

FILE DESCRIPTION  
BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. 100-399321

Section 14

Serials 214-227

F B I

Date: 1/28/65

nit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

**AIRTEL****REGISTERED**

(Priority)

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

b7D  
 [REDACTED]  
 b7D  
 [REDACTED]

Subject's mode of travel from Montgomery to Tuskegee  
 is unknown at this time.

b7D [REDACTED] made available a press  
 release issued by the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)  
 New York dated 1/27/65, pertaining to the "struggle for voters  
 registration rights by the Afro-American". The press release  
 disclosed that the subject will be in the very midst of the  
 registration area next week when he will address the student  
 body of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

⑤ - Bureau (RM) *CC 88*  
 (1-100-441765) (MMI)  
 (1-100-442235) (OAAU)

2 - Mobile (RM)  
 1 - New York (100-152759) (MMI)  
 1 - New York (100-153308) (OAAU)  
 1 - New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 10-16-73 BY 1069

JCS:mrm  
 (11)

*C.C. Wick*

1 44-NA  
 FEB 1 1965

REC-35  
 100-399321-214  
 18 JAN 29 1965

*67C*

*SAC*

Approved: *[Signature]* Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

FBI  
 100-399321

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-441765

NY 100-8999

For the information of the Mobile Office the subject who is commonly known as MALCOLM X is described as Negro male, light complected, age 39, 6'3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", 170 lbs, reddish brown hair, wears goatee, horn rimmed tinted glasses and usually carries an olive color attache case when traveling.

In view of the fact of animosity between the Nation of Islam and MALCOLM X, the Bureau has instructed that local police be advised whenever the subject is in their area.

Mobile Office is requested to cover subject's public appearances and/or activities through regular sources and newspaper articles and to furnish this information to the Bureau and the NYO by letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE OTHERWISE  
STATED

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27  
GPO: 1962 7-1420-1  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: January 11, 1965

TO : Director, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : Legat, Ottawa (100-1469) (P)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, INC.  
IS - MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

CONFIDENTIAL  
1/2-1/6 3/26/69 by JHC  
Classified by OADR  
Declassify on: OADR

100-399321  
NOT RECORDED  
JAN 14 1965

b7C

7-1420-1  
SUBMITTED BY AIR MAIL

Bureau  
JHC

Classified by 855  
Scrubbed from GDS, Category  
Declassification Indefinite  
Type of Declassification  
Date 12/27/65

~~SECRET~~

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1-20-65	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/1/64-1/15/65
TITLE OF CASE  CHANGED MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka M. Khalil	<i>b7c</i>	REPORT MADE BY ██████████	13390 TYPED BY gr
		CHARACTER OF CASE  CONFIDENTIAL IS-MMI	

The title of this case is marked "Changed" to add the alias M. KHALIL used by the subject when he registered at the Hilton Hotel, NYC, on 1/2/65.

REFERENCE:

Report of SA ██████████  
dated 6/18/64 at NY.

- P\* -

12-11-83 REC 215  
WALTER YEACLEY  
Wednesday

ADMINISTRATIVE:

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

Pertinent speeches, press releases and newspaper articles have been set out in this report verbatim in view of the fact that Mr. J. WALTER YEACLEY, Jr., Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, has expressed concern over the fact that MALCOLM X's activities abroad indicated a possible violation of

RECD MADE 1-20-65	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE JFM	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW 100-399321-215 REC 14 2-4 17 JAN 25 1955 ST-108
Bureau (100-399321) (RM) New York (105-8999)		Classified by 1/55 Exempt from E.O. 13526, Category F-2 Date of Declassification Indefinite 5/12/77 DM/JUSZ

## DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

## NOTATIONS

WALTER YEACLEY, State, C.R.

FCI

CONFIDENTIAL

LER : 21322

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLEP(S) OF  
SLEP

SDV. CONTROL

~~SECRET~~

NY 105-8999

the Logan Act.

The LOUIS LOMAX-MALCOLM X Debate, In Chicago  
on 5/23/64 was observed by SA [REDACTED]

The "Kups Show" at [REDACTED] Chicago on 5/23/64 was  
monitored by SA [REDACTED]

The "BARRY GRAY Show", NYC, on 6/8/64, was  
monitored by SA [REDACTED]

The radio show "Contact" in Boston on 6/25/64,  
was monitored by SA [REDACTED]

The LES CRANE TV Show", NYC, 12/28/64, was  
monitored by SA [REDACTED]

The "JERRY WILLIAMS Radio Program, "WMEX, Boston,  
6/17/64 was monitored by SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Agents who observed MALCOLM X arriving at JFK  
International Airport. NY, on 11/24/64, were SAS  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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NY 105-8999

Agents who observed MALCOLM X aboard BOAC Flight 506, 11/30/64, at NY for London, were SAS [REDACTED]

b7c  
Agents who observed MALCOLM X arriving at JFK International Airport, NY, from England on 12/6/64, were SAS [REDACTED]

In reference to the organization called "League of Socialistic Action" mentioned in attached report, the NYO indices were negative, therefore, the NYO is not in a position to properly characterize said organization.

The following information was not set out in attached report in view of the nature of the information which could be verified by other organizations:

[REDACTED]

(C)

[REDACTED]

(C)

[REDACTED]

(C)

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
**FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

15

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)(1), (b)(7)(C), (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.
- Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

— Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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

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

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
100-399321-215 pages D, F-J, 33, 132-139

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

~~SECRET~~

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~~GC~~

~~b7D~~ The following information received [REDACTED] was not set out in report in order that the full text of the conversation could be reported without jeopardizing the security [REDACTED]. The information consists of a conversation between ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and an unknown female and is believed to pertain to MALCOLM X's statements that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the father of illegitimate children.

~~b7D~~ [REDACTED] 6/25/64, that on that date ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was in contact with one of his paramours and during the conversation the following was noted:

This unidentified female remarked that she had heard there had been some headlines in the paper on the east coast and that she was waiting for someone to send her a paper. She remarked that she does not want him (MALCOLM) to get away with anything like that. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD remarked, "We'll take care of it. It is terrible to disgrace people like that." ELIJAH remarked, "There's nobody with him". This unidentified female replied that she thinks he (MALCOLM) is goofy for making a statement like that and stating that he (MALCOLM) was threatened and that if anyone will carry out this threat it will be the Muslims because he (MALCOLM) was the one who taught them. ELIJAH remarked that he has lost everything and added that who would ever know his own sons and daughters would do anything like that. ELIJAH told this unidentified female to have nothing to do with them and that she will always be successful and if anyone comes to talk with her do not have anything to do with them and just shut them out of her house. This unidentified female stated

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NY 105-8999

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-8999-4498  
[REDACTED] per state letter 12/18/86  
4496

62,  
67D,  
67C

American Consul  
Ibador Nigeria

Counselor of U.S. Embassy  
of Political Affairs  
Ibadon, Nigeria

3rd Secretary or U.S. Embassy  
Accra, Ghana

108-8999-4499

[REDACTED] per state 12/18/86

105-8999-4502

[REDACTED] per state 12/18/86

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K

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NY 109-8999

[REDACTED] (S) [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] (S) [REDACTED]  
Department of State  
U.S. Embassy  
Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika

[REDACTED]  
Counselor U.S. Embassy  
Nairobi

[REDACTED]  
Acting Country Public  
Affairs Officer  
U.S. Embassy  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

[REDACTED]  
U.S. Embassy  
Nairobi

[REDACTED] Counselor  
for Political Affairs, U.S.  
Embassy, Lagos, Nigeria

(W) per state letter 12/18/86

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

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b7C  
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U.S. Embassy  
Conakry (Africa)

R (u) per state  
12/18/84

(c)

LEAD:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, N.Y.

1. Will request Bureau authority to interview the subject.
2. Will follow and report on subject's activities.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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**SECRET**

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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 **SECRET** because (state reason) [REDACTED]
- b7D* [REDACTED]

7.  Subject previously interviewed (dates) 1/10/55 & 2/4/64.  
 Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)  
Attempts being made to interview subject. Request for authority to interview the subject will be submitted to the Bureau.

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 founder of and leader of the MMI. Is founder and Chairman of the OAAU and formerly a national leader and minister of the NOI.

10.  Subject's SI card  is  is not tabbed Detcom.  
 Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons) in view of the fact that the subject in the past has made a statement that Negroes should organize "rifle clubs" and has also made statements in the past that Negroes should use whatever force would be necessary to gain their equal rights.
- T-10-10*

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**SECRET**

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

Copy to:

67C

Report of:

Date:

1/20/65

105-8999

Field Office File #:

Office: New York, New York

Title: MALCOLM K. LITTLE

Bureau File # 100-399321

12-16-83  
 Classified by 826 q jce/jew/ky  
 Declassify on: OADR

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY-MUSLIM MOSQUE INCORPORATED

Synopsis:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE continues to reside at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, NY. He is the founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque Incorporated (MMI) and founder and Chairman of the organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) both with headquarters in Suite 12B, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, NYC. LITTLE arrested 3/6/64 for speeding by NY Police was acquitted in December, 1964. At MMI rally held in June, 1964 MALCOLM X stated he would form a new organization known as the OAAU which would be directed by him to sponsor a program for Negroes on education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform. It was reported in September, 1964, that MALCOLM X had been appointed to the Board of the Supreme Council Governing Islamic Affairs and he received a document which recognized him officially to this position. This document entitles MALCOLM X to "spread Islam in America among Afro-Americans" and he is considered to be an "orthodox Muslim". In 1964 MALCOLM X attempted to expose ELIJAH MUHAMMAD for being the father of illegitimate children. In June, 1964, when interviewed by the press in reference to financing his organization, MALCOLM X remarked that he did not have any expensive habits and that he never met a true revolutionary who worried about money. MALCOLM X is alleged to have telephoned

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 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE.

GROUP IV  
 Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

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a Fruit of Islam meeting in NYC in June, 1964 and stated that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD would be killed if he came to NYC in June of 1964. ✓ MALCOLM X was the speaker at a Socialist Workers Party sponsored "Militant Labor Forum" held on April, 1964 at NYC. ✓ At a SWP forum held in May, 1964, MALCOLM X remarked that the Negroes had the right to use whatever force was necessary to gain their rights. ✓ He travelled on a tour to Africa from April 13, 1964 to May 21, 1964. ✓ He again travelled on a tour to Africa from July 9, 1964 until November 24, 1964. ✓ He travelled to London, England, from November 30 to December 6, 1964. ✓ It was reported that in July, 1964, MALCOLM X while in Cairo, Egypt, produced a resolution to African leaders meeting there which condemned "racial injustice". in the United States.

b1  
[REDACTED] (C)  
- P# -

- 1A -

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DETAILS:

I BACKGROUND

A. Residence and Employment

On [REDACTED] advised that MALCOLM K. LITTLE also known as MALCOLM X, continues to reside at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York.

[REDACTED] advised MALCOLM X is the founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque Incorporated (MMI). He is also the founder and Chairman of the organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) and both organizations have their headquarters at Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

A characterization of the MMI and the OAAU are included in the Appendix of this report.

B. Arrest

The "New York Amsterdam News", a New York Negro newspaper, dated December 9, 1964, contained an article captioned "MALCOLM Freed Of Speeding". This article states that Criminal Court Judge WILLIAM BRENNAN, said he had doubt as to whether Muslim Minister MALCOLM X was speeding on the Triboro Bridge after hearing evidence for over an hour last week and acquitted the militant leader of speeding charges.

MALCOLM . . represented by Attorney OLIVER SUTTON. of 135 West 125th Street, told the court that he had a buzzer placed in his 1963 auto that sounds off when he goes faster than 40 and that when he received the ticket for allegedly doing 55 m.p.h. last March 6 the buzzer did not go off.

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b7D Patrolman [redacted] testified that he was in a radio car and had clocked MALCOLM doing 55 for 3/10 of a mile but Judge BRENNAN, after hearing both sides, expressed doubt and acquitted MALCOLM.

C. Alias

b7D [redacted] advised Special Agent (SA) [redacted] on January 2, 1965, that MALCOLM X registered at the Hilton Hotel, New York City, on January 2, 1965, under the name M. KHALIL.

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**II AFFILIATION WITH THE MUSLIM  
MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)**

MALCOLM X is the founder and leader of the MMI. The MMI headquarters is located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

b7D [REDACTED]  
A public rally sponsored by the MMI was held on June 7, 1964, at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City. Approximately 450 persons were present at this rally and the featured speaker was MALCOLM X, the founder and leader of the MMI.

MALCOLM, in his speech, told of his recently completed tour of Africa. He claimed that Africans were very sympathetic to Negroes in America and that African countries have promised to take the American racial problem to the United Nations for a solution.

He accused the New York City Police Commissioner of being a racist who is attempting to justify a police state by blaming disorder in New York City on the Negroes.

During a question and answer period, MALCOLM was asked a question about ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and the Nation of Islam (NOI), which question appeared to be "set up." MALCOLM answered by alleging that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the leader of the NOI, was the father of six illegitimate children which the NOI "covers up." MALCOLM X claimed

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that the NOI would even commit murder to keep this secret quiet. He also claimed that this information concerning ELLIJAH MUHAMMAD was told to him by MUHAMMAD's son, WALLACE, who, according to MALCOLM X, has been put out of the NOI by his father.

67D

[REDACTED]

At an open rally sponsored by the MMI, held on June 21, 1964, at New York City, MALCOLM X was the main speaker. MALCOLM referred to his recent African tour and talked of the Islam religion as the only true faith for the Negroes. He described the Civil Rights Bill passed by the United States Senate in June as a "farce" which will not solve the Negroes' problems.

MALCOLM mentioned that a new group is being formed to deal with the racial problems in the United States. He claimed that this new group will have an educational program to instruct Negroes in the contribution their race has made to history. He indicated that this new group will not sponsor "sit-ins" as current Civil Rights groups do but their policy will be one of "take-ins," that is, according to MALCOLM X, they will take what is rightfully theirs.

67D

[REDACTED]

At an MMI meeting held on June 22, 1964, at Tusken Ballroom, 26 East 125th Street, New York City, MALCOLM X, as the guest speaker, stated that he was ready to organize and go back to teaching the Muslim religion. He advised he was considering asking all members to donate \$10.00 a week for six months. At the

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end of that time. he would show what has been done with their money and will give a report on all money taken in and where this money has been spent. He said this new organization would be for Muslims only and that the Muslims would then know where their money was going instead of just giving their money away without knowing what happened to it as they did when they were in the NOI. MALCOLM went on to state that he intended to start a newspaper similar to the "Muhammad Speaks" (NOI publication) for his organization. MALCOLM stated that this newspaper will be coming out in the near future. He said at the present time plans are in the making to hold meetings on Wednesday nights for Muslims and open meetings on Sunday nights for people who are not Muslims. The meetings that will be held on Sunday nights are to be held at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th Street and Broadway, New York City. MALCOLM said he intends to set up an MMI in Boston and Philadelphia and then spread out to other cities.

67D

A characterization of the NOI is contained in the Appendix section of this report.

On June 28, 1964, an MMI sponsored public rally was held at the Audubon Ballroom at New York City. MALCOLM X, leader of the MMI, was the main speaker.

In his speech, MALCOLM X announced the formation of a new non-white civil rights action group to be known as the "Organization of Afro-American Unity." According to MALCOLM, this group will be led by him and will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics and social reform. The organization will conduct in 1964, a registration drive for Negroes and one of its

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leading aims will be to take the racial situation in America to the United Nations. MALCOLM X also stated that he would send a telegram to civil rights leader Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, offering their help to KING in the racial struggle down South if the United States Government fails to take decisive action.

MALCOLM X announced that temporary headquarters of the new organization would be in the MMI headquarters at Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Those present at the meeting were offered an opportunity to join this new group by registering and paying an initial fee of \$2.00 and paying dues thereafter of \$1.00 a week.

MALCOLM X claimed that his new group had the support of many local unnamed organizations, of several individuals who were on stage with MALCOLM and of new Afro-Asian nations, particularly Ghana.

67C [REDACTED]

The June 29, 1964 edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 32 concerning the above meeting. The article stated that MALCOLM LITTLE called for unity among Negroes in their fight for civil rights at a membership drive meeting of the "Organization of Afro-American Unity" held on the evening of June 28, 1964, at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City. They described this Afro-American organization as a recently formed Black Nationalist group.

On June 14, 1964, NY T-3 advised that the MMI held a public rally at 8:00 p.m. on that day in the Audubon Ballroom, New York City. MALCOLM X, as the featured speaker,

b7D  
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spoke of police brutality and the reasons for his break with the NOI, which he claimed was due to the promiscuous conduct of NOI leader ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. [REDACTED] advised that MALCOLM X at this meeting, [REDACTED] was guarded by eight MMI members, each openly carrying a rifle. They escorted him in and out of the hall and stood in front of the speaker's stand while he spoke. It was unknown if the rifles were loaded.

b7D

On June 15, 1964, Detective [REDACTED]

advised that the openly carrying of rifles in New York City is not a violation of the law.

As of August 19, 1964, the MMI continues to maintain its headquarters in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, New York City. The organization has been very inactive inasmuch as its leader, MALCOLM X, has been touring Africa since July, 1964.

The only meetings currently being held by the MMI were Islamic religious classes that were held on Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday nights at 8:00 p.m. The meetings were held in a rented hall until August 17, 1964, at which time the meetings were then held at MMI headquarters.

Attendance at these meetings has been very small, seldom numbering more than ten to fifteen persons per meeting. The classes were strictly religious in nature and no business or outside activities were discussed.

N.Y. Ariz. Cal.

b7D, C [REDACTED] is in charge of the MMI during the absence of MALCOLM X LITTLE and his official MMI position is that of secretary. [REDACTED] has, on occasions, taught Islamic classes at some of the MMI meetings.

[REDACTED] member: Muslim Mosque

Incorporate

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b7D

A regular meeting of the MMI was held.

At this meeting, a letter written by MALCOLM X, who was touring Africa, addressed to an unknown African delegate to the Organization of African Unity Conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was read. In the letter, MALCOLM X informed the delegates that if the latter needed recruits to join the rebel military forces in the Congo, to aid in driving the white mercenary forces of Congo President OCMOY TESHOMBE out of the Congo, he, MALCOLM X, could obtain ten thousand recruits in the Harlem section of New York City.

