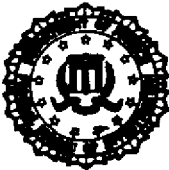
~~SECRET~~

On June 13, 1964, the same confidential source furnished information that Ruby Dee contacted Clarence Jones on that date. She asked if Jones would be available for the meeting that day (June 13, 1964), and Jones indicated that he would be there. Ruby Dee mentioned that Whitney Young (Executive Director of the Urban League) and Malcolm X would be there and that A. Philip Randolph (President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations) (AFL-CIO) and James Farmer (National Director of CORE) are sending representatives. Jones mentioned that Belafonte (Harry Belafonte) would not be able to attend because he is busy recording. Jones indicated that Martin Luther King would not be able to attend because he is still in jail.

b1 [REDACTED]

On June 13, 1964, the first confidential source furnished information which indicated that Clarence Jones contacted Ossie Davis on that date. Jones said that in "reflecting on today's conference the most important thing discussed was Malcolm X's idea that we internationalize the question of civil rights and bring it before the United Nations". Jones stated that he thought Malcolm X had the best idea of all those discussed at the conference on "the question of the civil rights movement in the United States today". According to Ossie Davis, Malcolm's idea is to bring the Negro question before the United Nations to internationalize the whole question and bring it before the whole world. Jones stated that "we should present the plight of the Negro to the United Nations General Assembly in September of this year". Ossie Davis said, "This time we won't make the same mistake u

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Bureau 100-3-116  
100-399321

~~Confidential~~  
New York, New York  
June 16, 1964

~~SECRET~~  
CLASSIFIED AND

EX-103 R00/JAK.

Re: Communist Party, United States of America - Negro Question  
Communist Influence In Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C Classified by 9269 JAF/MS  
Malcolm X Little Declassify on: OADR 1/5/84  
Internal Security - Muslim Mosque, Incorporated  
See release 190-10585-9

On June 12, 1964, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information that a woman, whom the source could not identify, contacted Clarence Jones on that date. Jones indicated that Martin Luther King would not be able to make the meeting since King is still in jail, but Jones mentioned that he has been authorized to speak for King. She mentioned that Wilkins (Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) (NAACP) and Jim (James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality) (CORE), are sending representatives, and she said that Young (Whitney Young, Executive Director of the Urban League) and Malcolm (Malcolm X Little) will be there. U

On June 13, 1964, the same confidential source furnished information that Harry Belafonte contacted Clarence Jones on that date. Belafonte told Jones that he was not going to the meeting that day because Ruby Dee "is too dangerous", but he said that he wanted Jones to go and to advise him of the proceedings. U

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

RECEIVED  
JUN 17 1964  
FBI NEW YORK  
DATE 5/12/77

Classified by 1680  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Classified by 16555  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5/10/77

FBI

Date: 6/22/64  
Confidential

Transmit the following in

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
IS-MMIDECLASSIFIED BY 6269 JHE/WK/NG  
ON 12/24/83  
#235298

ReNYairtel to Omaha, 6/11/64.

b7D

[REDACTED] advised as follows:

Subject plans to be in Chicago, Ill., on Thursday, 6/25/64, when he will appear on an unknown radio program from 11:00 to 12:00, unknown if AM or PM. U

For info of Chicago, subject has a 10:30 AM appointment in NYC on Friday, 6/26/64. U

b7C

[REDACTED] that subject told [REDACTED] that he would contact the latter when he got to Chicago around the 23rd, 24th or 25th. U

Subject plans to be in Omaha, Neb., on 6/30/64. U

For info of Bureau, reairtel alerted Omaha to possible trip by subject on 6/18/64; however, he did not go on that date.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (RM)
- 2 - Omaha (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-152759) (MMI) (43)
- 1 - New York

EX-105  
REC-50

100-399321-118

C.C. Wick: aaw  
(10)APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED  
DATE 5/12/82

JUN 23 1964

Classified by 6835  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Confidential

Sent

M

Per

8 JUN 20 1964

Special Agent in Charge

NY 105-8999

~~Confidential~~

For info Chicago and Omaha, the Bureau has advised that due to threats against subject's life apparently by NOI members, and some apparent attempts by the NOI, local police should be alerted to subject's presence in their city. U

The threats by the NOI against subject appear to be the result of subject's efforts to publicize the illegitimate children of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD which he has done in NYC and Boston. U

Omaha and Chicago should alert police in their respective cities to subject's proposed trips. Also, remain alert for any incidents between subject and the NOI. These, along with any public appearances of subject, should be furnished to the Bureau and NYO by LHM in form suitable for dissemination. U

If NYO obtains additional information, it will be promptly furnished. U

- 2 -

~~Confidential~~

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-399321- Not Recorded 6/19/64

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 25 1964

TELETYPE

CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

8-00PM EDT URGENT 6-25-64 MFR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI /16/ /100-399321/ AND CHICAGO

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/

MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA., IS DASH MNI.

RENYAIRTEL, SIX TWENTYTWO NINETEEN SIXTYFOUR INDICATING PLANS OF

SUBJECT TO BE IN CHICAGO ON SIX TWENTY FIVE NINETEEN SIXTYFOUR.

SUBJECT WILL DEFINITELY NOT BE IN CHICAGO THIS DATE SINCE HE IS

GOING TO BOSTON, AND WILL BE IN WASHINGTON, D. C. ON SIX TWENTYSIX

SIXTYFOUR. LATTER TWO OFFICES ADVISED.

END

REC-101.24

100-399321-118

JUN 25 1964

DATE 12/30/83 BY SP8 JTB/STW/STW

100-423525

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

~~Confidential~~

**PAGE TWO**

IT IS NOTED SUBJECT RETURNED MAY TWENTY ONE, LAST FROM TOUR OF AFRICA WHERE HE CLAIMS TO HAVE OBTAINED SUPPORT OF UNNAMED AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO TAKE U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEM TO THE UNITED NATIONS. U

Letterhead Memo  
LHM FOLLOWS

**END**

**JMS**

**FBI WASH DC**

**Confidential**

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 13 1964

CODED TELETYPE

TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

11-400. URGENT 6-13-64 TCR  
TO DIRECTOR 161  
FROM NEW YORK 105-8999/ 2P

MALCOLM X LITTLE

INTERNAL SECURITY - MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Evans  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE  
THAT SUBJECT ATTENDED ALL DAY MEETING WITH CLARENCE JONES, WHINEY  
YOUNG, UNKNOWN REPRESENTATIVES OF A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH AND CORE, AND  
NEGRO ENTERTAINERS SIDNEY POITIER, RUBY DEE, AND OSSIE DAVIS.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE ABOVE  
MEETING CONSISTED OF A DISCUSSION OF GENERAL FUTURE OF CIVIL  
RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN US. FOLLOWING THE MEETING JONES INDICATED  
HE CONSIDERED THE BEST IDEA PRESENTED WAS SUBJECT-S IDEA TO  
INTERNATIONALIZE THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT BY TAKING IT TO  
THE UNITED NATIONS. JONES FELT IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO  
PRESENT IT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY NEXT SEPTEMBER, AND TO  
LET SUBJECT HANDLE FOREIGN ARRANGEMENTS SINCE QUOTE "HES  
BEEN THERE."

END PAGE ONE

7149  
74 JUL 2 1964

Classified by 6035  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Confidential

REC-49

REC-02 JUN 29 1964

offices advised by 6/13/64 DWT/BTC

5-112 (1-10-61)

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 6-14-64

Attached reports possible plan to internationalize the civil rights movement by Malcolm Little taking it to the United Nations, possibly in September, 1964.

Malcolm Little is leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., a semi-religious black nationalist group and is on Security Index. Clarence Jones is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights and is on Reserve Index.

Whitney Young, possibly identical with Whiney Young, is Executive Director of Urban League. Ossie Davis and wife, Ruby Dee, are on Security Index.

Dissemination being made to the Department, State, CIA and military intelligence agencies.

WHF:pdh

DATE 12/10

BY 804 JHE/WEK/mg

100-37

FBI

Confidential Date: 6/24/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
IS - MMI  
(OO: NEW YORK)

DECLASSIFIED BY 8269 JHE/WER/Hg

ON 12/10/83

#735,275

On 6/23/64, [REDACTED] advised that subject was in contact with [REDACTED]. On request of [REDACTED] subject arranged to meet [REDACTED] at 11:00 AM on Friday (presumably 6/26/64) and possibly again on Saturday. [REDACTED] indicated that subject could be an "observer" (apparently at NAACP Convention) and it would get good coverage. *u*

In view of recent threats against subject apparently by NOI members, the Bureau has requested that local police be advised whenever subject is in their city. These threats seem to be based on subject's attempts to publicize the illegitimate children of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. *u*

WFO should alert local PD and any incidents should be furnished Bureau and NYO by LHM. *u*

- OC 8/10*
- 3 - Bureau (RM)
  - 2 - Washington Field (RM)
  - 1 - New York

ABF:mmc  
(7)

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) *PM 7-10*  
DATE *9/18/77*

REC-134

100-399321-1202

Classified by *685*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Confidential

JUN 25 1964

MM 52 2 PM MM PM

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

64 JUL 7 1964

SUBV. CONTROL

CODED TELETYPE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 13 1967

FBI NEW YORK

TELETYPE

Confidential

11-400. URGENT 6-13-64 TCR

TO DIRECTOR 161

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/ 2P

MALCOLM X LITTLE

INTERNAL SECURITY - MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED  
IS-MMI

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

67D

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE  
WHITNEY(?)  
THAT SUBJECT ATTENDED ALL DAY MEETING WITH CLARENCE JONES, WHINEY  
YOUNG, UNKNOWN REPRESENTATIVES OF A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH AND CORE, AND  
NEGRO ENTERTAINERS SIDNEY POITIER, RUBY DEE, AND OSSIE DAVIS.

67C  
67D

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE ABOVE  
MEETING CONSISTED OF A DISCUSSION OF GENERAL FUTURE OF CIVIL  
RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN US. FOLLOWING THE MEETING JONES INDICATED  
HE CONSIDERED THE BEST IDEA PRESENTED WAS SUBJECT-S IDEA TO  
INTERNATIONALIZE THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT BY TAKING IT TO  
THE UNITED NATIONS. JONES FELT IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO  
PRESENT IT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY NEXT SEPTEMBER, AND TO  
LET SUBJECT HANDLE FOREIGN ARRANGEMENTS SINCE QUOTE "HES  
BEEN THERE." UNQUOTE. U

END PAGE ONE

Classified by X885  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite 33 JAN 82  
5/10/82 DML/CAL

SA [REDACTED] advised  
9:00 AM, 6-14-64. SA [REDACTED]  
ADVISED 9:11-AM FOR INFO.

Confidential

appropriate office advised by L/S  
BIC 5/13/77

~~Confidential~~

PAGE TWO

IT IS NOTED SUBJECT RETURNED MAY TWENTY ONE, LAST FROM  
TOUR OF AFRICA WHERE HE CLAIMS TO HAVE OBTAINED SUPPORT  
OF UNNAMED AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO TAKE U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEM  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS. U

LHM FOLLOWS

END

JMS

FBI WASH DC

~~Confidential~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 25 1964

TELETYPE

Confidential

CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

1204 AM URGENT 6-25-64 JAA  
TO DIRECTOR -1- AND BOSTON  
FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/ 1 P

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, AKA. IS-MMI.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

**b7D** [REDACTED] ADVISED JUNE TWENTY FOUR  
SIXTY FOUR, SUBJ PLANS TO BE IN BOSTON AT THREE OR FOUR AM, ON THURS-  
DAY, JUNE TWENTY FIVE INSTANT. *u*

SUBJ WILL PROBABLY BE AT RESIDENCE OF SISTER, ELLA COLLINS. *u*

**b7D** BOSTON ALERT [REDACTED] OF SUBJ-S POSSIBLE PRESENCE

THERE. *u*

END

VA JMS

FBI WASHDC

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 5/12-77

REC-11

100-399331-722

JUN 29 1964

Classified by *6875*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
*6/10/77*

Confidential

*7149*  
58 JUL 2 1964

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 25 1964

NEW YORK

TELETYPE

Confidential

253 PM URGENT 6-25-64 JAM

TO DIRECTOR /B/ AND BOSTON

FROM NEW YORK 105-8999 1P

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, AKA., IS-MMI.

RE NEW YORK TEL SIX, TWENTYFOUR, SIXTYFOUR.

**67D** [REDACTED] ADVISED THIS AM,  
THAT SUBJ WAS STILL IN NEW YORK CITY BUT WAS GOING TO BOSTON  
THIS AFTERNOON AND WOULD RETURN TO NEW YORK CITY TONIGHT.

RETEL INDICATED SUBJ EXPECTED TO BE IN BOSTON BY FOUR AM,  
SIX TWENTYSIX, SIXTYFOUR. **XW**

~~CORR V L3 WD 5 NINE~~

END

CORR LAST LINE WD 1 SIX

IS LAST WORD LINE ONE "IS-MMI"

YES

ELR

FBI WASH DC

APPROPRIATE ~~AGENCIES~~  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF **100-399321-123**  
DATE **5/13/77**

REC-11

Classified By **6855**  
Exempt from GDS, Category **1**  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
**5/10/76**

Confidential

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Evans  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

58 JUL 2 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-32805) (RUC)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka  
IS - MMI  
(OO:NY)

DATE: 6/29/64

ReNYairtel, 6/24/64, captioned as above.

b7D [REDACTED] advised that subject was seen observing the NAACP convention on the morning of 6/26/64. MALCOLM departed in the early afternoon and was not observed again in Washington, D.C., over the week end according to [REDACTED] 6/29/64.

REC-1

DATE 12/20/82 18269 DE 666/46  
#285.295

2 - Bureau  
2 - New York (105-8999) (RM)  
1 - WFO

HHK:sch  
(5)

100-399321-124

16 JUN 30 1964

b7C [REDACTED]  
SUBV. CONTROL

2019  
JUL 8 1964

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-427226)

~~Secret~~

6/24/64

SAC, NEW YORK (100-13347)

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE  
IS-SWP

Enclosed herewith are 5 copies of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination concerning the identification of MALCOLM X. U

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 5/13/77

1/27/84  
Classified by 226 NHE/wes/dg  
Declassify on: OADR

Classified by 1685  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
5/10/77 JML/025

② - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)  
1 - New York Class. & Ext. By SP2 Mack  
Reason - FIM II, 1-2.3.2.1.3  
Date of Review 6-24-94  
2-4-82

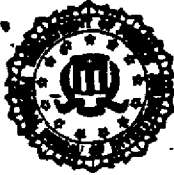
AJG:mrw  
(3)

100-399321  
NOT RECORDED  
191 JUN 27 1964

ENCLOSURE ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 4-15-82 ans

64 JUL 8 1964



**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
New York, New York  
June 24, 1964**

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

Bureau 100-427226  
New York 100-133479

**Young Socialist Alliance**

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

The following is a description of Malcolm K. Little,  
identical with Malcolm X described above:

<b>Name:</b>	Malcolm K. Little
<b>Aliases:</b>	Malcolm X Malik Shabazz Malik El Shabazz Malcolm Shabazz
<b>Race</b>	Negro
<b>Sex</b>	Male
<b>Date of Birth</b>	May 19, 1925, Omaha, Nebraska
<b>Height</b>	6 feet 3 1/2 inches
<b>Weight</b>	170 pounds
<b>Hair</b>	Reddish brown to dark hair
<b>Eyes</b>	Brown
<b>Complexion</b>	Light
<b>Build</b>	Slender
<b>Characteristics</b>	Wears tinted glasses
<b>Social Security Number</b>	376-16-3427
<b>FBI Number</b>	4282299
<b>Residence</b>	23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York
<b>Personal automobile</b>	1963 Black four door Oldsmobile sedan, 1964 New York License 8Q-6135

Classified by 2243 JHE/wes/200  
Declassify on: OADR  
1/27/84

Class. & Ext. by 92 JHE/200  
Reason-FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2  
Date of Review 1-24-93  
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF CLASS  
DATE 4-15-82 JHE

**SECRET**

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL		REPORTING OFFICE <b>NEW YORK</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE <b>6/18/64</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>3/9/64-6/3/64</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>CHANGED</b> <b>①</b> <b>MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka</b> <b>El Hajj Malik El Shabazz</b>				REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <b>b7c</b>	TYPED BY <b>[REDACTED]</b>
				CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>INTERNAL SECURITY -</b> <b>MUSLIM MOSQUE,</b> <b>INCORPORATED</b>	

The title is marked "Changed" to include the new alias of EL HAJJ MALIK EL SHABAZZ.

## REFERENCE:

Report of SA **[REDACTED]** **b7c**  
dated 11/15/63, at New York.

-P\*-

Classified by **6855**  
Exempt from GDS, Category **2**  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
**5/10/90 Dm/TC**

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF **[REDACTED]** **b7c**  
DATE **5/13/77**

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

SLIP(S) OF

DATE

APPROVED  
COPIES MADE:  
**(5-Bureau (100-399321) (RM)**  
**1-Chicago (Info) (RM)**  
**3-New York (105-8999)**

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-399321-125 REC-62

25 JUN 20 1964

REC-24

ST-109-1104

## Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	<b>[REDACTED]</b>			
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	<b>6/25/64</b>			
How Fwd.	<b>XLS</b>			
By	<b>[REDACTED]</b>			

Notation

CONFIDENTIAL

56 JUL 22 1964

NY 105-8999

ADMINISTRATIVE:

The subject is a key figure of the New York Office.

Inasmuch as the subject has broken with the NOI and has formed the MMI, the character of this case has been changed, as above. The character was formerly carried as "INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI".

An information copy of this report is being furnished to Chicago since they are office of origin in the NOI matter and they have an interest in the subject's break with the NOI.

No mention is made of the events occurring at some of the meetings and affairs referred to in this report inasmuch as no comments or speeches were reported as being made that can be construed as seditious, revolutionary, anarchistic or inflammatory.

The next report to be submitted on the subject will contain more complete details on his African tour, which details were not available for inclusion in this report.

67C The Special Agents who attended the subject's news conference on 10/10/63, at San Francisco, California, are SAS [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

The Special Agent who attended the subject's speech at the University of California at Berkeley, California, on 10/11/63, was SA [REDACTED]

67C [REDACTED] the subject's speech made at Richmond, California, on 10/13/63, was reviewed by SA [REDACTED]

COVER PAGE

- B -

NY 105-8999

b7C The radio program over Station WLAV, Grand Rapids, Michigan, on which the subject appeared on 10/23/63, was monitored by SA [REDACTED]

b7C The television program on which the subject appeared in New York City on 3/9/64, was taped by the New York Office and reviewed by SA [REDACTED]

b7C The Special Agents who attended the subject's press conference in New York City on 3/12/64, were SAS [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

b7E [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED]

X-h

COVER PAGE

- C -

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET1

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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100-399321-125 pages D-J

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 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

NY 105-8999

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

670

LEAD:

NEW YORK

At New York, New York

Will follow and report subject's  
activities.

COVER PAGE

NY 105-8999

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☐ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☒ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☒ Subject is employed in a key facility and \_\_\_\_\_ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are \_\_\_\_\_
6. ☒ This report is classified "~~Conf~~idential" because (state reason)

revelation of information furnished 

b7D

7. ☒ Subject previously interviewed (dates) 1/10/55.
- ☐ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)

Interview on 2/4/64 set forth in this report.

8. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)

subject is the founder and leader of the NOI,  
and was formerly a national leader and Minister  
of the NOI.

10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☒ is ☐ is not tabbed Detcom.
- ☒ Subject's activities ☒ do ☐ do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

COVER PAGE

- L -\*

FD-204


UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

**STC**  
Report of:  
Date:

  
6/18/64

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
Office: New York, New York

Field Office  
File No.:

105-8999

Bureau  
File No.: 100-399321

Title: MALCOLM K. LITTLE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY -  
MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

*See release 156-10535-9  
826 JHE / L.E.H.  
12/29/63 #23,295*

Synopsis:

Subject continues to reside at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York, and is founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), with headquarters

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~~GROUP 1~~

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downgrading and  
declassification

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NY 105-8999

in the Hotel Theresa, New York City. Subject was a National Representative of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and Minister of NOI Mosque Number 7, New York City, until temporarily suspended by NOI leader, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, on 12/4/63, for remarks made by the subject on 12/1/63, concerning the assassination of former President KENNEDY. The suspension was originally for ninety days, but was made indefinite in early March, 1964, allegedly because of a power struggle within the NOI between the subject and NOI officials. The subject's NOI activities around the United States and his public appearances as an NOI representative are set forth. Interview with subject at New York City on 2/4/64, set out. Subject broke with the NOI on 3/8/64, and on 3/12/64, publicly announced the formation of the MMI, an organization with Islam as its religious base and a political, economic and social philosophy of black nationalism. The subject outlined the ultimate aim of the MMI as the separation of races and the return of the Negro to Africa. The current aim is to work with civil rights groups to improve conditions of Negroes in the United States, although the subject opposes integration. As MMI spokesman, subject claims Negro struggle should no longer be non-violent, and he urges Negroes to practice self defense if and when attacked. He also suggested on 3/12/64, the formation of rifle clubs by Negroes for self defense in areas where Negroes are not protected by the government. Subsequently, the subject denied he was promoting or organizing Negro rifle clubs, only suggesting that it was legal to own rifles and shotguns and Negroes should do so to protect themselves and their homes, if necessary. He also urged Negroes to vote in order to control their own community politically. Activities and public appearances of subject as MMI leader around the United States set forth.

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Subject is advisor to civil rights group known as ACT, and his relationship with some Negro civil rights leaders set out along with comments by other Negro civil rights leaders who apparently reject him. Interests of WWP and SWP in subject and his MMI set out. Also set forth is information on subject's arrest in New York City for speeding, alleged threat against his life and his association with sports figures, CASSIUS CLAY and JIMMY BROWN. Efforts by NOI in New York City to evict him from his residence are also set forth along with information on his trip to Africa and return in April and May, 1964.

-P\*-

NY 105-8999

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NY 105-8999

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence

67D On [REDACTED]  
that the subject and his family continued to reside at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York.

B. Employment

During 1963, the subject was considered a national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and a national representative of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, in addition to being the Minister of NOI Mosque Number 7, New York City. According to articles in the official NOI publication, "Muhammad Speaks", published twice monthly in Chicago, Illinois, the subject has been suspended by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD for remarks he made concerning the assassination of former President JOHN F. KENNEDY. His present NOI status is unknown since NOI officials have made no comment to date regarding him, however, recent newspaper articles have stated that the subject has formed his own organization.

67D [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
-2-

NY 105-8999

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b7D

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Characterizations of the NOI and NOI Mosque Number 7, New York City, are included in the Appendix of this report.

On March 12, 1964, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) attended a press conference held by MALCOLM LITTLE in the Tapestry Suite of the Park Sheraton Hotel, Seventh Avenue and 55th Street, New York, New York. At this press conference, the subject announced that he had formed and incorporated his own group, to be known as the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, hereinafter referred to as the MMI.

A characterization of the MMI is included in the Appendix of this report.

The May 22, 1964 edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contains an article on page 22 relative to the subject's return from a tour of Africa, and this article described him as the leader of the MMI.

C. Alias

The May 9, 1964 edition of the New York "Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an

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article on page 62, which reflected information on the tour of Africa which the subject was taking at that time. This article indicated that the subject had a new name, "EL HAJJ MALIK EL SHABAZZ", which he apparently was given in Arabia.

## II. AFFILIATION WITH THE NATION OF ISLAM

A characterization of the Fruit of Islam (FOI) of the NOI is included in the Appendix of this report.

### A. Attendance and Participation In NOI Meetings and Affairs

#### 1. At New York, New York

All of the meetings referred to below were held in NOI Mosque Number 7, 102 West 116th Street, New York, New York, unless otherwise indicated.

Subject attended and spoke at five NOI meetings during the period from October 14, 1963, to November 22, 1963, and he was also observed at two NOI meetings on December 20 and 27, 1963.

In addition, the subject was observed at the following NOI sponsored affairs:

NOI Unity Meeting held on October 28, 1963, at which he spoke.

NY 105-8999

African - Asian Bazaar held  
in the 369th Regiment Armory,  
New York, New York, on  
November 30, 1963, at which  
the subject spoke.

NOI Rally held at Manhattan  
Center, 311 West 34th Street,  
New York City, on December 1,  
1963.

67D

[REDACTED]

Subject attended and spoke at six  
NOI meetings and two FOI meetings during the  
period from September 20, 1963, to November 25, 1963,  
and he was also observed at two NOI meetings on  
December 20 and 27, 1963.

In addition, the subject attended  
and spoke at two NOI sponsored African - Asian  
Bazaars held at the 369th Regiment Armory, Fifth  
Avenue and 142nd Street, New York, New York, on  
September 21, 1963 and November 30, 1963.

67D

[REDACTED]

The subject attended and spoke at  
three NOI meetings during the period from  
October 18, 1963 to November 22, 1963.

In addition, the subject attended  
and spoke at the following NOI sponsored affairs:

African - Asian Bazaar  
held at the 369th Regiment  
Armory, New York City, on  
September 21, 1963.

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NY 105-8999

NOI Unity Meeting held on  
October 28, 1963.

NOI Rally held at the  
Manhattan Center, 311 West  
34th Street, New York City,  
on December 1, 1963.

b7D

[REDACTED]

The subject attended and spoke at  
four NOI meetings and two FOI meetings during the  
period from September 8, 1963 to November 25, 1963.