There was no answer to the letter to the African delegate and no call for recruits was made at the above meeting. No statement was made that would indicate that any such call for recruitment would be made.

b7D

[REDACTED]

Relation With Organization of  
Afro-American Unity (OAAU)

The MMI is in regular contact with the OAAU since both are headed by MALCOLM X and both have their headquarters within the same office. However, the OAAU is led by individuals who are not members of the MMI and the latter have no apparent official connection with the OAAU. However, because of the close relationship between the two groups, MMI officials no doubt exert some influence on the OAAU.

b7D

[REDACTED]

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Membership in the MMI

b7D  
[REDACTED] furnished a list of all persons known to have affiliated with the MMI at that time. This list included 73 names, which names were obtained [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that a large number of MMI members were former NOI members in the New York City area who chose to follow MALCOLM X.

On August 18, 1964, [REDACTED]

b7D  
[REDACTED] furnished a list of all persons known to [REDACTED] that at that time were affiliated with the MMI. The list was obtained from [REDACTED] The list included 132 names, 26 of which had arrest records [REDACTED]

The exact membership of the MMI is unknown. It is known that a large number of NOI members, possibly in excess of one hundred, left the NOI in New York City, ostensibly to join with MALCOLM X and the MMI, however, probably due to the inactivity of the MMI because of MALCOLM's absence, very few members actively participated in MMI affairs. At the three Islamic religious meetings, which are held weekly, the average attendance is only twelve to fourteen persons [REDACTED]

b7D  
On September 17, 1964, [REDACTED] made available an MMI business card, which read as follows:

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" -- Visit --  
Muslim Mosque, Incorporated  
12395 Eighth Avenue  
between 128th Street -- 219th Street  
New York City  
Under the leadership of  
Minister Malcolm X  
Wed. - Thur. - Sat. nites  
Promptly 8 PM"

Speeches and Comments of  
MALCOLM X on Violence

On May 23, 1964, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation attended a debate between LOUIS LOMAX and MALCOLM X at the Civic Opera House, Chicago, Illinois. During his remarks, MALCOLM X stated that he was for non-violence in the racial field and was not a racist, but he felt that the black man should defend himself by any means if attacked. If the white man shoots fire hoses at them or lets dogs at them, they should defend themselves.

On May 23, 1964, MALCOLM X appeared as one of several guests on "Kup's Show" over television channel 7, Chicago, Illinois. During the program, MALCOLM X stated that Negro leaders are playing a dangerous game if they encourage "our" people who are involved in the struggle to remain passive. He further stated that most Negro leaders do not understand that the masses that they are stirring up have no intention of getting involved in a non-violent battle in which they are the victims of brutality. He stated that when Negro leaders realize this, they will lead us in such a way that Negroes can face the reality of the situation. Also, during this program, MALCOLM X stated that the racial problem is just like the battlefield when you face a vicious,

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violent enemy and it is wrong for your superiors to tell you to be non-violent. He compared the racial struggle in America with actual warfare. He further stated that he did not believe that Negroes should initiate aggression against whites but indicated that they should defend themselves.

b7D [redacted] advised that MALCOLM X held a press conference at the Executive House in Chicago, Illinois. During the press conference, he denied that he advocated violence and reiterated his previous statements that Negroes must defend themselves against unlawful attacks by whites in a mob.

MALCOLM X appeared on the "Les Crane Television Show" at New York on December 28, 1964. When asked why he preached that Negroes should take up arms to protect themselves, MALCOLM answered that if the Government and the Federal Bureau of Investigation cannot protect Negroes in specific areas of the United States, that Negroes should organize and have rifles to protect themselves. He said he did not want them to break any laws but that vigilante groups are being organized at the present time in New York in order to protect their neighborhoods without the police interfering with their organizing. MALCOLM X said he cannot see any reason why the Negroes cannot also organize themselves for their own protection. He stated that it is up to the Negro to protect himself if the Government fails to give him protection. X (u)

Alleged Affiliation with  
Vengeance Squads

[redacted]

(C)

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The July 10, 1964 issue of the "New York World Telegram and Sun" contained an article on page 6, which indicated that prior to leaving for Africa (on July 9, 1964), MALCOLM X commented, "I've received messages from coast to coast for volunteers who are trained and ready to invade Mississippi when the word is given."

b1

bx  
[REDACTED] Confidential sources familiar with MMI activity in the New York City and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania areas could furnish no information that would substantiate the allegation that MALCOLM X was sending "vengeance squads" to the South, particularly to Mississippi.

b7D

[REDACTED] advised on several dates during July, 1964, that the [REDACTED] has no information that would substantiate or indicate that the MMI was involved in sending "vengeance squads" to the South.

A special issue of the magazine "Revolution," published in Paris, France, for July - August, 1964, contained an exclusive interview with MALCOLM X. During the interview, MALCOLM X stated that he has never employed violence but he felt that if violence is used against "us," we shall defend ourselves. He added that "we" do not believe that one must offer the other cheek.

MALCOLM X's threats and programs to organize Negroes to go and fight white racists in Mississippi unless President JOHNSON sends in Federal troops were designed to put the Government on the "spot" and force the President of the United States to act.

b7D

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b7D

[REDACTED] On September 29, 1964, [REDACTED]  
Long Island City, Queens, New York, advised SA [REDACTED] that several years ago, the exact year unknown, he joined the NOI in New York City, and was given the name JAMES 84X. He said he became disinterested and dropped out of the NOI after an unknown period of time.

In March, 1964, when MALCOLM X formed his Negro organization called the MMI, he joined this organization.

b7D

[REDACTED] in June, 1964, MALCOLM X formed another organization, which was to take part in the civil rights movement in the United States. This second organization was called OAAU. MALCOLM X assumed the position of chairman of the OAAU and selected its executive secretary. The OAAU had its headquarters in the same office as the MMI at the Hotel Theresa, New York City.

b7D

[REDACTED] said he has had no contact with the MMI since July, 1964, and does not know how the organization is getting along but it is his impression, based on his contact with friends who still remain in the MMI, that the organization is floundering because MALCOLM X had been away too long on his trip to Africa.

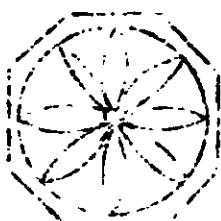
b7D

[REDACTED] advised that the militant attitude expressed by MALCOLM X when he first formed the MMI, particularly in regards to self-defense, was naturally shared by many NOI members who quit the NOI to join MALCOLM X, including himself. He stated that, however, during the time he was affiliated with the MMI, no attempts or plans were made to form Negro rifle clubs or to form Negro vigilante type groups to work in

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the South or anywhere else. [REDACTED] advised that several of the members allegedly had rifles in their homes but did not know where they were. He advised that he did not personally have a weapon. He stated that there was no real organizational set-up of the MMI ever formulated during the months that he worked in its office. He stated that although there was talk about forming various committees to perform various functions, there were none actually formed. BALLEW characterized MALCOLM as a former NOI minister who is the founder and leader of the MMI and also the founder and leader of the OAAU. He said that MALCOLM X is the driving force behind both organizations and without him, these organizations would collapse.

The MMI Judo class meeting was held in MMI headquarters, Hotel Theresa, New York City, on November 6, 1964, not attended by MALCOLM X. Members were told that the group colors are black and white and the group symbol or symbols are as follows:



The symbols are to be awarded as members improve themselves in the art of self-defense.

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Television and/or Radio  
Appearances of MALCOLM X

On April 23, 1964, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed a debate on "The Negro Revolt" between Negro author LOUIS LOMAX and MALCOLM X, which was held on May 23, 1964, at Chicago, Illinois. During his remarks, MALCOLM X stated that since his return from Africa, he has changed his mind to a certain extent regarding the white man. He stated that he found a number of white persons who had been converted to the "Moslem" faith who were good people.

On April 23, 1964, MALCOLM X appeared with other guests on "Kup's Show," a panel television program moderated by Irv KUPCINET, over television channel 7, Chicago, Illinois. During the program, MALCOLM X stated, while speaking of the racial problems in America, that he did not believe in racism and that there are many white people in America who are also fed up with the racist attitude reflected in American policy. He developed this belief through his pilgrimage to Mecca, and there are many whites who are willing to become involved in a genuine struggle on behalf of the Negro.

On June 9, 1964, SA [REDACTED] observed the "Mike Wallace News Program" at 11:00 p.m. over NBC-TV (National Broadcasting Company - Television), New York City. During this program, MALCOLM X was interviewed for approximately five minutes during which he stated that many white persons are fed up with the treatment of Negroes in America and he is convinced that there are good white people. When MIKE WALLACE pointed out to MALCOLM that this was contrary to his former teaching, MALCOLM X said that he now speaks for himself and that his previous anti-white statements were made while he was speaking for the NOI.

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On June 8, 1964, MALCOLM X was a guest on the "Barry Gray Show" over radio station WMCA, New York City. During the interview, he stated that he made no distinction between Alabama Governor GEORGE WALLACE and President JOHNSON over racial matters except in their methods. He characterized the United States Government as a racist Government since the majority of all Congressional committees are headed and dominated by Southern Congressmen. He further stated that while in Ghana on a recent trip, he had met with many persons, including the Ambassadors of Cuba and Communist China, and he told all of these people that racial discrimination in America is sponsored by the Government.

On June 25, 1964, MALCOLM X appeared on the BOB KENNEDY show "Contact" over radio station WBZ, Boston, Massachusetts. During the program, he stated that he saw the civil rights struggle as a struggle for human rights. Also, when asked how militant his new group would be, he stated that the black people in this country are justified in obtaining freedom by any means necessary. He then clarified this statement by stating that he would be justified in taking any action which was intelligent, just and legal.

#### Philosophy Change

The April 18, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a Negro weekly newspaper published in New York City, contained an article on page 1 which indicated that prior to leaving for his African tour, MALCOLM X stated that the purpose of this trip was "to get spiritual strength" from a visit to the Moslem holy city of Mecca.

The May 8, 1964 edition of "The New York Times" daily newspaper published in New York City contained an article on page 1, captioned "Malcolm X Pleased by White Attitude on Trip to Mecca. This article stated that in a

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letter dated April 5, 1964, from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, MALCOLM X advised that he had gained new positive insight on race relations through his religious experience in Mecca. He advised that for the first time in his life, he felt no racial antagonism toward whites. He remarked about the hospitality he had received and stated that his experience has forced him to "re-arrange" much of his own thought pattern. He indicated that the religion of Islam made everyone equal regardless of race and that if white America would accept the religion of Islam, then they would cease to measure others in terms of "difference in color."

The May 22, 1964 edition of the "Chicago Daily News," a daily newspaper published in Chicago, Illinois, contained an article on page 5 relative to MALCOLM X's return from an African tour. This article indicated that MALCOLM X has restricted his new found admiration for whites to those who are members of the Moslem faith.

The May 23, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News" contained an article concerning the African trip of MALCOLM X. The author of the article, JAMES BOOKER, indicates that information he has obtained from MALCOLM X has indicated that the latter's visit with Moslem leaders has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On his appearance on the "Les Crane Television Show" on December 28, 1964, at New York City, MALCOLM X stated that his trip to Mecca in April, 1964, caused him to change his attitude towards the white people. He stated that he became a member of the True Islam faith in which it teaches brotherhood for all man and that he has met many true Moslems of the white race.

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The Relationship with the  
Federation of Islam  
Associations in the  
United States of America  
and Canada

The cross directory of the New York Telephone Company for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, lists the Federation of Islam Associations in the United States of America and Canada, Islam Foundation of New York City, 1 Riverside Drive, New York City.

b7C,D [REDACTED] advised that MALCOLM X had a discussion concerning the religious tenets of Islam. (AHC)

b7C,D [REDACTED] has been asked by other Moslems what kind of a man MALCOLM was, particularly because of his previous actions and statements. [REDACTED] has told those making inquiry that MALCOLM X had no one to guide him while he was young. Also, [REDACTED] hopes that he and MALCOLM X can collaborate together in building an Islamic center in New York City. (AHC)

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[REDACTED] advised that MALCOLM X is being taken care of in Africa during his tour.

[REDACTED] advised that MALCOLM X has been appointed to the Board of the Supreme Council Governing Islamic affairs and has received a document recognizing him officially. This document qualifies him to spread Islam in America among Afro-Americans and that he is now an "Orthodox Moslem." (U)

The September 12, 1964 edition of the "New York Courier," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article on page 12 concerning remarks of Muslim Leader MUHAMMAD TUFAIL while speaking before a Muslim Society in Toronto, Canada. TUFAIL was described as a leader of the largest Islamic Mosque in Surrey, England. TUFAIL was quoted as saying that, "The Faith of Islam offers a solution to the racial crises." As an illustration, he cited MALCOLM X, former NOI leader and anti-white militant, who recently embraced Orthodox Islam. TUFAIL stated that Islam cuts across all racial boundaries.

## **Efforts to Discredit NOI Leader ELLIJAH MUHAMMAD**

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MALCOLM X was contacted by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on June 6, 1964.

b7C  
[REDACTED] advised MALCOLM that he obtained signed statements on the following day from "the women" and had also taken photographs of the illegitimate children and of their mothers. [REDACTED] would attempt to obtain a "bastardy warrant" on June 6, 1964, against him (ELIJAH MUHAMMED) and have it served on that date. [REDACTED] is attempting to arrange for publicity for the serving of the warrant and release the "bastardy story".

b7C  
[REDACTED] MALCOLM instructed [REDACTED] that if [REDACTED] could not get adequate publicity in Phoenix, he should go to Los Angeles and see [REDACTED] who would set up a press conference for him.

b7C  
[REDACTED] again contacted MALCOLM on June 6, 1964 and told him "Things in Phoenix are not going as swiftly as they had hoped". [REDACTED] had the statements from the women reviewed and lengthened and would have just about time to notarize them since it was too late in the day for court action. (u) X

b7C  
[REDACTED] told MALCOLM that he is with the two women, one having three children, the second woman being [REDACTED] who is 8 months pregnant and who also has two children. [REDACTED] had mailed photographs taken on the children and the mothers to MALCOLM and himself at New York City.

b7C  
[REDACTED] said [REDACTED] would drive to Los Angeles that evening and they would contact [REDACTED] and set up a press conference there.

[REDACTED] MALCOLM instructed [REDACTED] not to contact [REDACTED] in advance but to go see [REDACTED] in Los Angeles and show [REDACTED] the information gathered.

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b7c

On June 7, 1964, [REDACTED] travelled to Los Angeles with [REDACTED]. MALCOLM X instructed [REDACTED] to contact [REDACTED] of the "Herald Dispatch" and tell her the complete story. [REDACTED] were extremely reluctant to tell their story to the public in spite of attempts by MALCOLM X to persuade them to talk by claiming that there will be "violence" between NOI and the MMI if they do not talk.

b7D

On June 8, 1964, MALCOLM X in attempting to make arrangements with [REDACTED] Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Television, New York City, to provide the full story of the illegitimate children of ELIJAH MUHAMMED on a film interview, told [REDACTED] that there are six women involved. MALCOLM said all are former members of MUHAMMED's secretary staff who have had illegitimate children by him since 1956 or 1957. According to MALCOLM two of these women have had two children and one of the two women at that time was pregnant with a third child of MUHAMMED's. MALCOLM claimed that the real reason for his split with the NOI was that when he heard of these indiscretions, he told NOI officials who had in turn told ELIJAH MUHAMMED in a manner that made it look like he was "stirring up things" instead of trying to resolve them. MALCOLM X told [REDACTED] that his life is at stake because he poses a threat to the NOI since public revelation of this information would cause NOI members to desert ELIJAH MUHAMMED. On the same date, [REDACTED] received a telephone message for MALCOLM X from an anonymous caller who said "Just tell him he is as good as dead".

(u)

b7D

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b7C

b7D

A (u)

On [redacted] 1964, [redacted] advised that at an MMI public rally held in the Audubon Ballroom, New York City, on June 7, 1964, MALCOLM X, in answer to a question from the audience, stated that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was the father of six illegitimate children. He claimed the NOI covers this up and would even murder to keep it quiet. MALCOLM indicated that he had learned this from ELIJAH's son, WALLACE MUHAMMAD.

On June 12, 1964, MALCOLM X was the guest on the program "Conversation for Peace" over radio station WEEI, Boston, Massachusetts. During the program, he stated that the real reason for his break with the NOI was due to a moral problem. He then told the story of several teenage NOI members who went to work for the NOI since 1957, and became pregnant. It was always assumed that a non-Muslim male was involved since no one ever stood with the girls when they were brought before the Temple to stand charges for their actions. In February, 1963, according to MALCOLM X, he learned that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was the father of these children and that he talked to MUHAMMAD about it and the latter admitted it. In October, 1963, MALCOLM said he was informed by ELIJAH's son, WALLACE, that it was still going on and he then realized that he could no longer represent ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. MALCOLM indicated that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD had children by six of his secretaries.

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On June 12, 1964, MALCOLM X appeared on the "Jerry Williams" program over radio station WMEX in Boston, Massachusetts, from 10:00 p.m. to 1:00 a.m., June 13, 1964, and repeated the above story.

The June 20, 1964 edition of "The Philadelphia Tribune," a daily newspaper published in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, contained an article on page 1, quoting the above allegations against ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, which was told, according to the paper, by MALCOLM X.

b7D  
On [redacted] 1964, [redacted] advised that according to MALCOLM X, "the girls" are going to file suit against ELIJAH MUHAMMAD in Los Angeles, California.

b7D  
On [redacted] 1964, [redacted] advised that [redacted] were in Los Angeles, California, and had retained an attorney to file a paternity suit against ELIJAH MUHAMMAD in order to obtain support for their children.

1 MSS. 10/17/64 A. 2.

The July 9, 1964 edition of the "Los Angeles Sentinel," a weekly newspaper published in Los Angeles, California, also carried the story of the paternity suit filed by ROSARY and WILLIAMS against MUHAMMAD and this story quoted MALCOLM X as stating that the number of illegitimate children involved was between eleven to sixteen.