In addition, the subject spoke at  
the NOI sponsored Rally held at Manhattan Center,  
311 West 34th Street, New York City, on December 1,  
1963.

b7D

[REDACTED]

Subject attended an NOI banquet  
held at Mosque Number 7, New York City, on July 11,  
1963, in honor of AKBAR and HARRIETT MCHAMMAD, the  
son and daughter-in-law of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

The subject also attended and spoke  
at the African - Asian Bazaar held at the 369th  
Regiment Armory, New York City, on November 30,  
1963.

b7D

[REDACTED]

NY 105-8999

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2. At Flint, Michigan

The subject attended and spoke at the NOI Rally held in the J. M. A. Hall, Flint, Michigan, on October 27, 1963, at which ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was the featured speaker.

b7D

[REDACTED]

3. At Los Angeles, California

On October 5, 1963, the subject attended and spoke at an NOI sponsored Benefit Show held at Embassy Auditorium, 847 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, California. In addition to the subject's speech, the program consisted of musical entertainment and a one act play entitled "Don't You Want To Be Free?".

b7D

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 105-8999

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4. At New Haven, Connecticut

On October 31, 1963; the subject attended and spoke at an NOI meeting held in Bassett Junior High School, New Haven, Connecticut.

b7D

[REDACTED]

5. At Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

On September 29, 1963, the subject attended and was one of several speakers at the NOI Rally held in the Philadelphia Arena, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at which ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was the featured speaker.

b7D

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 105-8999

67D

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject attended and spoke at two NOI meetings held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on November 5 and 17, 1963.

67D

6. At Rochester, New York

On September 30, 1963, the subject attended the trial of fifteen NOI members in the local court at Rochester, New York. These fifteen members had been charged with inciting a riot and assaulting a police officer on January 6, 1963, when police officers attempted to enter an NOI meeting in Rochester.

During a recess of the trial, subject was interviewed in the hall by an unidentified newsman, and the subject stated that he did not expect justice from any court in the United States, and he has told NOI members that "if anyone puts their hands on you, get justice right on the spot".

67D

7. At San Francisco, California

On October 13, 1963, the subject attended and spoke at an NOI banquet held in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 105-8999

California Hall, Polk and Turk Streets, San Francisco, California.

b7D

[REDACTED]

B. Statements by Subject  
or in His Presence  
While Affiliated With  
the Nation of Islam

At the NOI Rally held in the Philadelphia Arena; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on September 29, 1963, the speaker was ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, and he stated that the black man made the moon and the stars many years before and the black man is the rightful owner of the universe, and he described white people as "snakes" who were created for the purpose of murdering black people.

b7D

[REDACTED]

At the NOI Unity Meeting held in New York City on October 28, 1963, the subject was the speaker, and subject, while speaking of the incident in Flint, Michigan, when ELIJAH MUHAMMAD dismissed an NOI Rally when police officers attempted to enter without being searched, stated that there would have been a war if Mr. MUHAMMAD had not been divinely guided.

K

b7D

[REDACTED]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At the NOI Rally held in the Manhattan Center, New York City, on December 1, 1963, the subject was the speaker and said that God is ready to destroy America for what it has done to the so-called Negroes. He stated that God does not like a slave maker, an exploiter or a colonizer. He further stated that God destroyed the Pharaoh for holding the children of Israel in bondage, so why do you think God will save America when her crime is more than all others.

b7D

[REDACTED]

At the NOI meeting held at Mosque Number 7, New York City, on October 28, 1963, the subject was the speaker and said, in speaking of the above mentioned incident at the NOI Rally in Flint, Michigan, that he probably would not have reacted in the same way as ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

b7D

[REDACTED]

At the NOI meeting held in Mosque Number 7, New York City, on September 8, 1963, the subject stated in his speech that the NOI does not teach black people to hate the white man. The NOI simply tells black people what the white man has done to them, and when black people learn this, they want to go out and kill the white man. However, the NOI has a man in ELIJAH MUHAMMAD who can tell them how to take care of the white man. He will laugh in the white man's face and when the white man turns his back, he will chop his head off.

b7D

[REDACTED]

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At the NOI meeting held in Mosque Number 7, New York City, on September 15, 1963, the subject was the speaker and said that there is a large missile flying around the earth that will eventually strike the earth, explode, setting America on fire and burning up all the white men along with all "stool pigeons".

b7D

[REDACTED]

At the NOI meeting held in Bassett Junior High School, New Haven, Connecticut, on October 31, 1963, the subject was the speaker, and he said the white man is born and bred in evil. You should take no chances with him; all white people are really snakes. He also stated that God pays the white man back for his killing of Negro children in the South, as is evidenced by the recent deaths of white men in mine disasters.

b7D

[REDACTED]

At the NOI meeting held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on November 17, 1963, the subject was the speaker, and he called the white man a dog and other names, and indicated the white man will be wiped off the earth. He also said that fighting over an integrated cup of coffee is for fools, and those who practice non-violence should be banished from the earth.

X b7D

[REDACTED]

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At the NOI banquet held in San Francisco, California, on October 13, 1963, the subject, in his speech, said that white people are through beating us and we won't stand for it any longer. He stated that we, the Muslims, do not believe in violence, but if someone attacks you, "send him to his grave".

67D



At this same NOI banquet in San Francisco, the subject stated that the white man is a damn fool if he thinks we are going to let him hit us over the head, drag us in the streets and sic their dogs on us and expects us not to put up a fight. If we cannot win, we will die trying. He described the white man as a "low-down, green-eyed devil" who is worse than a dog.

67D



C. Public Appearances  
and Activities While  
Affiliated with the  
Nation of Islam

At New York, New York

The January 10, 1964 edition of "The New York Times", on page 84, contained an article which reflected that the subject had been invited to explain the NOI's therapy in rehabilitating

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narcotic addicts and alcoholics, on April 20, 1964, before "The Counselors", the Negro Probation Officers Society of New York.

This article also reflected that Psychiatric social workers for Harlem Hospital had also approached the subject.

The article quoted the subject as stating that the NOI assists Negro addicts who are unable to cope with the white man's world which they do not understand and try to escape from it by addiction. He explained the NOI therapy as group therapy, where individuals get strength from the group, and a transference of new motivations to the patient.

At Bridgeport, Connecticut

On November 21, 1963, the subject spoke on the aims and purposes of the NOI before a student audience at the University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Connecticut.

67D

[REDACTED]

At Detroit, Michigan

On October 22, 1963, the subject spoke on the NOI aims and purposes in State Hall, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan. This meeting was sponsored by the Independent Socialist Club (ISC).

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

A characterization of the ISC and the Young Socialist Club of Wayne County are included in the Appendix of this report.

b7D

At this meeting, [REDACTED] stated that MALCOLM remarked that he favored the idea of a black political party, indicating that it was always good when black people separated themselves from their former slave masters and tried to achieve harmony with their own kind.

On November 10, 1963, the subject spoke on the aims and purposes of the NOI at the King Solomon Baptist Church, 6125 14th Street, Detroit, Michigan. This meeting was sponsored by the Freedom Now Party, an all Negro political party formed in August, 1963, to support Negro candidates for national and local political offices, according to newspaper publicity.

In this speech, MALCOLM stated, in regard to the civil rights movement, that there could be no revolution without bloodshed. He also stated that any Negro man found with a white woman should have his head cut off, and any white man who sneaks around Negro neighborhoods molesting Negro women should have his head cut off.

b7D [REDACTED]

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At Grand Rapids, Michigan

On October 23, 1963, the subject appeared on a radio program called "Party 5" broadcast over Station WLAV, Grand Rapids, Michigan. The subject answered questions called in by listeners and during the broadcast, denounced the FBI, claiming that the FBI should spend their time investigating bombings in the South and not the NOI.

At Ann Arbor, Michigan

The October 23, 1963 edition of the "Michigan Daily", the student publication of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, contained an article which reflected that the subject spoke at the University of Michigan on October 22, 1963. The article indicated he spoke on the program of the NOI and, particularly, the NOI claim that the only permanent solution to the Negro problem in America was complete separation of the races. The subject also claimed that there were two revolts going on in America, the Negro revolt and the black revolt. The former consists of the followers of civil rights leaders seeking equality, while the latter consists of the NOI and their followers who seek separation. He criticized the Negro revolt by asking whoever heard of a friendly, non-violent, peaceful revolution?

At San Francisco, California

On October 9, 1963, [REDACTED]

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67D [REDACTED] the NOI in San Francisco had scheduled a press conference for the subject at 10:00 a.m. on October 10, 1963, at the Del Webb's Towne House, San Francisco, California.

On October 10, 1963, Special Agents of the FBI attended this press conference.

During this conference, the subject announced that the purpose was to present the views of the NOI on racial problems. Subject claimed that the only answer to the race problem was for all black people in the United States to accept the teachings of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD that the races should be separated. He claimed that the ideal situation would be for all Negroes to return to Africa. He criticized the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING. He was also extremely critical of the Los Angeles Police Department and city officials and courts of Los Angeles. This criticism was based on the arrest and prosecution of NOI members in Los Angeles stemming from a riot there in April, 1962, between NOI members and Los Angeles Police.

U

At Berkeley, California

On October 11, 1963, a Special Agent of the FBI attended a speech made by the subject to approximately four thousand students and faculty of the University of California at Berkeley, California. The subject spoke on the NOI's solution to the racial problem, which is the separation of the races. He advocated the separation, at the expense of the United States Government, as partial payment for the years

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spent in slavery. This black nation is to be preferably in Africa. He predicted a bloody racial war for America and stated that only ELIJAH MUHAMMAD could stop it. He criticized "white liberals" as hypocritical and claimed that the present "Catholic administration" under KENNEDY offered a civil rights bill, but no civil rights. He further predicted that Islam would prevail because ALLAH is the only true God, and that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is a modern day MOSES sent to lead black people out of bondage. He decried the four hundred years of slavery black men experienced in America and claimed that the NOI would extract an eye for an eye.

This speech, which was received politely but with no apparent enthusiasm, was sponsored by SLATE, a recognized off-campus student political action group at the above university which presents speakers from a wide range of views.

At Richmond, California

On October 13, 1963, the subject spoke at an NOI sponsored public meeting held in Richmond Auditorium, Richmond, California.

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

X

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He claimed that the United States and white people were in a conspiracy against black people in general and the Muslims in particular. He claimed that ALLAH would destroy the white world, including America, and establish the one world of Islam and that when "they" spoke of the "end of the world", what is meant is the end of the white race and Christianity here on earth.

He claimed that the only solution to the race problem was separation and that civil rights activity is an example of government-controlled Negro revolution. He then stated that the black revolution is sponsored by the NOI and is the one that will succeed since it is controlled by God. In his conclusion, he claimed that white America is doomed and must fall to atone for the crimes against the Negroes during the past four hundred years.

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III. SUSPENSION FROM THE NOI

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

The December 2, 1963 edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 21 captioned "MALCOLM X Scorns US and Kennedy".

This article reflected that at an NOI rally held on December 1, 1963, at Manhattan Center, 8th Avenue and 34th Street, New York City, MALCOLM X in his speech stated that the assassination of President JOHN F. KENNEDY (on November 22, 1963) was an instance of "the chickens coming home to roost". Then, to laughter and applause, MALCOLM X stated: "Being an old farmboy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad".

The December 5, 1963 edition of "The New York Times" contained an article on page 22 reflecting that MALCOLM X had been suspended by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD for his "chickens coming home to roost" remark on December 1, 1963.

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67D On December 4, 1963, [REDACTED] ELIJAH MUHAMMAD issued the following public statement on that date:

"Sunday, December 1, at the Manhattan Center in New York City, where Minister M. Shabazz addressed the public and mentioned the President's death, he did not speak for Muslims. He was speaking for himself and not for the Muslims in general. He has been suspended from public speaking for the time being. The nation still mourns the loss of our President. Signed Elijah Muhammad".

67D [REDACTED] on that date that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD had stated that subject should have known better than to talk about the President since he had told him to lay off as it was too hot. [REDACTED] if subject accepts his punishment (suspension) he will be okay, but if he does not keep quiet it will be worse for him.

The December 14, 1963 edition of the New York "Amsterdam News", on page 53, contained an article captioned "MALCOLM X Maintains Silence". This article indicated that subject is remaining silent in his home handling administrative details of Mosque Number 7 and working on a story of his life to be published by Doubleday. This article indicated that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has refused to comment on subject's future or when his suspension would be lifted. The article also indicated that NOI sources in Chicago, Illinois, denied there was a likelihood that subject would be replaced.

67D [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ *NATION of ISLAM*

b7C During December, 1963, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD received information [redacted]

[redacted] had received certain information from [redacted] New York. This information concerned reaction on the East coast to subject's suspension and indicated that subject was trying to hurt the NOI and ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. *Xu*

*NATION of ISLAM*

b7D b7C During December, 1963, [redacted] informed ELIJAH MUHAMMAD that subject had been spreading "rotten stuff". *Xu*

b7D On December 31, 1963, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD decided that subject would no longer have any authority to run Mosque Number 7 and that Minister JAMES of Newark, New Jersey, would be in charge in New York City. *Xu*

*NATION of ISLAM*

b7C In early January, 1964, ELIJAH MUHAMMAD had a conference in Phoenix, Arizona, with subject [redacted]

[redacted] concerning subject and his actions during the suspension. Subject was placed on indefinite suspension and ELIJAH instructed that FOI Captain JOSEPH GRAVITT of Mosque Number 7, New York City, should take over the administrative operation of that Mosque.

*NATION of ISLAM*

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**b7D** [REDACTED]

**b7D** [REDACTED]

The February 22, 1964 edition of the "Newark Star Ledger", a daily newspaper published in Newark, New Jersey, contained an article on page 14, which reflected that the NOI was being split by a power struggle between ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and MALCOLM X. According to the article information "leaking out of the ultra-secret group" indicates that subject has challenged the authority of ELIJAH by soliciting support for himself from other NOI leaders around the country. The article indicated that ELIJAH was outraged and considering whether or not subject should be expelled.

The February 26, 1964 edition of "The New York Times" contained an article on page 39, datelined "Chicago, Illinois, February 25, 1964," which reflected that MALCOLM X, leader of the NOI in New York City who was then on suspension, would not attend the annual National NOI Convention in Chicago on February 26. The article claimed that there was a power struggle going on in the NOI between MALCOLM X and second echelon NOI leaders at NOI headquarters in Chicago. The latter feared that MALCOLM X will inherit the movement on a national basis from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD if he (MALCOLM) is not curbed.

IV. INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECT  
ON FEBRUARY 4, 1964

**b7C** On February 4, 1964, subject was interviewed at his residence by Special Agents [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Results of this interview follow:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date 2/5/64

I.

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MALCOLM LITTLE advised he is generally known as MALCOLM X and resides at 23-11 97th Street, Queens, New York City. He stated that until sometime in December, 1963, he was the Minister in charge of the Nation of Islam (NOI) Mosque in New York City. In December, 1963, he was suspended by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD from his duties. He would not say the reason for his suspension or its duration. He stated that any comment on this would have to come from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

He stated that his suspension from duties caused him to reappraise his loyalty to the NOI and ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. He stated that because of his suspension, he is now more firmly devoted to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD than ever. He pointed out that his suspension proves that the rules of the NOI apply to everyone equally. He stated he is in no way bitter towards ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and that anything that might have caused his suspension was entirely his own fault and he could blame no one else.

He stated that the NOI cooperates with the United States Government more than any other Negro organization in that the NOI stops members from smoking, drinking and committing crimes and many other things which result in a benefit to the United States Government but which the Government is unable or unwilling to do itself. Because of this, the NOI is the only group that really benefits the Negroes. He pointed out that other Negro groups do not have a program which will benefit the Negro and eventually the Negro will realize this. He stated that when the Negro realizes that the Government, white people and so-called Negro leaders are not really helping the Negro or obtaining for the Negro the things which he wants or should have, then the Negro will start helping himself to these things. He did not care to explain this except by stating that at that time there could be a great deal of trouble.

He stated that the so-called Negro leaders are incompetent to lead the Negroes and stated that BAYARD RUSTIN, who was a leader of the one day school boycott in New York City on February 3, 1964, is nothing but a homosexual. He furnished no other information on either RUSTIN or any other

On 2/4/64 at 23-11 97th Street  
Queens, New York City File # NY 105-8999

by SAS [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]Date dictated 2/5/64

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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person he considered a Negro leader. He reiterated that he is cooperating with the Government in view of the principles of the NOI but to suggest any other means of cooperation was an insult to his intelligence. He stated the teachings of the NOI are public and are well known to the Government. He stated he had no information concerning membership of the NOI, either as to numbers or names and even if he did have such information, he was not disposed to furnish it to the Government.

He stated that he would have no objection to being contacted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation regarding demonstrations or other public affairs contemplated by the NOI. He stated he realized that in the past the NOI has been blamed for a number of incidents with which they were, in fact, not involved. He stated he would be most willing to be contacted in order to clear up any such possible misunderstanding.

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BAYARD RUSTIN

The "New York Herald Tribune" issue of August 14, 1963, page seven, column one, contains an article captioned, "Thurmond Assails A leader of March". The article stated that, in answer to charges by Senator STROM THURMOND, BAYARD RUSTIN admitted joining the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1936. RUSTIN also reportedly stated that he broke completely with the YCL in June, 1941.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker" issue of February 25, 1957, page one, column one, contained an article which stated that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was one of eight non-Communist observers at the Communist Party National Convention in 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

V. BREAK FROM THE NOI

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A. Break By Subject

The March 9, 1964 edition of "The New York Times" contained an article on page 1 which reflected that on March 8, 1964, MALCOLM X publically announced that he had broken with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and the NOI due to his continued suspension, and that he would organize a politically oriented "black nationalist party".

On March 12, 1964, Special Agents of the FBI attended a press conference held by MALCOLM X in the Park Sheraton Hotel, 7th Avenue and 55th Street, New York City. At this press conference MALCOLM X passed out a copy of the public statement he issued on March 8, 1964, concerning his break with the NOI. This statement reads as follows:

"There has been talk of a split between me and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. After 90 days of complete silence, I would like to make my position in this controversy crystal clear. Mr. Muhammad is the one who taught me everything I know and the one who made me into whatever I am. 4

"I believe Allah has given him the best diagnosis of the ills that beset America's 22 million Negroes, and this same God has also given him the only solution that will eliminate the basic 'causes behind our people's social, economic, political, moral, mental and spiritual ailments.

"My chief concern is the plight of 22 million American Negroes. During this 90 days of silence, I have reached the conclusion that I can best spread Mr. Muhammad's message by staying out of the Nation of Islam, and continuing to work on my own among America's 22 million non-Muslim Negroes. But I will always remain a Muslim, and will always teach what Mr. Muhammad has taught me, as I best understand it.

"Later this week, I shall call a press conference and announce my plan of operation, and as long as I am a True Believer, as the Holy Quran says, Allah will bless me with success.

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"Since there has been talk that I am trying to split the Muslims, I want it clearly understood that my advice to all Muslims is that they stay in the Nation of Islam under the spiritual guidance of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. It is not my desire to encourage any of them to follow me."

Also at this press conference MALCOLM X passed out a copy of the telegram he sent to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD on March 11, 1964. This telegram reads as follows:

"The National Officials there at the Chicago Headquarters know that I never left the Nation of Islam of my own free will. It was they who conspired with Captain Joseph here in New York to pressure me out of the Nation. In order to save the National Officials and Captain Joseph the disgrace of having to explain their real reason for forcing me out, I announced through the press that it was my own decision to leave.

"I did not take the blame to protect those National Officials, but to preserve the faith your followers have in you and the Nation of Islam.

"Despite what has been said by the press, I have never spoken one word of criticism to them about your family. I will always be a Muslim, teaching what you have taught me, and giving you full credit for what I know and what I am. You are still my leader and teacher, even though those around you won't let me be one of your active followers or helpers. The present course I am taking is the only way I can circumvent their obstacles and still expedite your program.

"The tears you shed in Arizona gave the public the impression that you also are of the opinion that I left of my own free will, so I am giving a copy of this wire to the press. May Allah bless you with health and success. I am still your brother and servant.

"Malcolm X"

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On March 9, 1964, from 10:00 - 10:30 p.m., MALCOLM X appeared on the news commentary and interview program "The World At 10", over TV station WNDT, Channel 13, New York City, where he was interviewed regarding his split with the NOI. MALCOLM X explained that he was suspended (on December 4, 1963) for disobedience to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD as the result of his remark on the assassination of President KENNEDY, since ELIJAH MUHAMMAD had previously told him not to comment on the assassination. He stated the suspension was originally for 90 days but he recently learned that the suspension would be for an indefinite time.

The March 14, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a Negro weekly newspaper published in New York, New York, on page 1, contained an exclusive interview by that paper with MALCOLM X concerning his break with the NOI and the formation of the MMI.

In this interview, MALCOLM X charged that NOI headquarters in Chicago had been waging a power struggle against him that led to his suspension in December, 1963. The article quoted MALCOLM X as stating "they forced me to take the stand I am taking because I had to find a way to circumvent the forces in the movement that opposed me and at the same time to expedite Mr. MUHAMMAD's program as I understand it."

This article reflected that MALCOLM X's announcement to split with the NOI and form his own group was brought on by a letter he received on March 5, 1964, from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD informing him that he was to remain on suspension for an indefinite time.

#### B. Reaction of NOI Officials

The March 10, 1964 edition of the "New York Journal American", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 1 which reflected that NOI leader ELIJAH MUHAMMAD in Phoenix, Arizona, was on the verge of tears when he heard of subject's break with the NOI and he declared "I never dreamed this man would deviate from the NOI. My people are adapted to peace. They believe in peaceful solutions".

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The March 28, 1964 edition of the "Chicago Defender", a daily newspaper published in Chicago, Illinois, contained an article on page 1 captioned "Hit MALCOLM X As Judas". This article indicated that PHILBERT X, NOI Minister in Lansing, Grand Rapids and Flint, Michigan, and a brother of subject, denounced subject as a traitor for breaking with the NOI and forming his own group. PHILBERT X stated he had brought his brother into the NOI ten years ago and he claimed subject's actions were caused by "resentment" over the suspension given him by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. He described subject's new organization as "dangerous", and he denounced subject as a BRUTUS, JUDAS, and BENEDICT ARNOLD. He added that subject would do anything to gain mention and news coverage.

Similar articles to that above appeared in the following newspapers:

"New York Journal American", March 27, 1964, page 1.

"New York Post", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, of March 27, 1964, page 4.

"New York Herald Tribune", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, March 28, 1964, page 5.

The March 29, 1964 edition of the "Chicago Sunday Tribune", a daily newspaper published in Chicago, Illinois, contained an article on page 20, which reflected that subject was not upset by his brother PHILBERT's attack against him, and subject claimed that PHILBERT was using someone else's words and was forced to make the statements he made.

67D [REDACTED] of the NOI described subject as a traitor to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD who always wanted to be in the limelight and who left the NOI for personal gain. He further described subject as a disobedient follower who was not satisfied with being the number 2 man in the NOI.

67D [REDACTED]

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The April 4, 1964 edition of "The New Crusader", a weekly Negro newspaper published in Chicago, Illinois, contained an article by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD entitled "Mr. MUHAMMAD Speaks".

In this article subject's break with the NOI was discussed. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD stated that subject disobeyed him by failing to keep quiet after his suspension, and when told he would have to remain quiet for a longer time subject went out on his own. ELIJAH stated in the article that he places his trust in ALLAH, while subject is going to trust himself. He then stated "I am sorry for the poor fools who refuse to trust the god of The Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, and follow MALCOLM for self-victory".

VI. AFFILIATION WITH THE MUSLIM  
MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

A. Formation of the MMI

On March 12, 1964, Special Agents of the FBI attended a press conference by subject in the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City, from 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. which was attended by approximately 60 representatives of the press. At this press conference subject publicly announced the formation and incorporation of his new organization named "Muslim Mosque, Incorporated".

At this press conference subject read the following opening statement concerning himself and the over-all program of the MMI, which statement was made available in printed form to those present at the conference:

"Because 1964 threatens to be a very explosive year on the racial front, and because I myself intend to be very active in every phase of the American Negro struggle for HUMAN RIGHTS, I have called this press conference this morning in order to clarify my own position in the struggle...especially in regards to politics and non-violence.

"I wish to speak to you for ten or fifteen minutes and then open myself for questions.

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"I am and always will be a Muslim. My religion is Islam. I still believe that Mr. Muhammad's analysis of the problem is the most realistic, and that his solution is the best one. This means that I too believe the best solution is complete separation, with our people going back home, to our own African homeland.

"But separation back to Africa is still a long-range program, and while it is yet to materialize, 22 million of our people who are still here in America need better food, clothing, housing, education and jobs right now. Mr. Muhammad's program does point us back homeward, but it also contains within it what we could and should be doing to help solve many of our own problems while we are still here.

"Internal differences within the Nation of Islam forced me out of it. I did not leave of my own free will. But now that it has happened I intend to make the most of it. Now that I have more independence-of-action I intend to use a more flexible approach toward working with others to get a solution to this problem.

"I do not pretend to be a divine man, but I do believe in divine guidance, divine power, and in the fulfillment of divine prophecy. I am not educated, nor am I an expert in any particular field...but I am sincere, and my sincerity are my credentials.

"I'm not out to fight other Negro leaders or organizations. We must find a common approach, a common solution to a common problem. As of this minute, I've forgotten everything bad that the other leaders have said about me, and I pray they can also forget the many bad things I've said about them.

"The problem facing our people here in America is bigger than all other personal or organizational differences. Therefore, as leaders, we must stop worrying about the threat that we seem to think we pose to each-other's personal prestige, and concentrate our united efforts toward solving the unending hurt that is being done daily to our people here in America.

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"I am going to organize and head a New Mosque in New York City, known as the Muslim Mosque, Inc. This gives us a religious base, and the spiritual force necessary to rid our people of the vices that destroy the moral fiber of our community.

"Our political philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our economic and social philosophy will be Black Nationalism. Our cultural emphases will be Black Nationalism.

"Many of our people aren't religiously inclined, so the Muslim Mosque, Inc. will be organized in such a manner to provide for the active participation of all Negroes in our political, economic, and social programs, despite their religious or non-religious beliefs.

"The political philosophy of Black Nationalism means: we must control the politics and the politicians of our community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces.