The July 20, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News" contained an article on page 1 which reflected that LUCILLE ROSARY, in Los Angeles, California, who has accused ELIJAH MUHAMMAD of fathering two of her children, had given birth to a third child, naming MUHAMMAD as its father. The article indicated that ROSARY and one EVELYN WILLIAMS, who had also filed a paternity suit against MUHAMMAD, both fear

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for their lives. Also, MALCOLM X claims he was marked for assassination for publicizing the story while the same article indicated that NOI officials in Chicago, Illinois, denied both the paternity and the threat accusations.

The July 11, 1964 edition of the "Crusader," a weekly newspaper in Chicago, Illinois, contained an article on page 5 in which the NOI national officials in Chicago, Illinois, label the paternity charges against ELIJAH MUHAMMAD as false. The article indicated that the NOI was caring for ROSARY and WILLIAMS and labeled them as hypocrites for assisting the hypocrite MALCOLM X. The article further indicated that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD would not discuss the matter nor appeal to the courts.

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

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The MIKE WALLACE CBS-Television program was monitored by the New York Office on June 9, 1964, at which time "MALCOLM X" appeared on this program and said that his life had been threatened by NOI members, after he told "certain information" to several NOI officials. The remark "certain information" was not further explained.

b7C  
MALCOLM X told an unknown representative of a New York City newspaper on June 18, 1964, that the FBI knows all about the illegitimate children of ELIJAH MUHAMMED and specifically mentioned that they knew about [REDACTED] of Boston having a baby fathered by ELIJAH MUHAMMED and if the press would contact the FBI, they (the press) would not be afraid to print the article about MUHAMMED. X (u)

b7D

b7C  
MALCOLM X contacted [REDACTED] "New York Amsterdam News", a Negro weekly newspaper, on June 29, 1964. MALCOLM informed [REDACTED] that the "girls" are going to file suits against MUHAMMED in Los Angeles. MALCOLM suggested that [REDACTED] keep it quite since "they did not want to pinpoint it yet". X (u)

b7D

It is to be noted that since June, 1964, MALCOLM X and the PPT have attempted to publicize the illegitimate children of ELIJAH MUHAMMED through various news media. MALCOLM X has been successful in getting the story on several radio programs during interviews, but a fear of a libel suit has apparently kept such publicity at a minimum. However, representatives of various news agencies have advised MALCOLM that they could publicize it if the women involved instituted legal action against ELIJAH MUHAMMED.

MALCOLM X contacted an unknown person in Chicago, Illinois, on July 5, 1964, and attempted to get this person to "urge one of the other mothers" to file a suit of non-support against ELIJAH MUHAMMED. X (u)

b7D

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III. AFFILIATION WITH THE ORGANIZATION  
OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

A. Origin and Scope of the OAAU

On June 28, 1964, the Muslim Mosque Incorporated (MMI) held a public rally at the Audubon Ballroom at Broadway and 166th Street, New York City, at which the MMI founder and leader MALCOLM X was the featured speaker. During his speech MALCOLM X publicly announced the formation of a new non-white civil rights action group to be known as the "Organization of Afro-American Unity". OAAU Headquarters is to be temporarily located in the Headquarters of the MMI Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, New York City.

67D



B. Circumstances Surrounding Formation of the OAAU

The June 14, 1964 edition of the "Sunday Star", a daily newspaper published in Washington, D. C., contained an article on page 1 captioned, "Guerrilla Warfare is Next".

This article relates to an interview by staff writer CHESTER HUNTER with MALCOLM X in which he states that he plans on forming a new political group which is referred to in the article as "Afro-American Freedom Fighters".

In this article it is stated that MALCOLM X claims that he has discarded his former unyielding "hate white" philosophy which he had obtained from his former chief, NOI leader, ELLIJAH MUHAMMAD.

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The article indicated that after a twelve day visit to the World of Islam (Africa) MALCOLM X is convinced that "black and white" can solve their problems in a reasonable manner if they approached them in the spirit of "brotherhood and tolerance between people of all colors and national origin". The article stated that according to MALCOLM X the NOI was not teaching Orthodox Islam and MALCOLM X desired to understand "Islam as it really was". The article indicated MALCOLM X through contact with MAHMOUD YOUSSEF SHAWARBI, Deputy Director of the Islamic Center of New York and Director of the Islamic Federation of the United States and Canada, had his eyes opened to brotherhood and tolerance between peoples of different races. Through a letter of introduction by SHAWARBI, MALCOLM X was able to make his pilgrimage to Mecca.

In speaking of the new organization MALCOLM X was forming the article indicated that it would be a political group separated from his MMI so that black people as well as American Negroes can be attracted. The group will not advocate nor will it initiate violence but the Negro must protect himself. The article quoted MALCOLM X as stating "when you start talking freedom you have to talk about dying a little too. Reciprocal dying, I mean. When a black man dies a white man should die. Suffering is alright and non-violence is alright, too, so long as they are reciprocal".

The article indicated that MALCOLM X envisioned his new group to be the vehicle which will exterminate the "devil" that haunts him and will link the American Negro's cause with the independence drives of African nations. The article indicated that the first aim of the new organization will be to get the whole Negro struggle before the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations and charge the United States with the same thing as South Africa and Portugal are charged with. This will make the American Negro question an international issue.

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On June 29, 1964 [redacted] advised that MALCOLM X and his associates were very disappointed over the response of the above mentioned rally held on June 28, 1964 at which time the audience was invited to join the OAAU following the rally. It was determined that only 90 persons joined the OAAU out of the audience and only \$180 was collected. It was the belief of MALCOLM X that most of the people did not have the \$2.00 initiation fee. X (u)

At the MMI sponsored rally held on June 28, 1964, at New York City, at which time MALCOLM announced the organization of the OAAU. As the main speaker he also indicated that he was going to send a telegram to the leaders of the Negro organizations who are active in the south offering them the assistance of his group to defend the black people of the south in the event that the (United States) Government did not come to their assistance. MALCOLM X remarked that the black people should not fight amongst themselves but should unite to fight the whites, "their common enemy".

b7D

In connection with the formation of the OAAU [redacted] advised on [redacted] 1964, that members of other organizations would be allowed to join the OAAU, however, they must be careful of Communist and socialist groups trying to infiltrate the organization. Persons from these latter groups would be permitted to join the OAAU but they would not be allowed to hold any position of membership.

b7D

On [redacted] 1964, [redacted] advised that the number of active members of the OAAU based on attendance at various meetings appears to number approximately 50. On August 26, 1964, [redacted] made available an OAAU membership card which reads as follows:

Across the top of the card is written "Organization of Afro-American Unity". There is then a line for the name of the member followed by "is a member of the OAAU". There is then another line followed by the word "Chairman". The second line also contains the signature of "MALCOLM X".

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At a MMF public rally held on June 21, 1964 at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City, MALCOLM X in his speech talked briefly of a new group being formed to deal with the racial problem in the United States. This new group he said will not sponsor "sit-ins" as current civil rights groups do, but their policy will be one of "take-in", that is, they will take what is rightfully theirs.

b7D

[REDACTED]

MALCOLM X planned to announce the formation of his new group at a rally scheduled for June 28, 1964, and would call it Organization of Afro-American Unity.

b7D

[REDACTED]

On June 27, 1964, MALCOLM X indicated that he would launch his new organization on June 28, 1964. The basic aim of the new group is to lift the whole Negro freedom struggle from civil rights to "human rights" and to work with any other organization and any other leader toward that end.

b7D

[REDACTED]

C. Finances

At a MM rally held on June 28, 1964, in New York City, MALCOLM X announced the formation of the OAAU. He also stated that he would be the chairman of this organization.

He also announced that any Negro could join the OAAU by paying a membership fee of \$2.00 and thereafter making a donation of \$1.00 per week.

b7D

[REDACTED]

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The back of the card bears a number which is to be for each member and the following statement:

"SELF-DEFENSE

We assert and affirm the right of self-defense which is one of the most basic human rights known to mankind."

At an OAAU meeting held on August 17, 1964, attended by approximately 30 persons the group engaged in an argument over the lack of communication between the OAAU and MALCOLM X. Also they argued on whether MALCOLM X should have the final word on all OAAU policies or if the group itself would formulate policies. No decision was reached on the latter question and in regards to the first problem it was decided that communications should be improved by keeping in closer contact with BETTY LITTLE, wife of MALCOLM X. [REDACTED] believed that "the organization almost fell apart at the seams because of the lack of positive leadership."

b7D

Mrs. Malcolm [REDACTED] 1/1/11

[REDACTED] 6-11 9741 SF.

East Elmhurst Queens,  
N.Y.

In an interview of MALCOLM X which appeared on page 1 of the June 14, 1964 edition of the "Sunday Star", Washington, D. C. newspaper, MALCOLM X, in speaking of financing his new organization stated "we are scratching. I do not have any expensive habits. I have never met a true revolutionary who worried about money".

D. Supporters of the OAAU

b7D

[REDACTED] the MMI rally held on June 26, 1964, in New York City, in which the formation of the OAAU was announced. A review of this [REDACTED] reflects that the following persons were introduced by MALCOLM X to the audience as "invited guests":

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- b7c
1. EARL FRIEDNEY of the Ghana Press.
  2. CONRAD LYNN of the Freedom Now Party. Conrad J. Lynn
  3. WILLIAM EPTON of the Progressive Labor Party
  4. ORA MOBLEY of the Central Harlem Mothers Association.
  5. WILLIAM TATUM of Association of Artists for Freedom who is representing (Negro entertainers) OSSIE DAVIS and RUBY DEE. Ruby Wallace Ruby Davis
  6. ISAIAH ROBINSON of Harlem Parents Workshop. Mr. & Mrs.
  7. EARL SWEENEY and his wife from Ghana.
  8. Mrs. SIDNEY POITIER, wife of the Negro actor.
  9. PAULE MARSHALL, author of the novel "Brown Girl, Brownstone".
  10. WILLIAM WORTHY China Cuba, Fla. La.

Also during the course of introducing the "invited guests" the name of WILLIAM PATTERSON was called out but he was not present in the audience. b7c

CONRAD LYNN

William L. Patterson

A leaflet entitled, "A Call For A Freedom Now Party, An All-Black Party For 1964," published by the National Committee For A Freedom Now Party and reprinted from the "New Yorker," June 15, 1963, identified CONRAD J. LYNN as Acting Chairman of the National Committee For a Freedom Now Party.

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"The Journal News," a newspaper published in Nyack, New York, issue of May 8, 1963, contained an article indicating that LYNN had appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on May 6, 1963, concerning a trip to Cuba in 1962 in order to obtain a deposition from a client who had fled the United States.

At the hearing, LYNN stated he had been a member of the Young Communist League (YCL) from 1928 to 1931, and a member of the Communist Party (CP) from 1934 to 1937. He stated that he had been expelled from the CP. The article continued that LYNN characterized himself as "being on the left."

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

b7C, D

[REDACTED]

A characterization of Progressive Labor Party is included in the appendix of this report.

[REDACTED] (c)

61 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (c)

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b7C,D

A characterization of the New York Local, SWP (NYL, SWP) is included in the appendix of this report.

CLIFTON DE BERRY

b7D

CLIFTON DE BERRY is publicly campaigning as the SWP candidate for President of the United States in the 1964 elections.

E. Other Activity

On June 30, 1964, [redacted] advised that MALCOLM X sent the following telegram on that date to Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, South Christian Leadership Conference at Saint Augustine, Florida, and also to [redacted] the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee at Philadelphia, Mississippi, where both of the above were engaged in activities and demonstrations on behalf of the civil rights movement. X(u)

"We have been witnessing with great concern the vicious attack of the white race against our poor defenseless people in Saint Augustine, Florida. If the Federal Government will not send troops to your aid just say the word and we will immediately dispatch some of our brothers there to organize our people into self-defense units among our people and the Klu Klux Klan will receive a taste of its own medicine. The day of turning the cheek to the inhuman brute beasts is long over. X(u)

Organization of Afro-American Unity  
Malcolm X, Chairman  
Theresa Hotel  
Harlem, N.Y."

The Klu Klux Klan has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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muslim Mosque INC.

b7C  
The telegram sent [REDACTED] referred to "Philadelphia, Mississippi" instead of Saint Augustine, Florida.

At a meeting of the OAAU held on September 28, 1964, at New York City, [REDACTED] a known MMI member, mentioned that when MALCOLM X broke with the NOI to form his own group the MMI he failed to attract a large part of the Negro population and the police and FBI moved in" on the MMI which caused MALCOLM X to decide he had to get into something less militant. In order to attract more followers and to get the police and FBI "off his back" he founded the OAAU.

b7C  
According to [REDACTED] MALCOLM X was then travelling in Africa contacting different African Governments and representatives of every government such as the Chinese Communists in an effort to get money for the OAAU. The money will then pass through the OAAU to the MMI where it cannot be taxed since the MMI is a religious group.

b7D  
[REDACTED]

F. Apparent Subversive Support

b7D,C  
On June 29, 1964, [REDACTED] likes the statements of aims of the OAAU as announced by MALCOLM X in the past and that JONES offered to get copies of the statement and of MALCOLM X's speeches and comments printed without cost to MALCOLM X.

b7C  
[REDACTED]

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b7D, C

[REDACTED] on February 26, 1957, identified a photograph of [REDACTED] as a person known during late 1953 or early 1954, to be a member and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL).

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

b7D

b7C

On [REDACTED] 1964, [REDACTED] overheard a conversation at the headquarters of the NYL, SWP, 116 University Place, New York City. The gist of the overheard conversation was that Negroes [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] had joined the OAAU and a third Negro [REDACTED] had wanted to join the OAAU but did not have the \$2.00 membership fee. Source could not definitely state that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] had in fact joined the OAAU.

b7D, C

On [REDACTED] 1964, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were all members

or the NYL, SWP.  
*Socialist Workers Party*

G. Foreign Interests

b7D

On [REDACTED] 1964, [REDACTED] advised that MALCOLM X was currently in Africa attending a meeting of the Organization of African Unity which was meeting in Cairo, Egypt. This organization is composed of leaders and heads of states of various African countries and MALCOLM X likes to think of the OAAU as an American affiliate of the Organization of African Unity.

b7D

On [REDACTED] 1964, [REDACTED] furnished a press release issued by the OAAU dated July 17, 1964. This press release said:

"During the midst of the racial turmoil here in America, the most militant of the militant Negroes - Malcolm X - was in Cairo, Egypt, where he was the only American allowed into the conference of the Organization of African Unity.

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"A resolution was passed at this conference condemning racism in the United States.

Sincerely,

Organization of Afro-American Unity"

"PRESS RELEASE"

"The following is a copy of the statement that was prepared by Malcolm X on behalf of the Organization of Afro-American Unity and the 22 million Afro-Americans; and was delivered by him to the conference which opened in Cairo, Egypt on July 17, 1964.

"Their EXCELLENCIES  
FIRST ORDINARY ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENTS  
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY  
CAIRO, U.A.R.

"YOUR EXCELLENCIES:

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity has sent me to attend this historic African Summit Conference as an observer to represent the interests of twenty-two million African-Americans whose human rights are being violated daily by the racism of American imperialists.

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

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

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

"We, in America, are your long lost Brothers and Sisters, and I am here only to remind you that our problems are your problems. As the African-Americans "awaken" today, we find ourselves in a Strange Land that has rejected us, and, like the Prodigal Son, we are turning to our Elder Brothers for help. We pray our pleas will not fall upon deaf ears....

"During the past ten years the entire world has witnessed our men, women and children being attacked and bitten by vicious police dogs, brutally beaten by police clubs, and washed down the sewers by high-pressure water hoses that would rip the clothes from our bodies and the flesh from our limbs.

"And, all of these inhuman atrocities have been inflicted upon us by the American Governmental authorities, the police, themselves, for no reason other than we seek the recognition and respect granted other human beings in America.

"YOUR EXCELLENCIES:

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

"Our problem is your problem. No matter how much independence Africans get here on the Mother Continent, unless you wear your National dress at all times when you visit America, you may be mistaken for one of us and suffer the same psychological and physical mutilation that is an everyday occurrence in our lives.

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"Your problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.

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

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

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

"If South Africa is guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the Mother Continent, then America is guilty of worse violations of the twenty-two million Africans on the American continent. And, if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a domestic issue.

"Many of you have been led to believe that the much publicized, recently passed Civil Rights Bill is a sign that America is making a sincere effort to correct the injustices we have suffered there. This propaganda is part of her deceit and trickery to keep the African Nations from condemning her racist practices before the United Nations, as you are now doing as regards the same practices of South Africa....

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

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

"Out of frustration and hopelessness our young people have reached the point of no return. We no longer endorse patience and turning-the-other-cheek. We assert the right of self-defense by whatever means necessary, and reserve the right of maximum retaliation against our racist oppressors, no matter what the odds against us are.

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

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

"In the interests of world peace and security, we beseech the Heads of Independent African States to recommend an immediate investigation into our problem by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

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

"One last word, my beloved Brothers at this African Summit:

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"'No one knows the master better than his servant.' We have been servants in America for over 300 years. We have a thorough, inside knowledge of this man who calls himself 'Uncle Sam.' Therefore, you must heed our warning: Don't escape from European Colonialism only to become even more enslaved by deceitful, 'friendly' American dollarism.

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

Salaam Alaikum

Malcolm X, Chairman  
Organization of Afro-American  
Unity."

On November 29, 1964, the OAAU held a public reception and rally for its leader MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X, the featured speaker, spoke generally of his recent four month tour of Africa and his contacts made with various African leaders. He also stated that while in Africa he met with some of the "rebels" who subsequently fought in the Congo against the white mercenaries of Congo Premier MOISE TSHOMBE. He referred to these "rebels" as "liberation fighters".