"Our accent will be upon youth: we need new ideas, new methods, new approaches. We will call upon young students of political science throughout the nation to help us. We will encourage these young students to launch their own independent study, and then give us their analysis and their suggestions. We are completely disenchanted with the old, adult, established politicians. We want to see some new faces...more militant faces

"Concerning the 1964 elections: we will keep our plans on this a secret until a later date... but we don't intend for our people to be the victims of a political sell-out again in 1964.

"The Muslim Mosque, Inc. will remain wide-open for ideas and financial aid from all quarters. Whites can help us, but they can't join us. There can be no black-white unity until there is first some black unity. There can be no workers solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity. We

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cannot think of uniting with others, until after we have first united among ourselves. We cannot think of being acceptable to others until we have first proven acceptable to ourselves. One can't unite bananas with scattered leaves.

"Concerning non-violence: it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law.

"In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle-clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham, Plaquemine, La, Cambridge Md, and Danville, Va. When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs.

"We should be peaceful, law abiding... but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and where\_ever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked.

"If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job."

On March 16, 1964, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] New York County, New York, New York, advised that on that date a Certificate of Incorporation was filed for the MMI pursuant to Article IX of the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York. The certificate was filed under number 2330 for 1964. The certificate was executed on March 9, 1964, notarized on March 10, 1964, and filed on March 16, 1964, by EDWARD W. JACKO, JR., attorney at law, 217 West 125th Street, New York City.

The certificate reflected that on March 9, 1964, in conformity with Section 192 of the Religious Corporation Law, a meeting to decide for incorporation was held at 23-11 97th Street, Queens, New York. Present at this meeting were MALCOLM X LITTLE, who presided, EARL GRANT and JAMES M. K. WARDEN.

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At this meeting it was decided to incorporate and the name chosen was "Muslim Mosque, Incorporated." It was also decided at this meeting that there would be no less than three nor more than 21 trustees, and the meeting then proceeded to elect LITTLE, GRANT and WARDEN as its trustees to serve until the first Sunday of March, 1965. On that date a second election of trustees would be held, and thereafter a new election of trustees would be held on the first Sunday of each calendar year. The certificate further indicated that the principal places of worship were to be in the borough of Manhattan, New York County, New York.

67D

[REDACTED] that  
JAMES O'X (WARDEN) is a former FOI Lieutenant  
of NOI Mosque Number 7, New York City. In  
March, 1964, he went over to MALCOLM X's new  
organization, the MMI, and he is MALCOLM X's  
Chief Assistant.

The above incorporation record of the MMI set forth  
its purposes as follows:

"(a) To provide a suitable place of worship for its  
members and others in accordance with the Islamic Faith.

"(b) To maintain a house of study for the advancement  
of the Islamic Faith and Religion.

"(c) To stimulate interest among the members in the  
formation, maintenance and the teaching of the Islamic Faith.

"(d) To publish text books, pamphlets, brochures, and  
to solicit, collect and in other manners raise funds for the  
hereinabove and hereinafter enumerated purposes.

"(e) To work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith  
and Islamic Religion in accordance with the accepted Islamic  
Religious principals.

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"(f) To purchase, lease, acquire, sell and mortgage improved or unimproved real property and any interest therein.

"(g) The foregoing clauses shall be considered both as objects and purposes, and it is hereby expressly provided that the foregoing enumerated specific objects and purposes shall not be held to limit or restrict in any manner the powers of this corporation, but that this corporation shall be entitled to enjoy all the powers that a religious corporation may have under and by virtue of the Laws of the State of New York."

B. MMI Activity and Aims and Viewpoints as Expressed by Subject

1. At New York, New York

b7D [REDACTED] MMI was holding the following regular scheduled meetings at MMI Headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City:

- Each Monday evening at 8:00 p.m. a meeting for male members only is held.

Each Wednesday evening at 8:00 p.m. an Islamic Religious meeting open to the public is held.

Each Thursday evening at 8:00 p.m. a meeting for female members only is held.

b7D [REDACTED] advised that the MMI with MALCOLM X as the featured speaker held five open public rallies in the Harlem Section of New York City on five consecutive Sunday nights as indicated below:

March 15, 1964, at the Dawn Casino,  
2387 7th Avenue, estimated attendance  
400.

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March 22, 1964, at Rockland Palace, ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
8th Avenue and 155th Street, estimated  
attendance of 1,000.

March 29, 1964, April 5, 1964 and April  
12, 1964, all held at the Audubon Ballroom,  
Broadway and 166th Street, with an estimated  
attendance of 600, 500 and 550, respectively.

Subject's presence and role as featured speaker at  
the above meetings was also verified by the below sources  
as indicated:

March 15, 1964 meeting.

[REDACTED]

March 22, 1964 meeting.

[REDACTED]

March 29, 1964 meeting.

[REDACTED]

April 5, 1964 meeting.

[REDACTED]

April 12, 1964 meeting.

[REDACTED]

2. At Boston, Massachusetts

[REDACTED]

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3. At Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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b7D [REDACTED]

NATION of ISLAM

b7D [REDACTED]

4. Statements by Subject on General Aims of MMI

The March 22, 1964 edition of "The New York Times", contained an article on page 17 of the magazine section concerning MALCOLM X. This article indicated that according to MALCOLM X his aim is to work with civil rights groups if they are willing to raise the caliber of their own black communities, and not force Negroes into white neighborhoods where they are not wanted. At present the black people are segregated said MALCOLM X and what we want is separation, independence.

The March 23, 1964 edition of "Newsweek" magazine contained an article on page 32 concerning MALCOLM X and the MMI in which he indicated that he would now work for better food, clothing, housing, education, and jobs for Negroes "right now".

67D  
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[REDACTED] at the MMI Rally held in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City, MALCOLM X stated in his speech that the ultimate goal of the MMI is to return all Negroes to Africa.

The March 29, 1964 edition of the "Chicago Sunday Tribune", a daily newspaper published in Chicago, Illinois, contained an article on page 20 reflecting an interview with MALCOLM X in which he stated that the aims of his group are political, economic, and social, rather than religious. As such, he will work to bring equality for Negroes.

The April 2, 1964 edition of "Jet" magazine, a weekly Negro magazine published in Chicago, Illinois, contained an article concerning MALCOLM X on page 54 in which he stated that the main Negro problems are moral and mental. He stated that the vices our people are addicted to have destroyed the moral fiber of the Negro community. Therefore it is necessary to start working at the basis of that which is destroying the Negroes' morals and incentive and they are the vices which run rampant in the Negro community. He further explained that the religion of Islam gets to the root of these problems. u

67D  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] reflected that in giving a policy statement of how he stands on integration, MALCOLM X stated that his group does not stand for integration, but for complete freedom, justice, and equality, or recognition and respect as human beings. He stated their objective is complete respect and the only difference among Negroes in this country is not in the objective, but in the method by which this objective should be reached. He stated that he was not preaching integration, but that the MMI which has Islam as its religious philosophy has at the same time the political, economic and social philosophy of black nationalism. This means that the

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Negro should control the politics of his own community, the economy of his own community, by owning and operating businesses and that the evils and vices that destroy the moral fiber of the Negro society must be eliminated.

b7D [REDACTED] the MMI Rally held in the Audubon Ballroom, New York City, on April 12, 1964, MALCOLM X in his speech spoke on the plight of the Negro in America and urged that the complete separation of the races was the only solution to the problem.

5. Statements by Subject on Political Aims of MMI

At the press conference held by MALCOLM X on March 12, 1964, in the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City, he stated that he had absolutely no plans to run for political office and that he did not care to reveal what specific political plans the MMI had for the forthcoming election. u

The March 23, 1964 edition of "Newsweek" magazine contained an article on page 32 in which MALCOLM X stated that his new Mosque will have a "political apparatus" as well as a nonsectarian wing dedicated to sweeping out Negro politicians who are puppets for white forces.

b7D [REDACTED] at the MMI Rally held in Rockland Palace, Eight Avenue and 155th Street, New York City, on March 22, 1964, MALCOLM X stated that in 1964, he would make a voter registration drive for 10 million to vote as an independent black nationalist body.

b7D [REDACTED] at the MMI Rally held at Audubon Ballroom, New York City, on March 29, 1964, MALCOLM X in his speech which was entitled "Ballots or Bullets" urged all Negroes to register to vote, and suggested that those Negroes who do not register should be "run out of town."

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6. Statements by Subject on Violence

While being interviewed on the television program "The World At Ten," over WNDT, TV, Channel 13, New York City, on March 9, 1964, MALCOLM X stated that he was interested in the freedom, justice and equality of 22 million black people in this country. He stated it is time for the Negro to get angry and go after whatever is his by whatever method necessary.

At the press conference held by MALCOLM X on March 12, 1964, in the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City, he stated in his opening statement that it is "criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law." He further stated that when "our people are being bitten by dogs they are within their rights to kill those dogs". He stated, "we should be peaceful, law-abiding...but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked."

The March 20, 1964 edition of "Life" magazine contained an article on MALCOLM X on page 40, in which he stated that any Negro who is attacked should fight back and if necessary he should be prepared to die like a man. The article also indicated that he stated, "If you think I'll be nonviolent, you will be sticking me for the rest of my life. But if I tell you I'll fight back there will be less blood. I'm for reciprocal bleeding." He also stated that any dog "sic-ed" onto any Negro should be shot, and further commented, "I think there will be dead police dogs before the year is over."

The March 23, 1964 edition of the "World Telegram and Sun," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 2 concerning the MMI Rally held at Rockland Palace, New York City, on March 22, 1964. This article reflected that in his speech MALCOLM X rejected the philosophy of non-violence by stating, "No more turning the other cheek... there will be non-violence only with those who are non-violent with us...1964 threatens to be anexplosive year."

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The March 23, 1964 edition of the "New York Journal American," contained an article on page 3 concerning the above MMI Rally of March 22, 1964, and it quotes MALCOLM X as stating "If it is necessary to form a Black Nationalist Party-or a Black Nationalist Army-we'll form it." He also advised the audience, "No more turning the other cheek. No more jive like that. There'll be non-violence only with those who are not violent with us."

The March 26, 1964 edition of "The Evening Star," a daily newspaper published in Washington, D. C., contained an article on page 5 which reflected an interview with MALCOLM X following his visit on March 26, 1964, to the Senate Gallery where he listened to the civil rights debate. In this interview, MALCOLM X stated that he would rather not say what methods he advocates in bringing about equal rights for Negroes, but that neither legislation nor non-violent passive resistance are among them.

b7D [REDACTED] in a press conference held by MALCOLM X in Chicago, Illinois, on March 28, 1964, he stated that self-defense is not violent, and that he believed in non-violence. This means that as long as violence is not used against Negroes then Negroes should not use violence, but if whites use violence against Negroes, then Negroes are entitled to use violence in return.

On April 1, 1964, MALCOLM X was the guest on the "Tex Mc Crary Show" over radio station WOR in New York City from 11:15 p.m. to 12 midnight.

During the interview MALCOLM X stated that he was non-violent, and does not urge Negroes to initiate aggression, only to practice self defense if attacked or brutalized.

The April 2, 1964 edition of "Jet" magazine contained an article on page 54 concerning MALCOLM X in which he stated that white people in this country should be made to realize that if something is not done to bring an immediate halt to the aggression and brutality that is being inflicted upon

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Negroes, then the Negro should be considered justified in doing whatever is necessary to protect himself. He should not initiate aggressive action, but he is within his rights to defend himself.

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[REDACTED] MALCOLM X spoke at a meeting sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) held on April 3, 1964, at Cleveland, Ohio. MALCOLM X stated that the Supreme Court has ruled that segregation is illegal, and if anyone interferes with your attempt to obtain your rights, then that person is a criminal. If that person is a policeman he no longer represents the law. If the police set dogs on you when you are demonstrating for your rights you should kill that dog.

On April 7, 1964, MALCOLM X was interviewed by HARVE MORGAN on the radio program "Contact" over radio station KYW, Cleveland, Ohio. During this program MALCOLM X stated that he did not approve of looting, breaking and destruction of public property, but, he did understand why "our" people are so deeply involved in it, and they are not the ones to be blamed. The power structure that has allowed this criminal situation to exist are the responsible ones.

The March 13, 1964 edition of the "Daily News", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article concerning the MMI Rally held at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City, on March 12, 1964. This article quoted MALCOLM X as stating in his speech at this meeting "We need lots of Mau-Maus here. The Mau-Maus were the greatest freedom fighters in Africa." The article went on to describe the Mau-Maus as a secret terrorist society which used murder and torture in its attempt to drive the whites from Kenya, Africa.

#### 7. Statements by Subject on Rifle Clubs

At the press conference held by MALCOLM X on March 12, 1964, in the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City, he made the following remarks in his opening statement referring to the formation by Negroes of rifle clubs:

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"In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle-clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham, Plaquemine, Louisiana, Cambridge, Maryland, and Danville, Virginia. When our people are being bitten by dogs they are within their rights to kill those dogs."

The April 10, 1964 edition of the "New York Post," contained an article on page 49 relative to MALCOLM X and his MMI. This article in part reflects an interview with MALCOLM X in which he advised that he personally had a rifle and has taught his wife how to use it. He has instructed her to shoot anyone - black, white, or yellow - who tries to force his way into our house.