He said he has come home to the United States to "fight for his people". He also stated that his religion is Islam and that he was a muslim since Islam is a religion that believes in an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

67D

Also at the above mentioned OAAU rally held on December 29, 1964, New York City, MALCOLM X stated that the black man should help the Africans in Africa whereas the white men are sending white mercenaries to the Congo. He said black men should send black mercenaries

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to help the African people in their fight for freedom and that this rally "was all for this". MALCOLM X, however, stated that men should not turn the other cheek but should fight for their rights and this is what he will do for the people in New York and Africa.

67D

An OAAU sponsored public meeting was held on December 13, 1964, at New York City, attended by about 500 people.

The featured speaker was OAAU Chairman and MMI leader MALCOLM X. He devoted most of his speech to the Congo situation claiming that the United States is responsible for the situation there because of its support for Congo Premier MOISE TSHOMBE. MALCOLM X charged that it was the United States who was hiring white mercenaries for TSHOMBE and these white mercenaries described by MALCOLM X as "hired killers" are the ones who are killing innocent Africans.

MALCOLM X also spoke on Mississippi and indicated that the struggle for independence by Africans was synonymous with the struggle for freedom by Afro-Americans in the United States. MALCOLM X also stated that the Federal Bureau of Investigation cannot stop the murders in Mississippi so "they" would have to take care of it. He did not elaborate further on what "they" would do other than to remark in jest that he would pay a reward of \$1,000 to anyone who would "get" the sheriff and his deputy who were recently released after being arrested for killing three civil rights workers.

After giving his speech MALCOLM X introduced Negro comedian DICK GREGORY who joked for 40 minutes chiefly concerning law enforcement and the racial situation in the South.

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X MALCOLM X then introduced BABU ABDUL RAHMON MOHAMED, a Minister of the Office of the President of Tanzania), BABU spoke briefly on Africa and claimed that all black people were united in opposition to TSHOMBE in the Congo.

MALCOLM X then introduced SHAYKH AHMED HASSOUN of Sudan who spoke briefly on the Islamic religion.

MALCOLM X then read a note which he said was a greeting sent to him by Cuban Minister of Industry ERNESTO (CHE) GUEVARA who according to the note would be unable to attend the OAAU meeting and ended his vote with the phrase "United we shall win" which when read by MALCOLM X received a big cheer from the audience.

GUEVARA was in New York City to attend the United Nations General Assembly and apparently had been invited to attend the above OAAU meeting by MALCOLM X.

67D [REDACTED]

#### H. Attempts to Bring the United States before the United Nations

The meeting of the OAAU Cultural Committee was held on October 18, 1964, at New York City. It was mentioned at this meeting that MALCOLM X is doing very important work on his tour of Africa. Before the OAAU fought on a national scale but now we will take our problems to the United Nations. It was stated that minority groups all over the world have been doing this and we who live in New York City should also take our case before the United Nations. It was then remarked that MALCOLM's change of policy seems strange but will make sense in the future.

67D [REDACTED]

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MALCOLM X is expected to return to the United States in November, 1964, and when he returns he and the OAAU will work to have the American racial problems taken before the United Nations General Assembly which is to open soon. MALCOLM X and the OAAU will work with certain unidentified Africans some of whom MALCOLM X developed as friends during his tour of Africa and will attempt to place the treatment of the American Negroes by the United States before the General Assembly.

During July, 1964, when MALCOLM X was in Africa he lobbied at a meeting of the African heads of states, the Organization of African Unity which was held in Cairo, Egypt in July, 1964. He attempted to have this group pass a resolution condemning discrimination in the United States. A resolution such as the one presented by MALCOLM X was passed.

I. OAAU Publication

On [REDACTED] 1964, [REDACTED] made available a copy of an issue of the OAAU publication. The three prior issues of this publication were known as the "OAAU Newsletter", but the said issue mentioned above is carried as "OAAU Blacklash".

This latest publication dated September 14, 1964, is numbered Volume 1, Number 4. It was indicated as being published in New York City. It is a six page mimeographed publication on 8½" X 14" paper. On the masthead on page 2 appears the following:

"OAAU---Hotel Theresa, New York City, Chairman---Malcolm X, Newsletter Editor---Peter Bailey".

On page 2 of the above publication is an article apparently written by MALCOLM X entitled, "Malcolm X; Success at African Summit". The article is written in the first person and refers to the African tour of MALCOLM X.

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Also on page 5 is an article by BAILEY captioned, "OAAU Inactive", which has to do with the activity of the OAAU.

This article indicates that educationally the OAAU has opened a Liberation School which meets every Saturday morning at the Hotel Theresa to teach the true history of the black people. Politically the OAAU encourages Negroes to register independent so that they will not be a captive of either party. Economically the OAAU stresses that the major weakness of Negroes is the lack of ownership of property and urges Negroes to assume more economic control over their communities. Culturally the OAAU according to the article feels a closer relationship between black artists and the black people and pushes for closer contact between all black people. Internationally the OAAU plans to elevate the Negro struggle from the field of civil rights to one of human rights and then take the United States Government before the United Nations and have it indicted for its treatment of American Negroes.

This article further indicated that the OAAU has already formed a branch in Ghana, Africa.

The "OAAU Blacklash", Volume 1, Number 5, is the official publication of the OAAU which was organized in New York City in June, 1964, for the purpose of entering the civil rights field by its Chairman MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the MMI. The "OAAU Blacklash" dated September 28, 1964, contained on page 1 an article on the recent tour of Africa by MALCOLM X LITTLE where according to the publication LITTLE is attempting to internationalize the Afro-American fight for freedom and in furtherance of this aim he has remained in Africa "in order to reach more of our supporters on a person to person basis.

The article also stated that a division of the OAAU has been formed in Cairo, called the "Organization of Afro-American Students" (OAAS). Like the OAAU the OAAS is opened to all people of African descent and in addition to having branches in Africa it will have college branches in the United States.

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[REDACTED]

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[redacted] made available [redacted]  
a copy of "OAAU Blacklash", Volume 1, Number 8, dated November 23, 1964. This publication on page 1 contained a photograph of MALCOLM X. Under this photograph was the statement "Malik El Shabazz (MALCOLM X) speaks at one of many conferences during his African journey for the liberation of America's 22 million African people." The headlines on page 1 of this publication read: MALCOLM X is praised in Kenya. The article datelined Nairobi, Kenya, stated that "Militant Afro-American Muslim leader Malcolm X met the Kanu Backbench MPs in Nairobi while visiting there. But he failed to turn up later at a press conference arranged by the Kanu Backbenchers Association's chairman, Mr. Z. M. Anyieni.

"After the meeting the association passed a resolution expressing 'complete solidarity' with the 'Afro-American' freedom fighters. The resolution described Malcolm X as an 'outstanding leader of 22 million Afro-Americans.'

"The resolution said that the association expressed its 'full and unqualified' support for the Afro-Americans who had launched a historic struggle for the removal of discrimination and segregation.

"This meeting expresses its complete solidarity with the Afro-American freedom fighters in their present struggle for basic human rights as outlined in the United Nations Charter."

On page 2 is an article captioned, "WE SUPPORT BROTHER MALCOLM". This article states:

"The OAAU has a program of internationalizing the racial crisis in this country. We feel that our problem is not an isolated issue, but an integral part of the movement of non-white people around the world to achieve liberation from the yoke of racial discrimination and oppression. We are a non-sectarian organization and have chosen Brother Malcolm X as our chairman. He is currently pushing our program abroad. He is speaking to labor groups, student groups, religious groups and parliaments.

"Brother Malcolm is our elected chairman and we stand squarely with him against the power structure and its allies."

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made available [REDACTED] a pamphlet captioned, "MALCOLM X SCHOLARSHIPS". This pamphlet reads as follows:

- "20 Stipend-Bearing Scholarships to Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt, to be distributed among afro-Americans from sixteen through thirty years of age.
- "15 Scholarships to the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia to be distributed among Afro-American Muslims. For further information write: SCHOLARSHIPS  
2090 7th Ave  
New York 27, N.Y.

"JOIN Muslim Mosque Inc.  
2090 7th Ave N.Y.C.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
Learn about Islam. The religion from God. The religion of all the prophets.

"JOIN Organization of Afro-American Unity  
2090 7th Ave Suite 128  
New York 27, N.Y.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
Join us in our struggle to obtain human rights for Afro-Americans. Political economic and social action

"JOIN Organization of Afro-American Students

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
Help us establish chapters in every college and university where there is a student of African descent."

OAAU Press Release

b7D  
made available [REDACTED] a press release or a speech reportedly given by MALCOLM X while on his tour of Africa. This press release is addressed "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful"

"Your Excellencies  
"Distinguished Guests  
"My Muslim Brothers"

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Pertinent parts of this press release are as follows:

"In the history of world oppression, the case of the 22 million oppressed Afro-Americans is unique, much different from all other historic cases. We in America are not only a dark-skinned minority being oppressed by a white majority, but we are over 6,000 miles from our Original Homeland.

"If you here in Africa are the majority and yet you found yourselves tortured and exploited by the European minority right here in your own land--imagine the torture, pain and exploitation we in America have suffered over 6,000 miles away, as a minority, outnumbered in the land of our enemy.

"If you who are in the majority here on this African Continent find it difficult to gain your independence from an enemy whom you actually outnumber, how much more difficult is it for those of us who are a minority in America where we are still colonized by an enemy who outnumbers us?

"As a Muslim, I feel duty-bound to fight for the spread of Islam until all the world bows before Allah---but I am also one of the 22 million oppressed Afro-Americans, and I can never overlook the miserable plight of my people in America. Therefore, my fight is twofold, my burden is double, my responsibilities multiple...material as well as spiritual, political as well as religious, racial as well as non-racial. I will never hesitate to let the entire world know the hell my people suffer from America's deceit, and her hypocrisy, as well as her oppression.

"So, when I come before you my brothers here in the Muslim World, it is not only to rejoice over the wonderful blessings of Islam, but also to take advantage of the opportunity to remind you that there are 22 million of our people in America, many of whom have never heard of Allah or Islam, and all of whom are the victims of America's continued political oppression, economic exploitation, and social degradation.

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"It is my duty to remind you who profess anti-colonialism that America is the leading colonial power of today. She has colonized 22 million Afro-Americans. She has not only destroyed our civil rights, but she has destroyed even our human rights.

"It is wrong, therefore, for Muslim governments to condemn the racist colonialism of South Africa and keep silent about the racist neo-colonialism of America. In the Sight of Allah, racism must be uncompromisingly condemned, whether it is the open kind practiced by South Africa, or whether it is the deceitful, hypocritical kind practiced by America.

"The plight of the 22 million Afro-Americans is not only the concern and responsibility of our people here on the African Continent, it must also be the concern and the moral responsibility of the entire Muslim World--- if you hope to make the principles of the Quran a Living Reality.

"Thank you,

"Salaam Alaikum"

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[redacted] also made available [redacted] a press release under the heading of the OAU dated September 1, 1964, which reflects that statements in press release were made by Brother MALCOLM X in Cairo on August 21, 1964. This press release is captioned, "The 2nd African Summit Conference" by MALCOLM X. Pertinent parts of this press release are as follows:

"Every effort by the American press to play down the importance and the success of the 2nd African Summit Conference held recently here in the ancient African City of Cairo could well be a drastic mistake for the Western Powers, and especially for America.

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"During the 2nd African Summit Conference any unbiased observer could easily see that Africa is making every effort today to stand on her own feet and speak with her own voice. Africa seeks only her rightful place in the sun. The degree to which the well-meaning element in the American public realizes that 'to be independent and self-sustaining' is Africa's only aim, will determine the attitude and the degree of pressure the American public will put upon the politicians at home in order to keep the American government's foreign policy toward Africa a policy of genuine assistance instead of the thinly disguised 'benevolent' colonialism, 'philanthropic' imperialism or what many of the more 'cautious recipients' of American economic aid are beginning to label as 'American Dollarism'.

"The successful industrialization of the United Arab Republic in just 12 years since the Revolution, and the thirst he has since inspired within the Egyptian masses to educate themselves in the free schools set up throughout Egypt since the Revolution, are only a few of the many revolutionary accomplishments that have served as a cornerstone and pattern for the spirit of economic, political and intellectual independence that has been sweeping this entire Mother Continent these past 12 years.

"And the revolutionary spirit he has inspired here on this continent among his fellow-Africans has leaped across the Atlantic Ocean and entered into the heart and mind of 22 million of our people in America who are also of African origin.

"The success of this 2nd Summit Conference is not only an overwhelming victory for the people here on the Mother Continent, but it is also a victory for the 22 million brothers and sisters in America who are of African origin... for we awakening Afro-Americans are well aware today that a United Africa is a strong Africa, and it is only in the STRENGTH of our African brothers that we in America will ever realize a true solution to our own struggle for independence and the recognition and respect of our own human rights.

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"I had traveled over 6000 miles from America to attend this African Summit Conference as an observer. The Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), which is patterned after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), had sent me to present the true plight and the feelings of 22 million Afro-Americans to these Heads of Independent African States.

"Upon my arrival in Cairo I was met with open arms by the African Leaders and their various delegations. I found no doors closed to me. They asked me to prepare a memorandum on the real status of our people, in America, explaining how we are also victimized by neo-imperialism in its racist American form, and they urged me to present my memorandum to the Conference so they could take action on it in our behalf.

"I tried to summarize our plight in as few words as possible, but my memorandum of continued atrocities against the Afro-American by racists in the United States still stretched into nine pages. It charged America with practicing a worse form of organized racism than South Africa, and described how this racist element in the State Department had skilfully alienated us from the natural sympathy and support of our African Brothers in our freedom-struggle by using white 'liberals' to gain our friendship and confidence in order to 'advise' and maneuver us into a 12-year fight for our civil rights, knowing that as long as our freedom-struggle was labeled civil rights it would be considered by the African nations as American 'domestic' affairs and our plight would remain within the sole jurisdiction of the American federal government for a 'solution'.

"My memorandum charged that this same racist element in the State Department knew that our newly formed Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) was planning to internationalize America's race problem by lifting it from the level of civil rights to a struggle for the universally recognized HUMAN RIGHTS, and on these grounds we could then bring America before the United Nations and charge her with violating the UN Declaration of Human Rights and thereby of also violating the UN Charter itself.

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"In order to keep the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) from gaining the interest, sympathy and support of the Independent African States in our effort to bring the miserable plight of the 22 million Afro-Americans before the UN, the racist element in the State Department very shrewdly gave maximum world-wide publicity to the recent passage of the Civil Rights Bill... which was actually only a desperate attempt to make the African States think she was sincerely trying to correct the continued injustices done to us, and thereby maneuver the African governments into permitting America to keep her racism 'domestic' and still within her sole jurisdiction.

"This racist element within the State Department realizes that if any intelligent, truly militant Afro-American is ever permitted to come before the United Nations to testify in behalf of the 22 million mistreated Afro-Americans, our dark-skinned brothers and sisters in Africa, Asia and Latin America would then see America as a 'Brute Beast,' even more cruel and vulturous than the colonial powers of Europe and South Africa combined. I was relieved and delighted to learn how easily most of the African Heads of State and their advisors could see through the tricks of the American racists. One of them told me he knew the Civil Rights Bill was only a 'political maneuver' to capture the Negro votes in the coming elections, and he stressed that it could hardly have been accidental that passage of the bill came to fruition during this crucial election year."

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On December 21, 1964, a public rally was held at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City, sponsored by the OAAU.

MALCOLM X, the main speaker, was introduced to the audience as Chairman of the OAAU and leader of the MMI.

MALCOLM spoke on Africa, particularly about the natural resources in industrial potential of that continent. He said that the economy of Western Europe and America are dependant on Africa and would collapse if their interests in Africa are lost. This he claimed is why the United States and Europe are interested in keeping their foothold in Africa by supporting the Congo Government of MOISE TSHOMBE.

MALCOLM X praised the Mau Mau, an anti-white terrorist group that formerly operated in Kenya and indicated that the Mau Mau was needed in the United States to win freedom and equality for Negroes. He also claimed that black people in America should align themselves with black people of Africa.

He also talked about the future of the OAAU indicating that it's new philosophy will be one of "alignment with Africa". He stated that the first step in this program will be to teach the Negroes to think along this line after which they can set up a definite program.

MALCOLM X also remarked that he had been asked if the newspaper "The Militant" was his paper since it gave him so much publicity. He stated that it was not his newspaper but that it was a good newspaper and urged everyone to buy and read it.

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[REDACTED]

**NY 105-8999**

**"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).**

**The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.**

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**IV. AFFILIATION WITH THE  
NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)**

Characterization of the NOI number #7 is included in the Appendix of this report.

At an NOI Mosque #23 meeting held on May 17, 1964, at Buffalo, New York, a letter received from the National Headquarters of the NOI at Chicago was read to the members. This letter concerned itself with the defection of MALCOLM X, then Minister of NOI #7 at New York City. In this letter it was stated that MALCOLM X was cautioned in 1959 that he should not appear on a radio program of the radio personality MIKE WALLACE as "The Messenger" did not such an appearance on the part of MALCOLM. According to the letter, MALCOLM X was warned that such an appearance on his part was simply an effort to build MALCOLM X up in order to "subsequently tear him down". The letter further stated that "the wrath of Allah would be brought down on MALCOLM X for his actions in first believing and then not believing in the words of Allah".

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[REDACTED]

At a meeting of the NOI, Muhammed's Mosque #17 held on May 31, 1964, at Jeliet, Illinois, members were told that they must be careful not to keep any guns or rifles around their homes because the "devil" (whiteman) is watching very close since MALCOLM X suggested the forming of rifle clubs for protection.

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[REDACTED]

ELIJAH MOHAMMED remarked on June 21, 1964, that he will never forgive MALCOLM X nor would he forget him. He said

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MALCOLM only wants revenge. ELIJAH further stated that Allah had given him 22 million people and if they follow MALCOLM, they would be the losers.

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[REDACTED] Nation of Islam

At an NOI Muhammed Mosque #2 meeting held in Chicago, Illinois, on July 15, 1964, Secretary JOHN ALI advised NOI members that the "X" has been taken from MALCOLM and he is again MALCOLM LITTLE. He stated that MALCOLM, prior to going to prison, was a thief, dope addict and a pimp.