The March 20, 1964 edition of "Life" magazine contained an article on page 40 concerning MALCOLM X, in which he was quoted as stating, "Every Negro ought to have a weapon in his house, a rifle or a shotgun."

The March 22, 1964 edition of the "New York Times," contained an article on page 17 of the magazine section concerning MALCOLM X in which he stated that Negroes should defend themselves, even if it means taking rifles and shotguns and driving from their door the people who are brutalizing Negroes. He was quoted as saying, "Every American citizen is guaranteed under the Constitution the right to bear arms in self defense. Since he has the legal right to own a shotgun or rifle I would advise the Negro to have one."

The March 28, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," contained an article on page 35, concerning a speech by MALCOLM X on March 15, 1964, at a meeting of the Harlem Community Council on Housing, held at 32 West 118th Street, New York City. This article stated that in his speech MALCOLM X exclaimed that he wanted to clarify an earlier statement to the effect that black men should buy rifles and shotguns for their own defense. He was then quoted as saying, "In cases where the government has proved itself unwilling or unable

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to defend them, Negroes have a right to defend themselves. I am indicting the government for not defending us. If the government can't do it then let us do it ourselves."

The March 29, 1964 edition of the "Chicago Sunday Tribune," on page 20 contained an article concerning an interview with MALCOLM X. MALCOLM X, according to the article, asserted that he was misquoted in the press, when he urged Negroes to buy rifles at the time he announced the formation of the MMI. MALCOLM X stated, "What I said was that they should have the rifles to defend themselves in those parts of the country where the government either can't or won't defend them."

67D [REDACTED] that during a speech by MALCOLM X at a CORE Rally held on April 3, 1964, in Cleveland, Ohio, he stated that if Uncle Sam can spend billions for defense he should not mind you spending \$12 or \$15 for your defense. [REDACTED] MALCOLM X stated, "I am not saying that you should go out and shoot white people, for that is against the law. But the law says you can defend yourself."

In the interview of MALCOLM X on the radio program, "Contact" over radio station KYW, in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 7, 1964, MALCOLM X stated in regard to rifle clubs that what he originally said was that in those areas of the country where the government, federal, state or city, is unable or unwilling to protect Negroes, then Negroes should protect themselves.. He further stated that he did not mean that Negroes should take a rifle or a shotgun and go out and try to shoot somebody and attack someone, but that a Negro is out of his mind if he does not put himself in a position to defend himself in case he is attacked.

The April 10, 1964 edition of the "New York Post," on page 49 contained an article concerning MALCOLM X and the MMI in which MALCOLM X discussed rifle clubs. The article indicated that MALCOLM X stated that he was not promoting or organizing rifle clubs.

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C. Public Appearances of Subject as Leader of the MLF

1. At New York, New York

On March 9, 1964, subject was a guest on the program "World At Ten" over WNDT - TV, Channel 13, New York City. He predicted that the current civil rights struggle would "explode" in 1964, and expressed the opinion that young Negroes are willing to do anything for integration. He also stated if Negroes are not protected they must defend themselves, although he pointed out he was not teaching retaliation, just self-protection.

The March 16, 1964 edition of "The New York Times" contained an article on page 1 which reflected that on March 15, 1964, subject had spoken at a rent strike rally held by the Harlem Community Council on housing at 32 West 118th Street, New York City (For pertinent comments at this meeting by subject see pages 43, 44.)

On April 1, 1964, subject was the guest on the "Tex Mc Crary" show, over radio station WOR, New York City, from 11:15 p.m. to midnight. (Pertinent comments, see page 41.)

On April 2, 1964, subject was the guest speaker at a meeting of 40 ministers of the Brooklyn Methodist Ministers Association at the John Wesley Methodist Church, 260 Quincy Street, Brooklyn, New York, according to an article on page 22 of the April 3, 1964 edition of "The New York Times". Subject in his remarks indicated that he would follow the methods of Evangelist BILLY GRAHAM by preaching the gospel of Black Nationalism and by urging Negroes to join existing Civil Rights groups.

On April 8, 1964, subject was the featured speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum (MLF) held at Palm Gardens, 310 West 52nd Street, New York City. He spoke on Human Rights.

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[REDACTED]

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b7D

[REDACTED] advised that the regular forums held by the New York Local Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on Friday evenings are called Militant Labor Forums.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

b7D

[REDACTED] subject stated at the above meeting that the black man wants his rights and he is not going to stop until he gets them. Subject explained that he did not advocate initiating violence but he did advocate self-defense. He further stated that Negroes should not be working for Civil Rights, but they should be working for Human Rights by taking their plea to the United Nations.

2. At Boston, Massachusetts

On March 24, 1964, subject was the guest on the "Bob Kennedy Show" over radio station WBZ, Boston, Massachusetts, from 6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. (Pertinent remarks, see page 50.)

3. At Chicago, Illinois

b7D

[REDACTED] that subject had held a press conference in Chicago, Illinois, on March 28, 1964. (Pertinent remarks, see page 41.)

On March 28, 1964, subject appeared on "KUPS" TV show, Channel 7, Chicago, Illinois, as a panelist. The show was moderated by IRV KUPCINET, and in addition to subject the panelists were:

VANCE PACKARD, a Journalist

RICHARD KIM, a Novelist

WILLIAM ROBERT MING, JR., an attorney and prominent Chicago civic leader.

United States Senator PAUL DOUGLAS of Illinois

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Subject spoke for his MMI and their Black Nationalist philosophy and he defended the "Muslims".

4. At Cleveland, Ohio

On April 3, 1964, subject and Negro author LOUIS LOMAX were guest speakers at a public rally sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) which was held in the Church of the Covenant at Cleveland, Ohio. (Pertinent comments, see pages 42, and 44.)

b7D

[REDACTED]

On April 7, 1964, subject was interviewed by HARVE MORGAN on the radio program "Contact" over station KYW, Cleveland, Ohio. (Pertinent remarks, see pages 42 and 44.)

5. At Detroit, Michigan

b7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on April 14, 1964, that subject was the principal speaker at the Legal Fund Rally of the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), a non-profit educational corporation formed to hasten Negro achievements and rights. The rally was held on April 12, 1964, at the King Solomon Baptist Church, Detroit, Michigan, and was attended by approximately 2,000 persons.

In his speech subject urged Negroes to become economically and politically independent and to take their grievances to the United Nations.

b7D

The presence of subject as speaker at the above meeting was also verified by [REDACTED]

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The April 18, 1964 edition of "The New Crusader" contained an article on page 5, datelined "Detroit, Michigan," which reflected that the above GOAL meeting was held only after GOAL was awarded an injunction by the Circuit Court restraining Reverend T. S. BOONE from cancelling the contract for the meeting. The article explained that Reverend BOONE was the pastor of the King Solomon Baptist Church and that he had attempted to cancel the contract renting the church to GOAL when he learned that subject was to be the speaker.

6. At Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

On March 20, 1964, at 11:00 p.m. subject was the guest on the Joe Rainey Show "Listening Post", over radio station WDAS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in which subject talked about the organization and policies of the MMI. When asked during the program if the MMI was a nation-wide organization, subject did not answer directly, but indicated he had received mail from student groups from coast to coast expressing a desire to become active with the MMI. 4

On April 10, 1964, subject appeared on the "Ed Harvey" radio program from 1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He talked about the formation of the MMI and his break with the NOI. He also stated that he did not hate the white man, only those things which the white man has done to his people. He also urged Negroes to use self-defense to protect themselves.

67D

[REDACTED]

7. At Washington, D. C.

The March 27, 1964 edition of the "Washington Daily News", a daily newspaper published in Washington, D. C. contained an article on page 3 which reflected that on March 26, 1964, subject watched the debate in the United States Senate of the Civil Rights Bill from the visitor's gallery. He denounced the debate as a "con game". Afterwards he attended an impromptu

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press conference in the conference room of the Capitol Building held by Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING who had also been in the visitors gallery, but in a different section. After KING's press conference subject shook hands with him and briefly exchanged greetings.

VII. RELATIONSHIP WITH CIVIL  
RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND LEADERS

A. General

At his press conference on March 12, 1964, at the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City, MALCOLM X exclaimed that he did not believe that co-existence between the white and Negro race would ever come about. He also classified as "counterfeit" the 1964 Civil Rights Bill under consideration at that time by the United States Congress, since it failed to offer anything to the Negro in the North.

The March 27, 1964 edition of "The New York Times" contained an article on page 10 which reflected that subject indicated he favored passage of the Civil Rights Bill by the United States Senate without amendment, but forecast that enforcing it would lead to violence. Nor would it solve the Negro problem "because you can't legislate good will - that comes only by education".

The March 29, 1964 edition of the "Chicago Sun American" contained an article on page 22 that subject would support other Negro leaders in their quest of Civil Rights although he favors desegregation. He wants separation not integration. He will support Civil Rights leaders and when they find that Civil Rights is not the answer he will push for separation.

B. Possible Support

At the press conference held by MALCOLM X on March 12, 1964, in the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City, he announced that on March 14, 1964, at Chester, Pennsylvania, he would meet with civil rights leaders STANLEY BRANCHE of Chester, Pennsylvania, Reverend MILTON GALAMISON of Brooklyn, New York, and Mrs. GLORIA RICHARDSON of Cambridge, Maryland.

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67D  
[REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] that a civil rights conference was scheduled to be held on March 14, 1964, at the Eastern Light Masonic Lodge, 815 West 33rd Street, Chester, Pennsylvania. Among those who would attend are Negro entertainer DICK GREGORY, MALCOLM X and Reverend MILTON GALAMISON of New York City, and GLORIA RICHARDSON of Cambridge, Maryland.

On March 24, 1964, MALCOLM X was the guest on the "Bob Kennedy Show" over radio station WBZ in Boston, Massachusetts from 6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.

During the interview MALCOLM X advised that on February 14, 1964, he attended a civil rights conference in Chester, Pennsylvania. Also at this conference were Negro entertainer DICK GREGORY and civil rights leaders Reverend MILTON GALAMISON of New York City, GLORIA RICHARDSON of Cambridge, Maryland, STANLEY BRANCHE of Chester, Pennsylvania, and (LAWRENCE) LANDRY of Chicago, Illinois. According to MALCOLM X, this group formed an organization known as "ACT." Although the initials mean nothing, the group is designed to act anytime, anywhere to bring about results in the civil rights effort. MALCOLM X claimed that this group is not committed to passive resistance. The chairman of this group is Mr. LANDRY who headed the school boycott in Chicago.

67D  
[REDACTED] described subject as one of the principal advisers of ACT.

The New York "Daily News," of March 16, 1964, contained an article on page 3 which reflected that MALCOLM X had offered his support to the New York City school boycott. Reverend MILTON GALAMISON leader of the boycott when asked if he would accept MALCOLM X's support replied, "We operate on a philosophy of non-violence. If he wants to support us under these rules he can."

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[REDACTED] the second boycott of New York City public schools was held that date by the Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools, which is headed by Reverend MILTON GALAMISON, Pastor of the Siloam Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York. Among the speakers at the boycott demonstration were: Reverend GALAMISON; United States Congressman from Harlem ADAM CLAYTON POWELL; Negro comedian DICK GREGORY; Civil Rights Leader Mrs. GLORIA RICHARDSON, of Cambridge, Maryland; and MALCOLM X.

The March 28, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," page 35 contained an article which reflected that MALCOLM X had been invited to speak at a rent strike rally held by the Harlem Community Council on Housing, at 32 West 118th Street, New York City. Date of meeting not shown. The article indicated that MALCOLM X had been invited to speak by JESSE GRAY, leader of that group.

b7D

[REDACTED] that [REDACTED] had been the organizer for the Harlem Region of the Communist Party, USA; but this position terminated during November, 1958.

b7D

[REDACTED] advised on [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is friendly to the Communist Party.

b7D

[REDACTED] that at the MMI open rally held in the Audubon Ballroom, New York City, on March 29, 1964, one DON FREEMAN, Director, of the African-American Institute of Cleveland, Ohio, was introduced and in a brief speech indicating that he and others were prepared to "get behind MALCOLM X in the Negroes' struggle for freedom."

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b7D [REDACTED] at the MMI Rallies held in New York City on March 22, 1964, and April 12, 1964, JESSE GRAY of the Harlem Community Council on Housing was one of those present and introduced to the audience by MALCOLM X.

b7D On [REDACTED] at the MMI Rally held in New York City on April 12, 1964, GLORIA RICHARDSON, Negro Civil Rights Leader of Cambridge, Maryland, was present and was introduced to the audience by MALCOLM X.

b7D On [REDACTED] at the MMI Rally held in New York City on April 5, 1964, Mrs. WILLIE MAE MALLORY was present and introduced to the audience by MALCOLM X.

b7D [REDACTED] advised on [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED] was an organizer of the Harlem CP as of March, 1959.

The February 29, 1964 edition of the "New York Herald Tribune", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 9, datelined Monroe, North Carolina.

This article reflected that Mrs. WILLIE MAE MALLORY of New York City, was sentenced to 16 to 20 years in Superior Court, Monroe, North Carolina, following the conviction of her and three others for the kidnapping of a white couple after an interracial disturbance in 1961. State's evidence indicated she was the ringleader of the incident.

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b7D

[REDACTED] that  
WILLIE MAE MALLORY was out on bond.

C. Other Reactions

The March 11, 1962 edition of the "New York Journal American," on page 2 contained an article which reflected that JAMES FARMER, National Director of CORE, and WHITNEY YOUNG, Head of the National Urban League, downgraded the influence in the Negro community of MALCOLM X and other black supremacists. They stated the goals of MALCOLM X did not mesh with the overall civil rights effort since the latter are pledged to integration and not separation, and their modus-operandi is non-violence.

The March 15, 1964 edition of the "New York Herald Tribune," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article which reflected that Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference denounced the suggestion of MALCOLM X that Negroes form rifle clubs to defend themselves as "a grave error," and an "inefficient and immoral approach."

The March 21, 1964 edition of "The New Crusader," page 5, quotes New York Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL as saying that MALCOLM's plan to arm Negroes is "totally and completely wrong." He predicted failure for MALCOLM since he is dedicated to separation, while the entire civil rights movement is for desegregation.

The April 26, 1964 edition of the "New York Herald Tribune," contained an article on page 10, relative to the racial situation by former professional baseball player JACKIE ROBINSON. In a prelude to the article, ROBINSON was described as a "loud and influential voice in the Negro battle for equal rights" who is bitterly opposed to the forces fighting civil rights legislation in Congress, and equally opposed to irresponsible Negro leadership and tactics.

In the article, Mr. ROBINSON wrote that he could not understand why the national "white" press in reporting on civil rights and racial matters persisted in "glorifying on their front pages the very persons they condemn in their editorials."

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Mr. ROBINSON cited MALCOLM X as an outstanding example of this reporting and he then made the following comments on MALCOLM X:

"Mr. X., as he is projected by what we regrettably call the 'white press,' doesn't even exist. As Dick Gregory has said, Malcolm was 'invented' by the people who edit big newspapers, control big television and radio and publish big newspapers and magazines.

"Malcolm has big audiences, but no constructive program. He has big words, but no records on deeds in civil rights. He is terribly militant on soapboxes on street corners of Negro ghettos. Yet, he has not faced Southern police dogs in Birmingham as Martin Luther King has done, nor gone to jail for freedom as Roy Wilkins and James Farmer have done, nor led a March on Washington as A. Philip Randolph did, nor brought about creative dialogue between business and civil rights leaders as Whitney Young does daily.

"In fact, here is a man who has been exposed and disowned by the very organization which he had so eloquently espoused - the Black Muslims. In spite of all this, Mr. X receives more publicity in national media than is given to all the responsible Negro leaders we have mentioned above. White colleges flood him with speaking engagement offers. You can count on one hand Negro colleges which have invited him if there are any.

"It is the function of media to report, yes. But the Malcolm X image has been distorted rather than reported; distorted so that many whites imagine that Malcolm has a popular following; distorted so that a number of whites and colored people, more concerned with public attention than with civil rights, more hungry for headlines than for jobs and justice, have suddenly reached for mantles of leadership which they are not prepared to wear."

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VIII. RELATIONSHIP WITH SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

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A. General

At the press conference held on March 12, 1964, in the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City, MALCOLM X was asked by an unknown newsman if his new organization would accept financial support from a known Communist group.

MALCOLM X replied by telling a story in which he indicated that if he were the prisoner of a wolf, he would accept release from captivity by any source.

When the newsmen present unanimously exclaimed that this meant his answer was "yes" MALCOLM X denied this and said, "I only told you a story about a wolf."

B. Possible Support

1. Workers World Party

67D [redacted] advised that at a forum held in the headquarters of the Workers World Party (WWP), 46 West 21st Street, New York City, on March 13, 1964, an unknown speaker commented on the recent remarks and position of MALCOLM X, citing them as the only right decision made by a Negro leader. The speaker stated that the WWP will offer its support to MALCOLM X, but knowing his feeling towards whites, would not participate physically, but would assist him with its newspaper stories.

A characterization of the WWP is included in the appendix of this report.

2. Socialist Workers Party

67D On [redacted] that at a meeting of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) [redacted] a discussion was held as to the practical aspects of establishing contact with MALCOLM X's new movement.

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The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

b7D [REDACTED] MALCOLM X was the invited featured speaker at a meeting sponsored by the MLF held at Palm Gardens, 310 West 52nd Street, New York City, on April 8, 1964. MALCOLM X spoke on "Human Rights." (See page 46)

C. Apparent Non-Support

1. Communist Party, USA

b1 [REDACTED]

b7D On [REDACTED] advised that at a meeting [REDACTED] MALCOLM was described as a "phony adventurer."

LX. MISCELLANEOUS

A. Arrest

The March 17, 1964 edition of "The New York Times" contained an article on page 24 which reflected that subject was given a speeding ticket on March 6, 1964, for travelling 55 miles per hour in a 45 mile per hour zone on the Triboro Bridge, New York City. The ticket was issued by Patrolman DA GIARAPUTO of Motorcycle Squad Number 4, NYCPD.

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On March 16, 1964, subject appeared in Manhattan Traffic Court and pleaded not guilty before Judge LARRY M. BETRANO, and trial was scheduled for May 19, 1964.

The article went on to state that subject "said with a grin" that the Patrolman who issued the ticket was a "prejudiced cop".

On [REDACTED] advised that subject failed to appear for trial on the speeding charge on that date, and a warrant for his arrest was issued by Part 5B of the Manhattan Traffic Court. The warrant will be held for two weeks and a warning notice sent to subject. If he fails to appear within two weeks the warrant will then be executed.

The May 22, 1964 edition of "The New York Times", contained an article on page 22 which reflected that the warrant for subject's arrest on a speeding charge was vacated on May 21, 1964, when his attorney (unnamed) appeared in court and explained that subject was out of the country on May 19, 1964.

#### B. Alleged Threat Against Subject's Life

The March 21, 1964 edition of the New York "Amsterdam News" contained an article on page 50 which reflected that subject claimed that officials at NOI Mosque Number 7 had tried to persuade NOI members that he was insane after his suspension in December, 1963. After these NOI officials believed they had turned enough NOI members against him, subject alleged that they sent a brother out to kill him in cold blood during February 1964, but because truth was stronger than falsehood the brother did not believe the charge and instead of killing him told him of the plot and of the actions of NOI officials. Subject claimed that when he demanded an opportunity to refute these charges before NOI Mosque Number 7 his request was refused.

67D [REDACTED] had no information to indicate that an attempt was ever made or contemplated against the life of subject by members of the NOI, and that subject had never made such a complaint [REDACTED]

C. Association With Sports Figures

1. Heavyweight Boxing Champion CASSIUS CLAY

The January 25, 1964 edition of the New York "Amsterdam News," contained an article on page 1 that subject and his family were in Miami, during the past week vacationing as the guests of Heavyweight Boxing Contender CASSIUS CLAY.

*AFRICA* *Muhammad Ali*  
The February 1, 1964 edition of the New York "Amsterdam News" contained a photograph on page 1 of subject, his wife BETTY, and their three daughters sitting together with CASSIUS CLAY in Miami, Florida.

*L. Hie* *Mrs Malcolm K. Little*  
The March 20, 1964 edition of the "New York Herald Tribune" contained an article on page 6 which reflected that subject was in Miami Beach, Florida, presumably to attend the heavyweight boxing championship fight between CASSIUS CLAY and SONNY LISTON. *U*

The March 9, 1964 edition of the "New York Post" contained an article on page 4 which reflected that subject, who had broken with the NOI, had stated that he would not take CASSIUS CLAY with him out of the NOI. The article indicated that subject was generally accredited with CLAY's joining the NOI

The March 10, 1964 edition of the "New York Journal American" contained an article on page 1 which reflected that CASSIUS CLAY indicated he would not leave the NOI to follow subject.

The May 18, 1964 edition of the "New York Post" contained an article on page 4, datelined "Accra, Ghana". This article indicated that the allegiance of CASSIUS CLAY to Rebel Muslim Leader MALCOLM X seemed to be over. The article indicated that during the separate African tours of subject and CASSIUS CLAY they met in Morocco on April 17, 1964 and CLAY made the following remarks concerning subject:

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"Man did you get a look at him? Dressed in that funny white robe and wearing a beard and walking with a cane that looked like a prophet's stick? Man, he's gone so far out he's out completely." Then, turning to HERBERT MUHAMMAD, the son of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, who is accompanying CLAY on his African tour, CLAY stated "doesn't that just go to show that Elijah is the most powerful? Nobody listens to that Malcolm anymore."

2. Cleveland Brown Professional Football Player  
JIMMY BROWN

On [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Florida, advised that during the period prior to the CASSIUS CLAY - SONNY LISTON heavyweight boxing fight on February 27, 1964, MALCOLM X stayed at the Hampton House Motel and Villas, 4200 Northwest 27th Avenue, Miami, Florida. While there he was in contact and spoke with JIMMY BROWN of the Cleveland Browns Professional Football team.

D. Efforts by NOI to Evict Subject from Residence

As reflected in Section 1, Part A, above, subject resides with his family at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York.

[REDACTED] advised that after ELIJAH MUHAMMAD learned that subject had broken with the NOI on March 8, 1964, he instructed [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] to tell subject that he must give up his residence which is owned by the NOI. Xu

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] sent the following letter under date of March 10, 1964 to subject: Xu

"...Dear Brother Malcolm,

"You have several items such as letters, Mosque film, Negro documents, etc., relative to the Muslims and their affairs... the laborers and believes hereby request your cooperation in turning these items over to Muhammad's Mosque #7 immediately. Xu

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"Also you are residing in a building which was purchased by Muhammad's Mosque #7 for the use by a laborer as designated by the leader and teacher, the honorable Elijah Muhammad, who may serve in ministerial capacity or whatever position he places them. As you no longer hold this position we the laborers and believers request that you vacate premises located at 2311 97th Street, East Elmhurst 69, New York, upon receiving this letter. Upon a call to Captain Joseph arrangements can be made to have personal items belonging to the Nation of Islam picked up. This letter will also serve notice your car insurance is in Muhammad's Mosque #7. We are requesting that you discontinue using the name of Muhammad's Mosque or the Nation of Islam for your personal effects. We can effect a transferral of title. Also you can bring the necessary papers to make this change. If you continue to use the Nation's name on your car then the Mosque will have to take possession of the car which we do not want to do because this car is your personal property. The Mosque only desires the withdrawal of its name from your personal effects, etc. This letter also serves notice that Muhammad's Mosque #7 will discontinue handling expenses on utilities at said 2311 97th Street." X u

b7D At the FOI meeting held at NOI Mosque Number 7, New York City, on March 16, 1964, it was publically announced by [REDACTED] that efforts will be made to get MALCOLM out of his residence which is owned by Mosque Number 7. u

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED]

b7D Landlord and Tenants Proceedings, Civil Court of the City of New York, Queens County, 126-06 Queens Boulevard, Queens, New York, advised that eviction proceedings were filed by MUHAMMAD's Temple of Islam Incorporated (NOI) on April 8, 1964, and are filed under index number L&T 4845 for 1964. Subject answered on April 13, 1964, and a hearing was set on April 17, 1964. This hearing was postponed until May 26, 1964, and postponed again until June 3, 1964. [REDACTED] made the papers in the file available. u

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A review of these papers reflected the following information:

A petition dated March 31, 1964, was filed on April 8, 1964, by the NOI, Petitioner, against MALCOLM X LITTLE, Respondent, seeking a judgment awarding the NOI possession of the premises at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York.

This petition claimed that the NOI owned the premises in fee and that subject had occupied it in an employer-employee relationship, since subject was the Minister of the NOI. This relationship was terminated on or about March 8, 1964, and that subject continues to occupy the premises. The petition prayed for a judgement requesting possession of the premises, cost of the proceeding and a warrant to remove subject from the premises.

This petition was signed by MACEO X OWENS as Secretary of the NOI in New York City and it was filed by the law firm of Williams and Chisholm, 1261 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, New York.

On April 13, 1964, subject filed an answer and a counterclaim. Subject claimed to be the true owner, that the NOI had never paid any money for the premises, and that the NOI held title in trust for subject.

Subject denied the existence of an employer-employee relationship and claimed the premises were purchased for him by persons appreciative of his program and leadership with the intention that it should be his residence owned and controlled by him without restriction, limitation or condition.

Subject claimed that he had placed the title in the name of the NOI to hold in trust for the benefit of himself only.

Subject demanded judgement in the form of a dismissal of the NOI petition and an affirmative judgement to his counterclaim that the NOI hold title to the premises in trust for him.

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Subject's answer and counterclaim was filed by the law firm of Sutton and Sutton, 135 West 125th Street, New York City. ((

61D On June 3, 1964, [REDACTED] advised that the trial on the above matter scheduled for that date had been postponed to June 15, 1964. ((

The April 18, 1964 edition of the New York "Amsterdam News" contained an article on page 1 relative to the above eviction proceedings and identified the NOI attorney as JOSEPH WILLIAMS, and the attorney for subject as PERCY SUTTON. *Nation of Islam*  
U.S.A.