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NOI Attempts to Evict MALCOLM X From His Residence

The "New York Journal American", local New York newspaper, dated June 3, 1964, page 8, contained an article captioned "Black Muslims Seek Eviction of Malcolm X". Excerpts from this article are as follows:

"The plaintiffs were the Black Muslims, the defendant was Malcolm X and the scene today was Queens Civil Court, Jamaica, where the Temple of Islam Mosque was trying to evict Malcolm X from his home.

"I should be before a Muslim Court; MALCOLM X said of the action that would turn him out of 23-11 97th Street, Jamaica.

"They are deviating from our religious principles in bringing me in here."

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**b7c**  
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Queens County Civil Court, advised SA [REDACTED] on June 16, 1964, that the eviction trial brought by the NOI against MALCOLM X ended at 1:30 p.m. this date. He stated that the judge hearing the case has reserved his decision which will be handed down at a later date.

"The New York Herald Tribune", a local daily New York newspaper, dated June 17, 1964, contained an article captioned "Another Month for Malcolm X". This article states that "Malcolm X gets to live in his house at 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst, Queens, for another month.

"Judge Maurice Wahl ruled in Queens Civil Court, Kew Gardens, yesterday that he could continue living there pending submission of legal briefs in the eviction proceedings brought against him by the Muhammad Temple is Islam.

"Malcolm, militant Negro nationalist, was leader of the temple until he was suspended for remarks he made about the assassination of President Kennedy.

"The temple maintains that, since he is no longer its leader, he should leave the leader's house."

The "New York World Telegram and Sun, New York daily newspaper, dated September 2, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X Ordered to Vacate Home". This article stated that Malcolm X lost his legal fight and is ordered by the Queens County Civil Court Judge MAURICE WAHL to vacate the residence at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York by January 31, 1965.

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**67D.C.** On September 3, 1964, [REDACTED] Queens County Civil Court, Queens, New York, advised SA [REDACTED] of the following:

**67D** On September 2, 1964, Civil Court Judge MAURICE WAHL issued an order requiring MALCOLM X. LITTLE to vacate his residence at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York, by January 31, 1965, inasmuch as the NOI in New York City is the legal owner of said property. [REDACTED] said this decision was based on the eviction proceedings brought by the NOI in April, 1964, based on their claim that they hold title to the property which MALCOLM X had occupied as an NOI minister, a position he no longer holds. LITTLE had responded that the residence was purchased for him personally and the title was held in trust for him by the NOI. The hearings on the matter were held during June, 1964.

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v. BREAK FROM THE NATION OF  
ISLAM (NOI)

A. Break by MALCOLM X

On June 4, 1964, MALCOLM X appeared on Radio Station WDAS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and was asked why he left the Nation of Islam. MALCOLM stated that WALLACE MUHAMMAD, son of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the one who really told him what was going on and told him to wake up and leave the organization. He said he learned from WALLACE MUHAMMAD that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD [REDACTED] leader fathered six illegitimate children by women who were secretaries at the NOI in Chicago. He said two of the women went to Phoenix and were put up in a motel in that city. Two other women were from Detroit. MALCOLM stated that JOHN ALI, National Secretary of the NOI, is currently running the NOI. He said ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's sons had him go to Phoenix so that JOHN ALI could run the organization. All members of the NOI were told to have absolutely nothing to do with MALCOLM. MALCOLM said JOHN ALI is running the organization (NOI) for one purpose and that is to get all the money out of it that he possibly can.

b7D

[REDACTED]

On June 12, 1964, MALCOLM X appeared on the PAUL VINCAQUIN's program "Conversation Piece" on Radio Station WEEI, Boston, Massachusetts. The program commenced at 2:10 p.m. and continued until 5:00 p.m. During the interview, MALCOLM stated that he was forced from the NOI because of a moral issue which he could no longer put up with and consequently severed relations with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. However, MALCOLM stated that this reason was secret and he intended to keep it a secret.

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MALCOLM stated that he realized that he could never again represent ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, knowing that one of the most high officials in the Muslim movement was the father of the children of six secretaries.

MALCOLM X was the featured speaker at a public rally held on June 14, 1964, at New York City.

MALCOLM X explained to the audience that the real reason he split with the NOI was the result of a conspiracy against him by NOI officials. LITTLE stated that he had learned that from 1956 to 1962, NOI leader ELIJAH MUHAMMAD fathered six to seven illegitimate children, the mothers being six teenage sisters who were working for MUHAMMAD as secretaries. LITTLE claimed he was shocked by this information and when he questioned MUHAMMAD regarding it, the leader attempted to claim that ALLAH had told him to do it. LITTLE stated he recently learned that MUHAMMAD was continuing these indiscretions and in order to resolve the matter in some way he told the whole story to the following NOI officials: Captain JOSEPH GRAVITT and Secretary MACEO OWENS of Mosque Number 7, New York City; Minister LEWIS of Boston, ISAIAH of Baltimore and LONNIE CROSS of Washington, D. C. According to MALCOLM, instead of helping him, these officials reported him to MUHAMMAD and they successfully conspired to oust him from the NOI.

*Nation of Islam*

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[REDACTED]

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MALCOLM X was the guest speaker at a meeting held on June 22, 1964, at a ballroom at 26 East 125th Street, New York City. At this meeting he remarked that he left the NOI because of what he learned from WALLACE MUHAMMAD concerning his father ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. MALCOLM said ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was the father of a number of illegitimate children and received money that belonged to the NOI.

MALCOLM went on to say he was put out of the NOI and was not allowed to return because he knew of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's actions. He stated the NOI wanted him to leave his home (23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, New York) and return it to the NOI. MALCOLM said he refused to do this until "they let me go before the body" that is to go before a meeting of members of the NOI and explain his reasons for leaving that organization. MALCOLM said ELIJAH MUHAMMAD was crazy with anger and fear and was coming to New York because the NOI in New York is currently behind in donations and is not selling a sufficient number of copies of "Muhammad Speaks", the NOI official newspaper. MALCOLM said that when he was Minister of the NOI at New York they were always high in donations and paper sales and that New York also supported many other temples throughout the United States. MALCOLM advised those present at the meeting and those that are out of the NOI not to see ELIJAH MUHAMMAD when he appears in New York City on June 28, 1964, explaining that members of the NOI plan to cause an incident and then blame it on MALCOLM X.

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[REDACTED] Hot Line" radio station WVON, Chicago, Illinois, made an off the cuff remark on June 25, 1964, that during a conversation with MALCOLM X, he, MALCOLM, stated that he broke with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD because of the "bastardy cases" and said there were 16 babies in all.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
An article in the June 26, 1964 issue of the "New York Post", a local New York newspaper, captioned 'MALCOLM X to ELIJAH; Let's End the Fighting". This article states "Malcolm X today called for an end to the three month dispute which has split the black Muslim movement in Harlem.

In an open letter to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, he urged an end to hostilities which threaten to flare into open warfare between the two groups, his dissidents and the parent body headed by ELIJAH. He called for unity in solving the problems of Negroes in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and other parts of the South.

"Instead of wasting all this energy fighting each other," he wrote, "we should be working in unity with other leaders and organizations in an effort to solve the very serious problems facing all Afro-Americans".

He asked ELIJAH MUHAMMAD how, since the Muslims did not resort to violence when they were attacked by "white racists" in Los Angeles, and Rochester, N. Y., they could justify declaring war on each other.

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MALCOLM X's statement came on the heels of an announcement by MUHAMMAD's followers that they had received a "tip" from one of MALCOLM's followers that plans were being made to assassinate ELIJAH MUHAMMAD when he arrives at Kennedy International Airport Sunday morning.

The dramatic announcement of the "tip" came during a press conference at the Shabazz restaurant a Muslim cafeteria at Lenox Av. and 116th St. MUHAMMAD was to have announced plans to launch "his first economic program for Black America."

~~JAMES X~~ MUHAMMAD did not appear. Instead, Minister ~~JAMES X~~, who described himself as MUHAMMAD's "representative at this time and this place," read a prepared statement dealing with a forthcoming address by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD on "economic independence for Black America."

MALCOLM X reached at his Boston hotel, denied that he or his followers were plotting to kill the Muslim leader. "I'm surprised at the accusation," he said. "No Muslim would think of assassinating MUHAMMAD. He has never been in any danger in his life.

"We don't have to kill him. What he has done will bring him to his grave."

MUHAMMAD's followers said that they would take every precaution to protect their leader. "We have our own security guards," they said. "We just want the police to know about the threat. MALCOLM wants to regain his position by killing the Messenger."

MALCOLM X scoffed at the accusation and said that the assassination threat was an excuse by MUHAMMAD to bypass the June 28th speaking engagement. "I just don't think he'll come," he said.

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The leader of the dissident Muslim group acknowledged that his followers were arming themselves but that the weapons were not for use against Negroes or Muslims. "All Negroes should own a rifle and use them to protect themselves with if the government can't do it."

The "New York Times", a local New York newspaper, dated June 27, 1964, contained an article captioned "MALCOLM X Calls for Muslim Peace". This article states that "the leader of one of two feuding Negro extremist groups here yesterday called on his rival to make peace and work with Negro leaders in the civil rights struggle."

MALCOLM X, leader of the Black Nationalist movement, urged in an open letter to ELLIJAH MUHAMMAD, the Black Muslim leader:

Instead of wasting all of this energy fighting each other, we should be working in unity and harmony with other leaders and organizations in an effort to solve the very serious problems facing all Afro-Americans. Historians would then credit us with intelligence and sincerity.

Mr. MUHAMMAD, who lives in Chicago, could not be reached, and an official in the New York office declined comment.

MALCOLM X, formerly second ranking leader in the Black Muslim movement, openly broke with Mr. MUHAMMAD March 8 and formed his own Black Nationalist organization. Since the break the two rivals have carried on a running propaganda war that has flared up several times into violent incidents between their followers.

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The "New York Times", local New York newspaper, dated June 29, 1964, contained an article captioned "MALCOLM X Repeats Call for Negro Unity on Rights". This article states that "MALCOLM X called again last night for unity among Negroes in the fight for civil rights".

He made the plea before about 600 persons at a membership drive meeting of the OAAU at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th Street and Broadway. The organization is a recently formed black nationalist group.

He did not mention in his speech the presence in the city of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the Black Muslim leader with whom he recently split. Asked to comment on Mr. MUHAMMAD, MALCOLM X replied:

"We all should band together and go to Mississippi. This is my closing message to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD: Lead us against our enemy, don't lead us against each other".

The "New York Times" dated June 30, 1964, contained an article captioned "MALCOLM Says MUHAMMAD Fails Cause of Negroes". According to this article MALCOLM X, the dissident Black Muslim criticized ELIJAH MUHAMMAD yesterday for not using his organization to fight bigotry in the South. Since breaking with the MUHAMMAD group, MALCOLM X has operated through his own Afro-American Unity Organization. ELIJAH spends his time denouncing white persons and my followers, MALCOLM declared in interview. "Why doesn't he denounce the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils? Why doesn't he send followers to Mississippi and Florida to help the Negro and white civil rights volunteers who are trying to better things there?"

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He accused the self-styled "messenger of Allah" of disservice to Negroes by his failure to join white persons in the civil rights struggle.

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the "Crusader", a weekly newspaper published on the south side of Chicago, Illinois, dated July 11, 1964, contained an article captioned "False Charge Made Against Muhammad". This article in part states National Captain RAYMOND SHARRIEFF and National Secretary JOHN ALI issued the following statement in response to reports of the Associated Press and United Press International, "We hereby give answer to the false charges made against our leader, we his followers, our nation and our once secretaries of the NOI by evil saying two former secretaries, namely EVELYN WILLIAMS and LUCILLE ROSARY who were once sweethearts of MALCOLM LITTLE. We have held our peace for sometime as we have heard the evil charges made public by MALCOLM because of his evil, jealous and malicious intention to attempt to disgrace messenger MUHAMMAD."

EVELYN WILLIAMS and MALCOLM were engaged to be married before he married the present Sister BETTY. MALCOLM tried desperately to stop or prevent the success of messenger MUHAMMAD from visiting his followers in Mosque Number 7, New York, on June 28, 1964.

On August 26, 1964 [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Atlanta, Georgia, currently on Leave of Absence, furnished the following information:

He has had no personal contact with MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) since March, 1964.

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██████████ said that from past knowledge he was confident MALCOLM X, as an individual, possessed no financial means. During the years MALCOLM X was affiliated with the Nation of Islam (NOI) he was extremely sincere in his efforts to promote the NOI and had very little interest in personally accumulating money.

b7D  
██████████ MALCOLM X's recent organizational activity and his extensive travel abroad obviously requires financial resources of greater magnitude than organizational dues collections might produce. ██████████ said he has no knowledge as to any sources of finances available to MALCOLM X. When asked what his personal opinion might be in this regard, ██████████ stated he naturally eliminated any white sources. While there are many Negroes of substantial financial means in this country, these individuals invariably are too conservative to assume they would assist MALCOLM X or the MMI. Neither is it logical to assume that any established Negro organization would be interested in supporting MALCOLM X or his organization.

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██████████ advised that in view of MALCOLM X's apparent recent interest in the African Nations, he would speculate that MALCOLM X may be receiving financial assistance from individuals or organizations in Cairo or Algiers. He emphasized, however, he had absolutely no information to support such speculations.

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██████████ referred to recent publicity concerning several illegitimate children fathered by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the leader of the NOI and the significance of this matter in the defection of MALCOLM X from the NOI in March, 1964.

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So far as [REDACTED] is aware the initial discovery of MUHAMMAD's extra marital activity was made by his son, WALLACE MUHAMMAD. Over a period of years MUHAMMAD had engaged in extra marital activity with six of nine different Negro females who MUHAMMAD had employed as secretaries. Prior to his own marriage [REDACTED] brought his present wife to MUHAMMAD for his approval. MUHAMMAD indicated a definite interest in employing [REDACTED] fiancee as a secretary.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

MALCOLM X was appalled at the revelation of MUHAMMAD's extra marital activities. This information, coupled with the restrictions imposed by MUHAMMAD upon his own activities and responsibilities, in the NOI during recent years, precipitated MALCOLM X's break with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

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[REDACTED] advised that so far as he knows MALCOLM X, [REDACTED] a Negro, currently preparing an autobiography for MALCOLM X, [REDACTED] were the only persons aware of MUHAMMAD's extra marital activities prior to recent publicity. He said he felt undoubtedly this was the reason ELIJAH MUHAMMAD did not take any drastic action against MALCOLM X regarding his defection from the NOI.

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At Washington, D. C.

Nation of Islam

At a Fruit of Islam, NOI Mosque Number 4 held on November 30, 1964, at Washington, D. C. [REDACTED] of Mosque Number 4 announced that MALCOLM X was back in the United States and that the Muslims did not want him to come to Washington, D. C. [REDACTED] stated that if MALCOLM comes to Washington, D. C. he will be beaten up either at the airport or at the arena at which he appears. [REDACTED] noted that there is only a jail sentence of 90 days for assault and battery and said that MUHAMMAD has enough money to fight such a charge for 20 years. Before 20 years comes up, however, the Muslims will be in power and the time might come when "they" will have to die for MUHAMMAD.

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The "Crusader" in its issue of December 12, 1964, on page 3, carried an article entitled, "Nation of Islam Warns Malcolm X". The article reflected as follows:

"The following open telegram was dispatched December 7, 1964, by Captain Raymond Sharrieff of the NOI of the NOI in North America to the former Malcolm X, defected from the Muslim movement.

"Mr. Malcolm we hereby officially warn you that the NOI shall no longer tolerate your scandalizing the name of our leader and teacher the Honorable ELIJAH MUHAMMAD regardless of where such scandalizing has been. Signed Captain Raymond Sharrieff, the NOI in North America".

The "Crusader" is a weekly newspaper published at 6429 South Park, Chicago, Illinois. It regularly features articles by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the messenger of ALLAH, entitled, "Mr. Muhammad Speaks".

A characterization of the Fruit of Islam is contained in the Appendix of this report.

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VI. ALLEGED THREATS AGAINST MALCOLM X

At New York

At an NOI meeting at Mosque number 7, New York City, on May 15, 1964, NOI members were told that MALCOLM X is a hypocrite and a liar if he says he adheres to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. It was mentioned that MALCOLM X used to say that he would "punch in the mouth anyone saying the wrong thing about MUHAMMAD." It goes without saying that they would do the same to him if he spoke against MUHAMMAD.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED]

A-(u)

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[REDACTED]

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On June 15, 1964, the regular meeting of the FOI was held at NOI Mosque number 7, New York City. This meeting, attended by 180 FOI members from New York and New Jersey, listened to a speech under the topic "So What If He (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD) Is Not All Pure, Look What He Did For You and I." [REDACTED] the main speaker, gave the impression that the NOI was fighting for its very life. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] brought on a few tears from the audience as he said "we should destroy MALCOLM". Later during the meeting it was remarked by an FOI Captain that "MALCOLM is not to be touched, the rest is okay." What was meant by this remark was never explained by the FOI Captain. [REDACTED] again spoke and implied that MALCOLM would eventually commit suicide. [REDACTED]

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The "New York World Telegram and Sun", a local New York daily newspaper dated June 15, 1964 contained an article captioned "MALCOLM X Death Threat Brings Heavy Court Guard." This article stated that "an anonymous threat to assassinate Black Nationalist Leader MALCOLM X brought more than a dozen police today to Queens Court in Kew Gardens where MALCOLM was battling an attempt to evict him from the East Elmhurst home.

MALCOLM attributed the threat to followers of his former leader ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, Head of the Chicago-based Black Muslim Movement.

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The action to evict MALCOLM, 39, from his home at 2311 97th Street, was brought by the Muhammad Temple of Islam maintaining the residence was given to him for the duration of his services as their minister, a post he no longer holds. MALCOLM maintains the house was an outright gift.