E. Finances

61D [REDACTED] advised that in speaking of subject and his suspension from the NOI ELIJAH MUHAMMAD had stated that he has helped subject since the latter was released from prison and had been giving subject \$1,000 per month. X ((

F. Foreign Travel

61D On April 13, 1964, [REDACTED] advised that at the MMI public rally held in New York City on April 12, 1964, subject announced he would leave during the next week for a tour of Africa.

61D [REDACTED] New York City, advised that one "Shabazz" departed John F. Kennedy International Airport New York City, aboard their flight number 401 at 7:00 p.m., April 13, 1964. U

This flight was to Frankfurt, Germany, where "Shabazz" was scheduled to make connections for Cairo, Egypt, with Middle East Airlines. "Shabazz" would depart Frankfurt aboard flight number 788 of the latter airline at 5:35 p.m., April 14, 1964, due to arrive in Cairo at 10:55 p.m., April 14, 1964.

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The April 18, 1964 edition of the New York "Amsterdam News," a Negro newspaper published weekly in New York, New York, contained an article on page 1 relative to the foreign travel of MALCOLM LITTLE.

The article indicated that prior to leaving for Africa, LITTLE had told this paper that the purpose of his trip was to "get spiritual strength" through a visit to the Muslim holy city of Mecca in Egypt.

According to the article, LITTLE stated that in addition to Egypt, he planned to spend a month touring other African countries, including Sudan, Kenya, Zanzibar, Congo, Nigeria, Ghana and Mali.

The article further indicated that according to LITTLE, he was given a free ticket to Egypt as a Muslim convert, and that the remainder of his trip was financed by members of his religious congregation.

On [REDACTED] New York, New York, advised that on April 7, 1964, ticket number 0774204424 was purchased for one "M. El Shabazz" by [REDACTED]. The ticket was a round trip ticket from New York to Africa and return, and the cost of \$1,300.80 was paid in cash by [REDACTED] at the time of purchase.

The itinerary of the ticket is as follows:

New York to Frankfurt, to Cairo, to Jodda, to Cairo, to Khartoum, to Nairobi, to Lagos, to Accra, to Algiers, to New York.

[REDACTED] advised that according to [REDACTED] "M. El Shabazz" was very much interested in going to Conakry, Guinea, [REDACTED] was unable to book passage for that point since there is no air service to Conakry.

[REDACTED] also advised that [REDACTED] had a prior reservation for himself from New York to Cairo, departing New York on Lufthansa German Airlines. She advised that [REDACTED] indicated that he and "M. El Shabazz" would leave together.

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b7D  
[REDACTED] advised on April 23, 1964, that the ticket for "M. El Shabazz" which was paid for in cash [REDACTED] was purchased with [REDACTED] money or with money given him by "M. El Shabazz", and was definitely not purchased by the government of the United Arab Republic (UAR). [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] known to be quite wealthy. He further advised that the trip to Jedda is in reality a pilgrimage to Mecca, which must be made before April 27, 1964. He also advised that from experience in attempting to book air space to Jedda for Moslems in America, that the only way reservations can be made from Cairo to Jedda is through the UAR Government, and space is not available unless the party is sponsored for the trip, usually by [REDACTED] the Islamic Institute in Washington, D. C. ✓

b1  
[REDACTED]

b1  
[REDACTED]

b7D  
On April 14, 1964, [REDACTED] New York City, advised that one [REDACTED] departed on their flight 401 on April 13, 1964, the same flight utilized by "Shabazz". In addition, the flight manifest reflected that [REDACTED] and "Shabazz" were the only passengers on that flight who had connecting reservations at Frankfurt, Germany, for Cairo, Egypt, aboard Middle East Airlines flight number 788 on April 14, 1964. ✓

On May 21, 1964, Supervising Inspector JOHN ADAMS, INS, John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, New York, advised that subject, using the name MALIK EL SHABAZZ arrived ✓

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at 4:25 p.m. that date aboard Pan American Flight 115 from Paris, France. He had passport number C294275 and his destination was 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York.

The May 22, 1964 edition of "The New York Times" contained an article on page 22 which reflected that subject held a press conference on May 21, 1964, in the Hotel Theresa in New York City. Subject claimed that he had received pledges of support from unnamed new African nations for placing charges of discrimination against the United States before the United Nations. He stated this would compel the United States to face the same charges as South Africa and Rhodesia.

Statements by Subject on Tour

The May 2, 1964 edition of "The New York Times" contained an article on page 56, datelined "Beirut, Lebanon". This article indicated that subject had charged in Beirut on April 30, 1964, that American Negroes were living in modern slavery and that only a minority of Negroes believed in non-violence.

The May 8, 1964 edition of the "New York Post", contained an article on page 3 which indicated that subject in a letter to friends in New York City claimed that he had found some white people he liked. He claimed he had met blonde, blue-eyes fellow worshipers of ALLAH who convinced him that some white people, at least those believing in ALLAH, can cease to judge others in terms of the differences in their color. He stated that during his tour of Africa he felt no racial animosity toward Islamic whites and he sensed no hostility on their parts.

The March 13, 1964 edition of the "New York Post", contained an article on page 2, datelined "Accra, Ghana," which stated that MALCOLM in a news conference in Accra, urged African nations to take the question of United States racial segregation to the United Nations.

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FRUIT OF ISLAM

On July 10, 1963, a source advised that the Fruit of Islam (FOI) is a group within the Nation of Islam (NOI) composed of male members of the NOI. The purpose of the FOI is to protect officials and property of the NOI, assure compliance of members with NOI teachings and to prepare for the "War of Armageddon". Members of the FOI are required to participate in military drill and are afforded the opportunity to engage in judo training. The FOI is governed by a military system wherein the members are controlled by general orders similar to those issued by regular military organizations.

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APPENDIX

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST YOUTH (ISY)  
AND  
INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CLUB (ISC)

A source at various times from April to December, 1958, advised that the Independent Socialist Youth (ISY) was organized in March, 1958, at Detroit, Michigan, in part by efforts of members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The ISY was referred to by SWP members as an "IBM" group (independent, broad, and militant). The ISY emphasized that it welcomed persons from all political tendencies who were interested in socialism. The ISY membership was comprised of individuals who belonged to the Communist Party (CP), SWP, Young Socialist Club of Wayne County (YSC), and independent socialists. The ISY had no definite program for political action; however, members of the YSC, who made up the majority of the ISY membership, tried to influence the ISY toward being a revolutionary socialist group. In an attempt to extend this influence, the YSC was officially dissolved on August 18, 1958, and the members urged to join the ISY.

By November, 1958, the SWP members in the ISY found they could not introduce the program for political action they wanted; therefore, they withdrew their support from the ISY, which caused it to become defunct. Part of the reasoning behind this action was the belief on the part of the SWP members that the ISY could not serve any useful purpose, but a similar-type group organized on the campus of Wayne State University, Detroit, could be of value in furthering the SWP youth movement.

An SWP member who was a student at Wayne State University was assigned to attempt to get a socialist youth group organized on the campus of that school. This member, together with assistance from a former member of the ISY and ISY contacts at the university, were successful in getting a group organized on the campus of Wayne State University in December, 1958, under the name Independent Socialist Club (ISC). The club was organized under the Political Science Department of the University. Officers were elected and a new constitution

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APPENDIX

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST YOUTH (ISY)  
AND  
INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CLUB (ISC)

(CONTINUED)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

was drawn up. Reportedly, with the exception of one SWP member, the ISC consists mostly of "independent socialists" or persons who are not socialists but are interested in learning the socialist viewpoint.

The SWP and the CP, USA have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and Minister of NOI Mosque #7, New York, who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in times of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

- - - Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

During an appearance over KYW - Television, Cleveland, Ohio, on April 7, 1964, MALCOLM X stated that the MMI does not stand for integration, but for complete freedom, justice, and equality for Negroes. He stated that Islam was the religious philosophy of the MMI, while the political, economic and social philosophy was black nationalism.

On May 15, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City, where they were established on March 16, 1964.

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APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

On July 10, 1963, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2,5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960, MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon".

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

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NATION OF ISLAM

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization. CO, X

On July 10, 1963, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

CO, X

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APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM  
MOSQUE #7, NEW YORK CITY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On May 3, 1963, a source advised that the Nation of Islam (NOI) affiliate in New York City is known as Mosque #7, also known as Temple #7, and is located at 102 West 116th Street, New York City. Mosque #7 is a part of the NOI headed by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. Mosque #7 follows the policies and programs as set forth by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

The date Mosque #7 originated in New York City is not known.

However, in connection with the origin of Mosque #7, it should be noted that in 1953, a second source advised that there was a temple of the NOI (known to source then as the Muslim Cult of Islam) in New York City located at 135th Street and Seventh Avenue, as far back as 1947.

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APPENDIX

WORKERS WORLD PARTY

On April 17, 1959, a confidential source advised that on February 12, 1959, a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) minority group, under the leadership of National Committee member, SAM BALLAN, split from the SWP. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The source stated that this minority group, referred to as the Marcyites, after many years of program and policy differences on varied issues concerning tactics and interpretation of political events, split from the SWP on the grounds that the Party was liquidating itself by departing from the Marxist precepts of LEON TROTSKY and retreating from the fight for the world socialist revolution. The final issue which ultimately forced the split was the minority's opposition to the SWP regroupment policy which involved cooperation with the Communist Party (CP) periphery - individuals characterized by the minority as petty - bourgeois.

The minority program, according to the source, advocates unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and has as its goal the building of a revolutionary party with a complete proletarian orientation for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism in the United States and throughout the world.

On May 12, 1960, the source advised that this minority group had chosen the name Workers World Party.

On May 6, 1963, a second confidential source stated that the headquarters of the Workers World Party were located at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York.

The SWP and the CP have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUB OF WAYNE COUNTY (YSC)  
Also Known As, Wayne University Young  
Socialist Club; Wayne Young Socialist  
Club; Young Socialist Club

A source advised in 1955, 1956 and 1957, that the Young Socialist Club of Wayne County also known as Wayne University Young Socialist Club, Wayne Young Socialist Club, and Young Socialist Club (YSC) was organized on the campus of the Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, in the fall of 1954, through the efforts of the Detroit Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP). As a result of the University's action in banning the YSC from the campus in the spring of 1956, the YSC adopted the name Young Socialist Club of Wayne County and continued to function by using the facilities of the SWP for its headquarters.

This source advised that the YSC has been controlled and directed by members of the SWP from its inception to the present time. The purpose of the YSC was to afford the SWP an opportunity to make contacts, recruit members into the SWP, and spread propaganda among the students and other young people.

The constitution of the YSC states its purpose "shall be to unite young students, workers, and members of minority groups who wish to build and participate in an independent, militant, socialist group. It shall engage in a broad program of political, educational, and social activities, bringing socialist ideas to young people in an atmosphere of free and open discussion."

Another source advised on August 20, 1958, that the YSC was officially dissolved on August 18, 1958, as a tactical move by the youth fraction of the Detroit Branch SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

FD-323

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
New York, New York  
June 18, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.  
Bufile 100-399321  
NYfile 105-8999

Title Malcolm K. Little

Character Internal Security -  
Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

67c Reference is made to the report of Special  
Agent [REDACTED] dated and captioned as above,  
at New York.

67D [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] with whom there has been  
insufficient contact to determine reliability.

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Domestic Intelligence

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date July 4, 1964

This appears to be merely another effort on the part of Malcolm Little to obtain publicity in connection with his battle with Elijah Muhammad and the Nation Of Islam. No dissemination necessary.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/19/83 BY SP4 JHE/SEA/ms  
#235,295

100-399321-126

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JULY 4, 1964

TELETYPE

TO.. DIRECTOR, --5-- FBI  
FROM.. NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Evans  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

BU FILE NUMBER ONE ZERO ZERO DASH THREE NINE NINE THREE TWO  
NY FILE NUMBER ONE ZERO FIVE DASH EIGHT NINE NINE NINE

MALCOLM X LITTLE, AKA., IS

ASSOCIATED BY 190-10535-4 release  
19/83 #235,295

67D

[REDACTED]

ADVISED AT ELEVEN FOURTY

JULY THREE, ONE NINE SIX FOUR, THAT SUBJECT NOTIFIED NYCPD THAT  
AN ATTEMPT HAD BEEN MADE ON HIS LIFE. RU

appropriate office advised by 6/30/64

[REDACTED]

b7c

b7c

AD

[REDACTED] ADVISED JULY FOUR, ONE NINE SIX FOUR THAT SUB  
AND HIS FOLLOWERS ARE ATTEMPTING TO BLOW ABOVE INCIDENT INTO A BIG  
THING. RU

CLASSIFIED BY 190-10535-4 release  
EX-100 - 399 321 - 126

FOR INFORMATION

Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

10 JUL 8 1964

END ASK JUL 20 1964

MR. SULLIVAN  
WASH DC

MR. BELMONT FOR THE DIRECTOR

CONFIDENTIAL