A member of the FOI recently instructed another FOI member that if anyone says anything unfavorable about "the messenger" (MEJAH MUHAMMAD) he should be "punched in the mouth and that if MALCOLM X did not keep his mouth shut he would be in serious trouble."

b7D [REDACTED]

The "New York Herald Tribune", a local New York daily newspaper dated June 16, 1964 contained an article captioned "Eight Guards, Thirty-two Police for MALCOLM X." In this article it is stated that the police and guards were guarding MALCOLM X because of anonymous telephone tips to the wire service and a newspaper that MALCOLM would be shot if he appeared in court for an eviction trial. MALCOLM is quoted as saying, "There is no people in the United States more able to carry out this threat than the Black Muslims. I know; I taught them myself."

"MUHAMMAD was nobody until I came to New York as his emissary," MALCOLM stated. "If they had left me alone I would not have revealed any of this."

The "New York World Telegram and Son", dated June 18, 1964, contained an article captioned "MALCOLM X Man Marked for Death." This article states in part that, "police fear that MALCOLM X is a marked man. The former East coast leader of the Black Muslims goes nowhere without police shadows and his own core of rifle-bearing bodyguards. His own adherents insist he is targeted for assassination by June 29.

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"MALCOLM is quite sure the threats against his life are coming from the Anti-white Black Muslim Cult.

"ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, leader of the Chicago-based movement, fired MALCOLM as his number one assistant last December because of a statement MALCOLM made concerning the assassination of President JOHN F. KENNEDY. MALCOLM said the KENNEDY murder was a case of 'a chicken coming home to roost.'

"However, MALCOLM insists he was not fired because of such a statement, rather, he testified in court last Monday, he was thrown out of the movement because he had 'found out' ELIJAH had fathered nine children to six different girls."

"The New York Amsterdam News", a local New York newspaper dated June 20, 1964, contained an article that MALCOLM X is in fear of his life because of the "Muslim factions at war."

MALCOLM X contacted the New York City Police Department on July 7, 1964 and advised them that an attempt was made on his life that day. (u)

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[REDACTED]

MALCOLM X contacted the New York City Police Department on July 3, 1964, and advised them that he was returning home alone in his car at 11:30 PM the same date and stopped in front of his home at 33-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, New York, when two unknown Negro males approached his car and touched the door at which time he sped away, drove around the block and returned to his residence and the two unknown Negro males were nowhere in sight.

A police guard was placed in front of MALCOLM's home until 4:00 PM, July 4, 1964. It is believed that the

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complaint of MALCOLM X was a publicity stunt since he apparently notified the wire and news service as well as the police department about the incident. X(u)

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[REDACTED]

b7C

MALCOLM X was contacted on July 5, 1964 [REDACTED] who advised MALCOLM that orders to kill him, MALCOLM, have come from Chicago and that witnesses can be furnished if MALCOLM wants to take the NOI to court. X(u)

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[REDACTED]

At Boston, Massachusetts

b7D

On June 12, 1964, [REDACTED] Boston, Massachusetts, advised that at approximately 1:40 PM on the same date [REDACTED] had received an anonymous phone call concerning MALCOLM X. The caller stated that "MALCOLM X is going to be bumped off."

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[REDACTED] advised that police were sent to guard MALCOLM X who was appearing on a radio program, Station WEEI at 182 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts from 2:10 PM until 5:00 PM and at 10:00 PM the same date MALCOLM X was to appear on Radio Station WMEX, Boston.

MALCOLM X appeared on the JERRY WILLIAMS Radio Program on WMEX, Boston, from 10:00 PM, June 12, 1964, to 1:00 AM, June 12, 1964. WILLIAMS introduced MALCOLM X as the former spokesman for ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and the Muslims. He stated he understood several threats had been made on MALCOLM's life that day and MALCOLM stated that several threats had been made on his life during the last five months. MALCOLM then remarked that recently on a radio program in Chicago known as "Hot Line", JOHN ALI, National Secretary of the Muslims had been asked by a telephone caller if it was true that the Muslim Movement was trying to kill MALCOLM X. According to

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MALCOLM, JOHN ALI replied that they were trying to kill MALCOLM X and that he should be killed.

At Chicago, Illinois

At an FOI meeting held at Muhammad University of Islam number 2 on May 11, 1964 at Chicago, Illinois, members were told that MALCOLM X was sending his lieutenants into the Chicago area attempting to "draft brothers." FOI members were told that if any of MALCOLM's lieutenants approached them to go along with them and find out what they wanted and report back to the NOI Headquarters, Mosque number 2. FOI members were told to find out what MALCOLM X is up to and if his men say they are Muslim's and start trouble they can make us look bad. The members were told that if MALCOLM X and his followers are looking for trouble we will be ready for them.

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[REDACTED]

At Richmond, Virginia

At an NOI MUHAMMAD Mosque number 24 meeting held on June 17, 1964 at Richmond, Virginia, NOI Minister NICHOLS from Washington, D.C., when addressing the members of Mosque number 24, stated that MALCOLM X really should be killed for teaching against ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, Nationalist NOI Leader.

NICHOLS stated MALCOLM X has "white devils" as well as black men IN his "organization" which is wrong and he accused MALCOLM of attempting to take away MUHAMMAD followers from the NOI.

Member NOI

67D

[REDACTED]

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Alleged Threat By MALCOLM X

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An FOI meeting of MUHAMMAD Mosque #23, was held at 192 Broadway, Buffalo, New York, on June 29, 1964. The meeting was opened by [REDACTED] who spoke on his recent trip to New York City in the latter part of June, 1964. [REDACTED] stated that MALCOLM X had telephoned an FOI membership meeting in New York City on the night of June 27, 1964 and said that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD would be killed if he came to New York City on June 28, 1964.

b7D

[REDACTED]  
member: Nation of Islam

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VII. RELATIONSHIP WITH SUBVERSIVE  
ORGANIZATIONS

A. Affiliation with the Socialist  
Workers Party (SWP)

MALCOLM X was the speaker at a SWP sponsored "Militant Labor Forum" held on April 7, 1964, at New York City.

b7D

[REDACTED]

The New York SWP held a meeting on April 8, 1964, at New York City. At this meeting, it was stated that the main activities of the New York Local, SWP include activities on behalf of the SWP candidates for President and Vice President during the forthcoming 1964 elections. Also the SWP activities are to include an attempt to infiltrate the Negro organization being formed by MALCOLM X. In this regard, the Party (SWP) is aiming toward the more militant type of Negro which they (SWP) feel MALCOLM X will recruit as perspective further Party members.

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[REDACTED]

A meeting of the SWP was held on May 25, 1964, at SWP headquarters, 116 University Place, New York City. At this meeting there was a general discussion around the latest trends in the nationalist thinking and how the Party may best

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exploit it. In general, the conclusion of everyone attending this meeting seemed to be that it was necessary to follow a wait and see policy, especially regards to the next move made by MALCOLM X and the outcome of the formation of other movements in the Harlem area.

b7D

[REDACTED]

A Militant Labor Forum was sponsored by the SWP on May 29, 1964, at SWP headquarters, New York City. At a symposium on the topic "What's Behind the Harlem Hate-Gang Scare?", MALCOLM was introduced as a last minute speaker, substituting for one of the members of his organization, the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI).

MALCOLM said he visited North African countries on a recent trip. He said that ideas of socialism were accepted everywhere by the people and their leaders. MALCOLM said that these countries shy away from capitalism as represented by the former imperialist rule.

He also stated that he was asked in all countries he visited about the existence of the "blood brothers". According to MALCOLM, he replied that he wished that we all were "blood brothers". He said that we are all human beings and there was nothing wrong in claiming to be "blood brothers".

MALCOLM said when he came back to the United States, he found it more divided by racial hatred than any country he had visited. He said that it would be a healthier society with more brotherhood and said the "blood brothers" were a good idea but the way it was presented to the press made it appear he was in favor of violence.

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[REDACTED]

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On May 29, 1964, a Militant Labor Forum was held at SWP Headquarters, at New York City. The topic of discussion was "The Harlem Hate Gangs". MALCOLM, a guest speaker at this forum, stated that the Negroes have the right to use force to remove any blockage of attaining their rights.

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[REDACTED]

MALCOLM X was in attendance at a Militant Labor Forum sponsored by the SWP on May 29, 1964, at New York City. At this forum, MALCOLM remarked that the Negroes had the right to use whatever force was necessary to gain their rights.

He then told those attending the forum about his trip to Mecca and his acceptance among the Muslims. He described how some said that his movement "could not do" because they were too few. MALCOLM X said the same was mentioned regarding the revolutions of (1) Algeria and now the French have to negotiate with BEN BELLA; (2) also as regards to China, which started with eleven persons now they control 800 million people or; (3) CASTRO, who now cannot be dislodged by the mighty USA.

MALCOLM X went on to say that the black man will not wait any longer for his rights, not getting them for 350 years, there will be no policy of turning the other cheek. There will be no sit-ins, no leg-ins, no pray-ins. The law has been defined by the United States Supreme Court and still the Negro has to fight for his civil rights. "The days of non-violence are over. There will be no race riots, but race wars".

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[REDACTED]

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Just prior to the beginning of an open SWP forum held on June 12, 1964, at New York City, a discussion was held by persons attending the forum in which it was remarked that they came to the wrong place for assistance because the "Freedom Now Party" is doing nothing in New York. It was suggested that MALCOLM X should be contacted and have him come to Newark (New Jersey) to make a speech if they want to get something started.

b7D [REDACTED]

A meeting of the SWP was held on June 25, 1964, at SWP headquarters, New York City. At this meeting, it was announced that a rally for ELIJAH MUHAMMAD would be held the following Sunday which would enable the SWP to sell the "Militant" and get some of the sponsors of MUHAMMAD despite the fact that the SWP supports MALCOLM X in the Muslim dispute. Also discussed at this meeting was the development of the black nationalist sentiment in the Negro communities. Interest was expressed in the plans of MALCOLM X which are supposed to be announced the following Sunday at MALCOLM X's regular meeting in Harlem. It was also mentioned that MALCOLM X predicted great opportunities for radicals in the mood of depression that is now sweeping and will continue to sweep the black ghettos. It was stated that because of these conditions, the SWP must find the means to reach these masses.

b7D [REDACTED]

The "New York Amsterdam News", a New York Negro newspaper dated July 18 1964, page 10, in part states "Clifton De Berry, Socialist Workers Party, candidate for President, has come out in favor of MALCOLM X's newly formed organization of Afro-American Unity.

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The July 13, 1964 edition of the SWP newspaper, "The Militant" contains a front page article announcing the formation of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) at the June 28, 1964 meeting. On the second page of "The Militant" is set out the aims and purposes of the OAAU. Page 2 also contained an article on the New York campaign for SWP presidential candidate CLIFTON DE BERRY in which the latter is quoted as saying "We welcome formation of the OAAU by Minister MALCOLM X and other black militants, as a giant step toward the real black revolution in America."

At Chicago, ILL.

A meeting of the Chicago branch of the SWP was held at SWP headquarters on April 20, 1964, at Chicago, Illinois. At this meeting, an educational report consisted of a taped speech by MALCOLM X.

b7D [REDACTED]

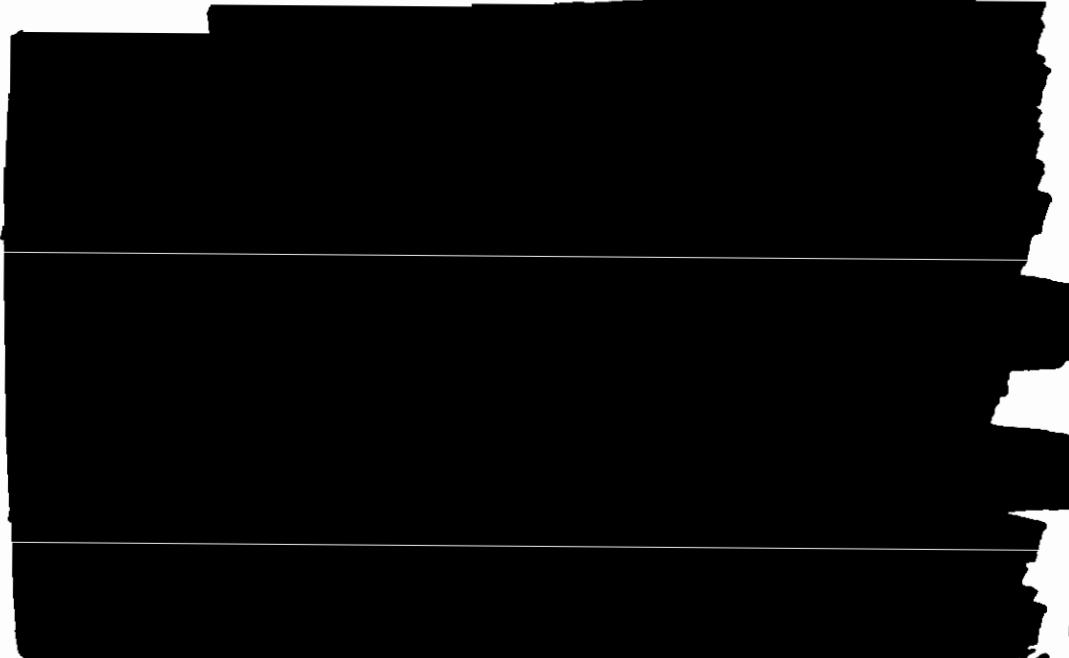
A meeting of the Chicago branch, SWP was held at SWP headquarters in March, 1964, at Chicago, Illinois. The educational committee of the SWP played a tape recording of MALCOLM X's speech at a New York Militant Labor Forum. MALCOLM X has spoken in favor of black nationalism and went on to say that he was not going to applaud or praise any white man for doing anything for him or his people because they are too late.

b7D [REDACTED]

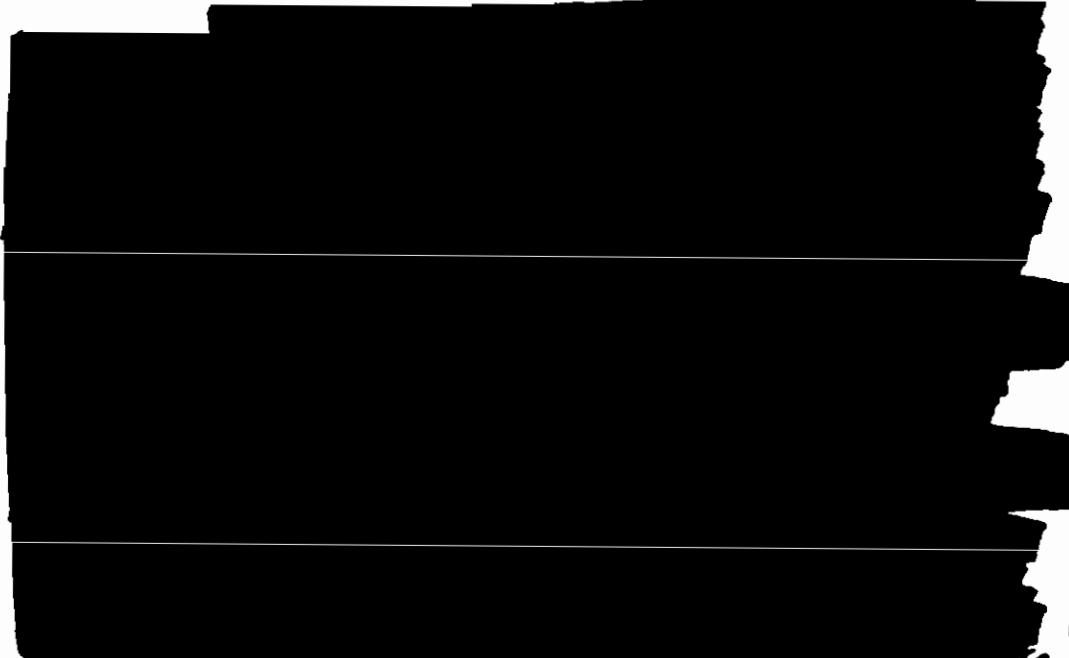
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At a meeting of the Chicago branch of the SWP held on May 18, 1964, at SWP headquarters, Chicago, Illinois, it was announced in the youth report at this meeting that the youth were planning to sell "The Militant" at a MALCOLM X debate to be held at the Chicago City Theater on May 27, 1964 at Chicago.

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A horizontal redaction mark consisting of several short, thick black bars.

(c)

At Newark, New Jersey

A SWP membership meeting was held June 7, 1964, at Newark, New Jersey. At this meeting, it was agreed that SWP members would contact the group

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supporting MALCOLM X in the Newark area and cooperate with them in all activities where possible. It was also remarked that MALCOLM X was a guest speaker at the New York SWP where he supported the SWP and appealed to the people to support "The Militant".

50 [REDACTED]

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B. Affiliation With The Communist N.  
Party, USA

At a meeting of the Southern California District CP, <sup>Mar 1</sup>  
held on May 12, 1964, at Los Angeles, California, BOB THOMPSON,  
a CP spokesman from New York, spoke at this meeting on the  
activities in the New York area dealing mainly with civil  
rights. THOMPSON mentioned that MALCOLM X is the official  
spokesman for the organization "ACT." According to THOMPSON,  
MALCOLM X instructed members of "ACT" not to leave their own  
organizations, but remain in them, and influence the thinking  
of the organization. MALCOLM X, according to THOMPSON, advocates  
the next stage of the struggle is arms. THOMPSON further  
stated that more organizations will emerge as has in  
the past, which were not civil rights organizations at their  
beginning, but eventually find themselves in the civil rights  
orbit.

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[REDACTED]

ACT

As a guest of the "BOB KENNEDY Show," over  
Radio Station WBZ, Boston, Massachusetts, on  
March 24, 1964, MALCOLM X, during an interview,  
advised that on February 14, 1964, he attended  
a civil rights conference in Chester, Pennsylvania.  
According to MALCOLM X, persons attending this  
conference were Negro entertainer DICK GREGORY  
and civil rights leaders from New York City,

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Cambridge, Maryland, Chester, Pennsylvania, and Chicago, Illinois. MALCOLM X said this group formed an organization known as ACT. He stated that although the initials mean nothing, the group is designed to act at any time, anywhere, to bring about results in the civil rights efforts. MALCOLM X claimed that this group is not committed to positive resistance. He said the chairman of this group is Mr. LAWRENCE LANDRY of Chicago, Illinois, who led the recent school boycott in Chicago.

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On June 13, 1964, MALCOLM X attended a meeting with [REDACTED] Negro entertainers [REDACTED] RUBY [REDACTED] and others. The meeting was held at [REDACTED] residence in upstate New York.  
b7D [REDACTED]

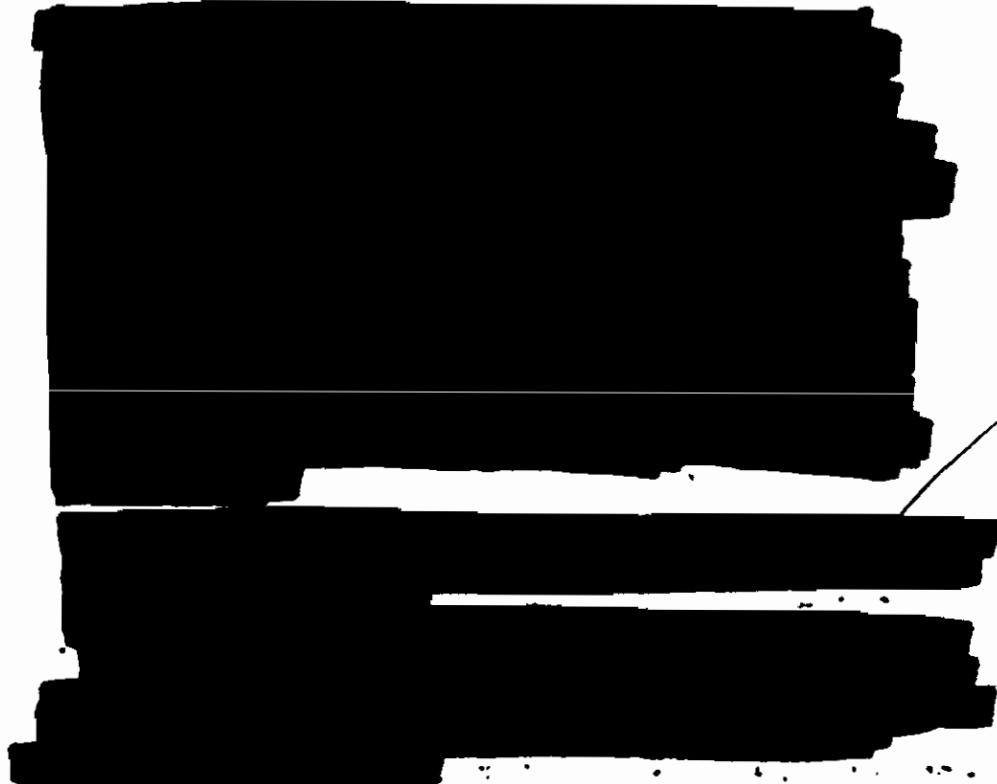
b7C  
[REDACTED]

MALCOLM X had returned home on May 22, 1964 from a tour of Africa where he claimed to have obtained the support of unnamed African countries to take the United States civil rights problem to the UN. X  
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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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On June 13, 1964, CLARENCE JONES contacted OSSIE DAVIS and stated 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 UN." JONES stated he thought that 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 X's idea is to bring the Negro question before the UN to internationalize the whole question and bring it before the whole world. (u)

JONES stated that "we should present the plight of the Negro to the United Nations General Assembly in September of this year." X (u)

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OSSIE DAVIS said "This time we won't make the same mistake WILLIAM PATTERSON made 10 years ago." According to JONES, MALCOLM X should "assume the responsibility of making the foreign arrangements as he's been there."

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[REDACTED] contacted MALCOLM X on October 29, 1964, at New York. [REDACTED] told MALCOLM X how much he liked his comments on the statement of principal on Afro-American unity and commented that this would change the political power status. [REDACTED] asked MALCOLM X to send him a printed copy of the statement [REDACTED] remarked that he planned to write to the "New York Times" concerning this matter and considered doing an article. [REDACTED] then mentioned that many civil rights people are not aware of what MALCOLM X is trying to do.

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[REDACTED] offered all of his services to MALCOLM X. MALCOLM X stated [REDACTED] that his recent meeting had been taped [REDACTED] suggested that it should be transcribed and printed. [REDACTED] offered to get MALCOLM X's speeches printed at no cost to him.

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The Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the American Youth Congress, and the National Negro Congress have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Freedomways" is contained in the Appendix section of this report.

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VIII. FOREIGN TRAVEL OF MALCOLM X

To Africa, April 13, 1964  
through May 21, 1964

On May 21, 1964, Supervisor JOHN ADAMS, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), John F. Kennedy (JFK) International Airport, New York, advised that MALCOLM X. LITTLE, Passport Number C294275, using the name MALIK EL SHABAZZ arrived in the United States at 4:25 p.m., aboard Pan American flight 115 from Paris, France.

WD On July 13, 1964, [REDACTED] furnished an itinerary of MALCOLM X during his trip to Africa which indicated the following schedule:

April 13, 1964	He departed the United States for Cairo, Egypt.
April 14 to May 5, 1964	In Cairo, United Arab Republic, Beirut, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, where he completed pilgrimage to Mecca.
May 6, 1964	In Lagos, Nigeria.
May 8, 1964	In Ibadan, Nigeria.
May 10, 1964	In Accra, Ghana.
May 18, 1964	Morocco.
May 19, 1964	In Algiers.
May 21, 1964	Returned to the United States.

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At Ibadan, Nigeria:

made available on May 27, 1964  
A copy of the newspaper "Pilot" datelined Ibadan, Nigeria, dated May 8, 1964, contained an article of an interview with MALCOLM X. According to this article MALCOLM X stated "United States Peace Corps are spies. They are missionaries of neo-colonialism and although white American Peace Corps were dangerous, enough to invoke protest from any country they were operating, Negro American Peace Corps were more dangerous and objectional." This article also stated that MALCOLM X remarked that the "Negroes in Peace Corps were being used by the American Government to place a wedge between American Negroes and Africans with views towarding concept of Africianization of Negroes".

MALCOLM X added "Peace Corps has been instructed to present such a repugnant image of American Negroes to the extent that Africans would be compelled to be unsympathetic to Negro causes in America."

MALCOLM X arrived in Ibadan, Nigeria on May 8, 1964. He visited the university of Ibadan where he spoke before an audience of from 400 to 500 persons sponsored by the National Union of Nigerian Students. Excerpts from MALCOLM's speech are as follows:

"Our little chat will be informal. I speak for those Negro Americans who have been oppressed for 400 years and are still oppressed today in 1964. The American propagandists have tried to tell you that American Negroes are not interested in Africa and Africans are not interested in American Negroes.

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"Many of you who think the black man has been emancipated in America, just go there and visit without your national costume and you will be subject to unheard of indignities. Don't misunderstand me, I'm not here to condemn America.

"The black man has been so victimized in America that we don't even like each other. We have lost our self-respect. Even if a Negro graduates from Yale, Harvard or Columbia, he don't know who he is. He has been trained to ignore who he is. He has been taught that he has no cultural background. He has not been educated. He has been trained like a dog. They have killed us morally. They have made drunkards out of us, they have made drug addicts out of us.

"Three people are responsible for the Negro loss of identity; the slave trader, the slave master and the slave maker, etc. The government of the United States is a government of the white people by the white people and for the benefit of the white people".

MALCOLM further stated that "if the Americans are so opposed to the African Americans having their freedom and civil rights why are they doing so much to help the African nations by sending money, technicians and Peace Corps volunteers here?"

MALCOLM responded "I should think the answer to that question is obvious from the conditions described in it. They have the same thing in mind. Remember, the white man is the greatest hate teacher who ever walked the face of the earth."

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[redacted] advised on May 27, 1964 that the reactions on the campus of the university on MALCOLM's speech was mixed. According to a South African Cape professor who condemned the performance as being worse than that of "Verwoerd" (Prime Minister HENDRIK F. VERWOERD of South Africa) and that those attending became highly inflamed by the vitrol which was the worst that had been seen during the professor's nine years on the campus of the University of Ibadan.

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[redacted] made available information taken from the Nigerian "Daily Express", dated May 11, 1964 which carried the report of an exclusive interview with MALCOLM X held in Ibadan, Western Nigeria in which "the black Muslim leader reportedly called on all 'African countries' to take a firm stand against the human rights violation of the 22 million Negroes in the United States in the same way as they would in the case of South Africa". X (S)(u)

According to the interview "Malcolm X also urged African states to bring the problem of black Negroes in the United States to the notice of the United Nations in the same way as the African states would in the case of Mongolia and South Africa. X (S)(u)

"Malcolm X said his movement was determined to change the image of Negroes in the United States to a positive one with a view to restoring 'our cultural identity and building up communication and understanding of black Muslims in the United States and African countries'. X (S)(u)

"Malcolm X said he wanted to establish a Black Peace Corps which would carry black culture to all African nations". X (S)(u)

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"Malcolm X denied that he had described members of the peace corps in Nigeria as spies but admitted that they were 'missionaries of old who are paving the way for neo-colonialism'". (S)(u)

b7D  
At Accra, Ghana

[redacted] advised on June 11, 1964 that MALCOLM X arrived in Accra, Ghana on May 11, 1964. He was not officially invited to Ghana by the Ghanaian Government but came at the invitation of the "Marxist Forum", a new student organization in the University of Ghana. He did not have an interview with President NKRUMAH nor did the government hold any official reception for him. (S)(u)

During his visit, MALCOLM spoke to the Association of Ghanaian Journalists and gave a lecture at the University of Ghana entitled "Will Africa Ignite America's Racial Powder Keg?". He also spoke before the students of Kwame Kkrumah Ideological Institute and to an informal group of Parliament members. (S)(u)

MALCOLM emphasized the following basic themes during his tour to Ghana. (S)(u)

1. The Negroes were stolen from Africa and forced to forget their culture and traditions, yet they never have been accepted into American society. (S)(u)

2. The Christian religion has been used to oppress Negroes and encourage them to accept an inferior position.

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3. Force is the only possible way to achieve equality. ~~X~~

4. The United States is the "master of imperialism" without whose support other imperialistic nations could not exist. ~~X~~

5. White America is guilty of dehumanizing the American Negro and putting him to death as a human being. ~~X~~

6. If America is not interested in human rights in America, how can she be interested in human rights in Africa? The American Government should not send the Peace Corps to Africa, they should send them to Mississippi and Alabama. ~~X~~

7. The only difference between apathy in South Africa and racism in the United States is that "while South Africa preaches and practices segregation, the United States preaches integration and practices segregation." ~~X~~

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At a press conference held on May 21, 1964, at the Hotel Theresa at New York City, MALCOLM X, who had just returned from a tour to Africa, stated that he had been in contact with many leaders in Africa and that he hopes to receive some support from some of the leaders of the various countries in Africa. He stated that he is still a Muslim but was not working with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

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The New York "Herald Tribune", local New York City newspaper, dated May 22, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X Objective - African Aid for Negroes". This article stated:

"Malcolm X, who seceded from the Black Muslims to organize his own black nationalist movement, said yesterday he will try to bring the numerous Negro civil rights groups of the nation into a united front in an effort to win support in the United Nations from the African nations.

"In a press conference at the Hotel Theresa, 125th St. and Seventh Ave., he said he would soon call a private meeting, 'secret if necessary', of various Negro leaders to form a single civil rights organization.

"The ultimate purpose, he explained, is to bring 'the plight of Afro-American Negroes' before the United Nations.

"He said leaders of African nations he had talked to told him they would help the civil rights movement in America if the Negroes here 'form a single group, no matter how loosely'. He recently returned from a trip to Africa.

"As the best method of winning recognition for American Negroes, he said: 'We'll try one method. If that doesn't work, then we'll try another. And if that doesn't work, then we'll try another, that's all.'

"He refused to elaborate or explain what 'that's all' meant."

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The New York "Amsterdam News", local New York Negro newspaper, dated May 23, 1964, contained an article captioned "Is Mecca Trip Changing Malcolm X?". This article in part states:

"Has the visit of Malcolm X, now El Hajj Malik El Shabbazz, to Mecca and with Muslim leaders in Africa changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious?

"This is the feeling of this reporter following receipt of a newsletter this week from Nigeria in which Malcolm, who is due to return to New York next week, said that he was being received with warm hospitality throughout Africa where he said 'they love us as their long - lost brothers.'

"Asserting that his trip to Mecca had officially established his new religious Muslim Mosque, Inc., at the Hotel Theresa, Malcolm said his trip had also established that Africans are interested in the plight of the nation's 22 million African Americans.

"A possible clue to Malcolm's suspected change in his militant racial attitudes was seen in a newsletter received this week by the Amsterdam News.

"As far as the Muslims of Asia, Arabia, and even Europe, are concerned, in regards to the plight of the 22 million African-Americans, the Koran compels all people who accept the Islam religion to take a firm stand on the side of anyone whose human rights are being violated, no matter what the religious persuasion of the victims may be.

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"Fresh from a visit to the Muslim holy city of Mecca and a tour of several African nations, Malcolm X is scheduled to return to New York Thursday afternoon, May 21, to launch a drive urging closer ties between American Negroes and Africans.

"Malcolm hinted his new philosophy in a letter to the Amsterdam News in which he said that 'We can learn much from the strategy used by the American Jews. They have never migrated physically to Israel, yet their cultural, philosophical and psychological ties to Israel has enhanced their political, economic and social position right there in America.

"'Pan Africanism will do for people of African decent all over the world the same that Zionism has done for Jews all over the world,' Malcolm wrote.

"Malcolm's letters to this newspaper during his almost two months in Africa indicate something of a change in his position to work for closer ties with civil rights leaders and a lessening of his anti-white attitudes. During his visit to Mecca he was the guest of the government for 12 days and was treated as a dignitary in most of the places he traveled, his letters asserted."

On May 23, 1964, MALCOLM X appeared on "Kup's Show", channel 7-TV, Chicago, Illinois. On the panel show he was asked if he was able to get into Mecca, a closed city by his own identification or did he have to pass some kind of test to prove that he was a Muslim.

MALCOLM said he arrived in Cairo about 3:00 in the morning and his inability to speak Arabic plus his American passport made him automatically a suspect. So he was taken from the group that he originally started out from Cairo with and placed

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in a compound which has been built there in Jeddah which houses all of the incoming pilgrims, and he thought about 90,000 came in this year by plane alone. He was put in this place and he had to admit he was worried because he couldn't communicate. And he stayed there about 20 hours and he was in a haram (phonetic) which is a two-piece towel outfit. Your waist from the belt downward is wrapped in one towel and from the waist upward in another. And after being in this particular plight for about 20 hours, he recalled that Dr. SCHWARBE (phonetic) from New York had given him a book that had been sent to him by ~~ABDARAKMAN AZAM~~ (phonetic). The name of the book is "The Eternal Message of Muhammad." And I recalled, so I called his son and after reaching his son, his son came to the place where he was and used his authority to get him released, get my passport. He took him to his home where he met ~~AZAM PARSZA~~ (phonetic), and he gave him his suite at the Jeddah Palace Hotel and the next morning he was visited by the son of Prince FAISAL (phonetic), MUHAMMAD FAISAL (phonetic). He informed him that he was to be a state guest so that the remaining 12 days that he was in Arabia, he was a guest of state. They gave him a car -- they placed a car at his disposal, gave him a guide -- a mualam (phonetic), and a chauffeur and made it possible, after going before the highest committee of the court, for him to travel back and forth between Mecca and Jeddah and Medina almost at will. He was given the highest honor and respect and hospitality that a visitor could receive anywhere.

Question:

"Outside of this honor and respect, did your religious beliefs as a former follower of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD qualify you as a Moslem by their standards? Are the two religions similar?

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"Well, as I said, I went before the highest committee, the Grand Court, which passes on whether or not you can enter Mecca, and I know what the religion of Islam teaches and I answered the questions asked of me accordingly. And, in fact, the only qualification for entering Mecca is if you bear witness (here he recites some foreign words), which means I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and MUHAMMAD is his Apostle, plus other questions that I was asked. I had no trouble. Besides, Prince FAISAL had given me his Deputy Chief of Protocol who went with me before the Court and acted as my interpreter. So I had no trouble at all."

The New York "Amsterdam News" dated May 30, 1964, contained an article captioned "'My Next Move' -- 'Malcolm X an Exclusive Interview'. According to this article, MALCOLM X is "asserting that most Negroes and Negro organizations 'have a very narrow approach to the whole race question', Malcolm will shortly launch a new national organization to work in the political, economic, and social areas in the struggle for Negro advancement.

"We hope within the next eight days to make known the aims and objectives of this organization which will be open for the participation of all Negroes, and we will be willing to accept the support of people of all races.' Malcolm told the Amsterdam News in an exclusive interview.

"Fresh from a five-weeks trip to Africa, the black nationalist leader said the new organization would be a chance where Negroes can help themselves.

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"We don't want white people to think we need them, but if whites want to help, good. If they don't want to help, that's good too,' he said.

"The first major objective of the new group, he asserted, would be to get the case of the American Negro before the United Nations this fall, indicating that during his travels in Africa he received strong encouragements that this was highly possible.

"During my travels I told Africans that they could not justify their indictments of racism in South Africa and Angola and at the same time keep a closed mouth to situations against the 22 million black Americans.' Malcolm said.

"He stated that his trip had helped him to become more aware that most Negro organizations and leaders see the race problem only 'in the scope of their own organizations and individual selves. This new organization intends to make it possible for Negroes to form one solid front,' the former Black Muslim leader declared.

"Regarding his future, Malcolm said he would work on formation of the new organization for the time being.

"He blasted back at officials who have sought to link him with the so-called 'blood brothers' asserting that 'these officials should be worrying about the crooks roaming their boroughs. If they can indict me through their statements, perhaps we need some blood brothers.'"

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On [REDACTED] 1964, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of a letter written by MALCOLM X from Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, dated April 20, 1964, which stated that during his pilgrimage to Mecca, he observed many white persons who displayed the spirit of unity and brotherhood that he did not believe could ever have existed based on his previous American experience. He stated that America needs to understand Islam because it is the one religion that erases the race problem from society. He also stated that if whites and non-whites would accept Islam, they would become changed people since it removes racism, and all members thus automatically accept each other as brothers and sisters. He went on in the letter to state "you may be shocked at these words coming from me" and he added that his pilgrimage has taught him that if Islam can replace the spirit of true brotherhood in the hearts of whites, he has met there, it can also remove the "cancer of racism" from the heart of white America.

Travel to Africa From July 9, 1964 to November 14, 1964

On July 6, 1964, MALCOLM X using the name HAJJ MALIK EL SHADAZZ with Passport number C294275, purchased a one way ticket to Cairo, Egypt via London, England. He was scheduled to depart from JFK International Airport, New York, on July 9, 1964, aboard Trans World Airlines (TWA) flight 700, due to arrive in London, England, 7:30 a.m., July 10, 1964. He was scheduled to depart London, England, 3:30 p.m., July 1, 1964, aboard United Arab Airlines, flight 790 to Cairo, Egypt. MALCOLM failed to make return reservations or airline bookings when he arrived in Cairo for his return trip to the United States.

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MALCOLM stated he would be in Africa for approximately five weeks. While in London he was scheduled to meet with an unknown representative of the Islamic Center of London. While in Cairo he is to meet with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is alleged to be the son of [REDACTED] the head of the Islamic Center in New York.

b7D [REDACTED]  
b7D [REDACTED]  
b7D [REDACTED]  
On July 9, 1964, [REDACTED] JFK International Airport, New York, advised that MALCOLM X departed at 8:00 p.m., July 9, 1964, aboard TWA flight 700 for London, England, ultimately destined to Cairo, Egypt.

The "New York Times", dated July 10, 1964, contained an article on MALCOLM X's departure which indicated he intended to be an observer in Cairo at the meeting of 33 African nations belonging to the organization of African Unity. According to the article, MALCOLM planned to lobby to get these leaders to take the question of the treatment of Negroes in America to the United Nations. He also planned another trip to Mecca and intended to obtain Muslim religious support in his quarrel with the Nation of Islam.

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[redacted] advised that the ticket and expenses for MALCOLM X's trip to Africa - being paid for by an unidentified person in Cairo.

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On [redacted] 1964, [redacted] advise that it is believed that the sister of MALCOLM X in Boston, Massachusetts, ELLA COLLINS, a former NOI member, has furnished money to MALCOLM X for his trip to Africa.

*7/14/64 - 1151 AM*  
The "New York News", a local New York daily newspaper, dated July 12, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X on to Cairo". This article, datelined London, July 11, stated "Malcolm X left here by air for Cairo today to attend a meeting of the organization for African unity as an observer .

"Speaking to our reporters at the airport the extremist American Negro leader called for the Negro problem in the United States to be brought before the United Nations.

"He arrived here from the United States yesterday. He said that during his 24 hour stay here 'I have had talks with African and other Muslims all of whom realize that our problem in America is serious enough for it to be brought before the United Nations.

"And if the United States problem cannot be considered because it is a domestic matter then neither should South Africa nor Angolia".

An article in the "New York World Telegram and Sun", local New York newspaper, dated July 10, 1964, captioned "Malcolm X Flies to African Parlay". This article stated that "Malcolm X, the former black Muslim official who has formed his own Negro nationalist organization was on his way to Egypt today as a self-appointed spokesman for America's 22 million Negroes.

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"MALCOLM, who recently announced the formation of the organization of African American Unity and appointed himself Chairman, said at Kennedy Airport last night that he will attend a conference on the organization of African nations in Cairo as an "unofficial observer".

At Cairo, Egypt

The "New York Times", dated July 14, 1964, captioned "Malcolm X in Cairo Says He'll See African Leaders". This article datelined Cairo, July 13, states "Malcolm X the black nationalist leader said today that he had come to attend a meeting of the council of ministers of the Organization of African Unity as an observer. He arrived yesterday.

"He said he intended to acquaint African heads of state 'with the true plight of America's Negroes and thus show them how our situation is as much a violation of the United Nations human rights charter as the situation in Africa and Mongolia".

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It is to be noted that the 1964 New York Telephone Directory reflects that telephone number MU 4-5250 is listed to the Zanzibar Mission to the United Nations at 330 East 33rd Street, New York City.

The "New York Journal American", dated August 5, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X and the Red Chinese" written by VICTOR RIESEL. This article datelined Cairo stated that:

"Malcolm X, whom the Chinese Communists call the 'chairman of the Afro-American unity organization,' spent a considerable amount of his time in the presence of international Communist propagandists here.

"Not only did he endorse the rioting back home, but he publicly called for retaliation against the white community. He said the time had come to meet 'violence with violence; an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.'

"He prepared a series of inflammatory anti-U.S. documents here on the pretext of presenting them to the recent meeting of the Organization of African Unity, and it was reported across the world that he attended the conference. This is nonsense. He did not get near the parley. He was not accredited to it.

"Malcolm X was not at any of the conference sessions. I was informed that it's ridiculous' and 'undignified' to think for a moment that anyone such as Malcolm X would be heard by the African counterpart of the Organization of American States.

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"Malcolm X's activity here was strictly a propaganda operation which he set up at the Hotel Semiramis, where some newsmen gathered. He made certain that his violent anti-U.S. diatribes were put in the hands of the Chinese Communist correspondents planted here by the New China News Agency.

"But when Malcolm X wanted to be with his pro-Communist friends he came over to the Hotel Omar Khayam, a former palace. I vouch for this personally. I was there when he met Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois, widow of the late Dr. W. E. DuBois, in the lobby. When the aged Dr. DuBois died recently, he was a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and had switched his citizenship to Ghana.

"Hotel Omar Khayam was also the headquarters of the violently anti-U.S., pro-Communist Ghanaian delegation to the African States' conference. On Thursday, July 16 Malcolm X and his frequent companion, Mrs. DuBois, met for hours in the garden restaurant of the hotel.

"Mrs. DuBois and her late husband spent much time in Peking. They were frequent guests of Mao-Tse-tung. Dr. DuBois delivered many anti-U.S. speeches which were broadcast across the world by the powerful Chinese mainland radio.

"Mrs. DuBois has long been active in world Communist circles. Her background is important here to show the strange inter-weaving of characters now attempting to infiltrate and agitate the Negro communities of the U.S.

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"Mrs. DuBois knew the Castro brothers, Fidel and Raoul, in Mexico as far back as the late '40s. She now is associated with the pro-Communist 'Freedomways', a publication allegedly devoted to the Negroes.

"In the past few years she has been a prolific writer in defense of the pro-Communist dictatorial state of Ghana.

"Intelligence agents of several countries now are eager to learn just how Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X made contact with such Communist activists as Mrs. DuBois. Of considerable interest is the source of Malcolm X's funds now that the Muslims under Elijah Muhammad have declared war on him.

"Malcolm X has been making expensive and extensive trips across Africa. I ran into his trail in several cities - especially in Ibadan, Nigeria, where he delivered speeches so anti-U.S. so incendiary, that they could be printed only on asbestos.

"It is also being noticed that the Chinese Communist broadcasts have been featuring him and his splinter sect.

"Why?"

MACOLM X was in Cairo, Egypt on August 17, 1964.

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At Kuwait

**b7C** Chief Security Branch,  
Legal Division, Passport Office, Department of  
State, Washington, D. C., on September 30, 1964,  
advised SA [REDACTED] that MALCOLM LITTLE  
called the United States Embassy at Kuwait on  
September 29, 1964, in order to obtain a health  
certificate which he states was lost in Saudi  
Arabia. This certificate was issued to MALCOLM X  
and he departed from Kuwait on September 29,  
1964, for a one day trip to Khartoum. He was  
then to proceed to Ethiopia for several days.

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At Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika.] X(u)

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[REDACTED] advised on October 12, 1964  
that MALCOLM X arrived at "DAR" (Dar-es-Salaam)  
the weekend of October 10 and 11, 1964, and gave  
an exclusive interview to (Arab) nationalists. (S)(u)

His main points under headlines  
"Malcolm X Raps USA" was that the American State  
Department is 'creating' Negro leaders with the  
object of holding Negroes down. He said it is  
important to sort out genuine leaders from  
others. MALCOLM said Africa should take a more  
definite line and not allow itself to be bullied.  
America needs Africa more than Africa needs  
America stated MALCOLM X. He said he does not  
intend to return to the United States until after  
the election because he does not wish to become  
involved as his presence in America at election  
time might cause demonstrations beneficial to  
(Senator) GOLDWATER. On the other hand, he  
stated any comments he might make will not help  
(President) JOHNSON. MALCOLM said the choice is  
only between the lesser of two evils. He said  
he came to URTZ following a visit to South Africa,  
Kuwait and Ethiopia. He said he was on a world  
tour to explain the "inside story" of Negro  
problems in the United States. He said he hopes  
to meet with URTZ officials and will visit  
Kenya and Ethiopia before departing for West  
Africa. (S)(u)

It was learned that MALCOLM X visited  
Zanzibar prior to his visit to Dar-es-Salaam. (S)(u)

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[REDACTED] on October 13, 1964, also made available information from the Dar-es-Salaam newspaper "Standard", dated October 13, 1964, which contained an article on MALCOLM's visit as mentioned above. This article states that according to MALCOLM X "American Negroes are beginning to see their relationship to Africa is something which cannot be denied. They realized now that we are all the same. The right type of Negro can make a great contribution to Africa but the type that is being sent here now by the American Government is not designed to make contributions to things African. They are designed to create an image that will make Africans feel repulsive. It is my contention that they make African aid American Negroes. I think American leaders are more afraid of Africanism than of Communism. A Communist can go to America and live where he likes, but an African can't".

(S)u per state letter 12/18/86

At Ibadan, Nigeria

The "New York Journal American", dated July 25, 1964, contained an article written by VICTOR REISEL, captioned "Malcolm X Gives Africa Twisted Look". This article datelined Ibadan, Nigeria, states:

"I'm a long way from Harlem but not very far from Malcolm X and his Moslem Mosque, Inc. The effect of what he told university students in this city still reverberates in this land of 40 million people - good people, friendly people - eager to reach across the sea to us. But many of the young men and women in this town now, shudder when they think of us - for Malcolm X was here, brutalizing us, charging us with being a vast national torture chamber.

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"He so aroused students at the Ibadan University during a lecture here that they threw a university staff member off the platform when the latter attempted to defend the U.S.

"The least of what Malcolm shouted here was an ultimatum to the whites in America that they soon must face violence from his forces back home.

"He literally screamed that the whites had made the American Negroes 'drunkards and trained (them) to be hardened criminals, as the result of which American Negroes think of themselves as no more than above wild animals.'

"Knowing full well the hatred of the African for the African government of the Union of South Africa, Malcolm X then screamed:

"Racial discrimination in the U.S. is worse than apartheid in South Africa.'

"Then he endangered the lives of many American youngsters of all races who are now teaching Africans in the veld, in the bush and in the Kraals and villages how to string electric lights, build schools, put in windows, and read their native language. Malcolm X did this by charging:

"The U.S. Peace Corps members are all espionage agents and have a special assignment to perform. They are spies of the American government, missionaries of colonialism and neo-colonialism.'

"From here he went to Winneba, Ghana, where he addressed the students at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, which is pro-Communist and where they hate us, anyway. There he said to hundreds of students that 'the only language the whites understand is force and nothing else.' He was cheered.

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"In other cities he got tougher. A cause is a cause, but trying to start an international racial war gets to be mighty dangerous."

The "New York Times", dated August 13, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X Seeks UN Negro Debate -- He Asks African States to Cite United States Over Rights". This article datelined Washington, August 12, states:

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

"The Black Nationalist leader started his campaign July 17 in Cairo, where the 33 heads of independent African states held their second meeting since the Organization of African Unity was founded in Addis Ababa 14 months ago.

"Before leaving for Cairo, Malcolm told friends in New York that it was his intention to add a new dimension to the civil rights struggle in the United States. This, he said, could be achieved by 'internationalizing' the Negro question at the United Nations in the manner that South African apartheid was transferred into an international problem.

"Malcolm's eight-page memorandum to the heads of state at the Cairo conference requesting their support became available here, only recently. After studying it, officials said that if Malcolm succeeded in convincing just one African Government to bring up the charge at the United Nations the United States Government would be faced with a touchy problem.

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

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

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

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

"Passages in Malcolm's memorandum indicated that he had encountered resistance to his idea.

"'Some African leaders at this conference', he said in his memorandum, 'have implied that they have enough problems here on the mother continent without adding the Afro-American problem.'

"'With all due respect to your esteemed positions, I must remind all of you that the good shepherd will leave 99 sheep at home to go to the aid of the one who is lost and has fallen into the hands of the imperialist wolf.'

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"'We, in America, are your long lost brothers and sisters, and I am here to remind you that our problems are your problems.' The memorandum continued:

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

"'Our problems are your problems. We have lived for over 300 years in that American den of racist wolves in constant fear of losing life and limb.'

"Malcolm also warned the heads of the African states that their countries would have no future unless the American Negro problem was solved. He said:

"'Your problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.'

"Asserting that the Negro problem is not one of civil right but of human rights, Malcolm said:

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

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

"Malcolm argued that 'if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a domestic issue.'

"The Black Nationalist, who quit the Chicago-based Black Muslim movement led by Elijah Muhammad to form his non-sectarian Organization of African-American Unity, said it was the intention of his group in coalition with other Negro groups 'to elevate our freedom struggle above the domestic level of civil rights.'"

At Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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[REDACTED] advised on 10-5-1964 that on 10-3-1964 MALCOLM X during a three day visit to Addis Ababa, addressed the open student assembly of the university college at the invitation of the University College Student Union. There was an estimated audience of 500 to 600 persons consisting primarily of Ethiopian students and others consisting of faculty members and outside visitors. ~~(U) per state letter 12/18/87~~

After a flattering and enthusiastic introduction by a student leader ("known throughout Africa as a man standing for principle, truth and justice") Malcolm X presented a rather surprisingly low-keyed lecture which stressed two major purposes of his safari in Africa: 1) to remain away from the US until after the election in order to avoid making the decision as to whether he (and presumably American Negroes in general) would be devoured by ~~(U)~~

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"a fox or a wolf"; and 2) to attempt to persuade the independent African nations to haul the US before the UN on charges of being "unable or unwilling" to give the American Negro his civil rights.

Despite these stated goals the approach throughout the speech was to attack "criminal" and "racist" elements in the US while maintaining that there are a few well-meaning whites in the US. Repeated parallels were drawn between colonialism in Africa and in the US. Thus, another goal of Malcolm's visit was to permit direct contact between the black people of the US and of Africa which would off-set the efforts of "some in the American power structure" and the "racist element in Washington" to keep the two apart. Malcolm wants "mutual understanding" and "working unity" between the two. In developing this theme, all recent American moves in the field of civil rights were characterized as insincere tokenism growing out of fear of emerging Africa. At the same time, all American aid to Africa was similarly characterized as tokenism and neo-imperialism. The old colonialists "passed the ball to the racist element in the US", and the neo-imperialists of Washington were in Africa with a "soft" approach and an aid program designed not to help Africa, but to save imperialism.

\* The proof of American insincerity is that in 400 years they haven't helped the American Negro. How in the world can they come all the way over here and be so kind ", stated MALCOLM X.

American Negroes who come to Africa are "well-chosen" not to embarrass the US, remarked MALCOLM X.

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Malcolm X's speech employed clever, distortions of truth to lead to distorted conclusions - e.g., when World War II started, the US was not taking Negroes into the Army or Navy for fear they would learn to use weapons against whites. The tone of the speech reflected Malcolm's assertion at the beginning that he had just concluded two months of "quiet rearrangement" of his "thinking" in Cairo. He was not nearly so emotional as he sometimes has been in the past, nor did he lay himself open to traps as often as he is sometimes prone to do.

The audience response was good with several interruptions for applause, particularly during his attacks on the United States' effort in Africa.

Following Malcolm's speech the student moderator felt compelled to note that of course African students don't believe that United States aid comes "out of human kindness". The four questions from the audience were rather bland, but did permit Malcolm to develop the theme that while Goldwater was a rather open racist, Johnson ("the fox") was more subtle, but that the latter's record during thirty years in Congress was also that of a racist. In discussing the coming election, he stated that the American people don't govern, that Southern-dominated congressional committees control under the seniority system and it is they "who send military equipment to Tshombe."

In answering the final question, he emphasized the relative unity between himself and such leaders as Martin Luther King, saying that their differences were primarily differences of method rather than goals. "The main difference is that he doesn't mind being beat up and I do."

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None of the local papers or radio stations carried any account of the speech and Malcolm's other activities in Addis Ababa appear to have been of a rather quiet nature. It is understood, however, that he did some quiet visiting in the American, Ethiopian and foreign communities, soft-selling his particular line. One British technician reported a "pleasant" conversation in a hotel bar; a high OAU official, (John Memboleo Onsando, Assistant Secretary General) also reported talking with him casually, but did not seem overly impressed.

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His future itinerary will carry him to Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam, Uganda, Tanganyika, (W)  
Guinea, Mali, Senegal, and back to Harlem.

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The "New Crusader", a weekly newspaper in Chicago, Illinois, dated October 17, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X Tells Africans 'No Hope in the United States for Race'". This article datelined Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, states "the black Muslim leader Malcolm X stated here last Monday that America is morally incapable of solving the Negro problem or ever seeing the problem in the proper light.

"The 38 year old head of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., made the statement to the press on his departure from Addis Ababa, for Nairobi after a five day stay.

"Malcolm X said he hopes to take the problem to the United Nations with the help of independent African states.

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"Pessimistic about the chances of a peaceful solution, Malcolm X asserted there was no hope for the older generation. The only possibility he added is in the hands of the new generation of American whites.

"He denied that his organization advocated violence, insisting instead that most of the whites in America are the racists but he said every black man in America should have a rifle or a shotgun in his house to defend himself against attack as is guaranteed in the Constitution".

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[redacted] advised on 11-6-64  
that MALCOLM X held "court" at the Ethiopian Hotel, Addis Ababa, 10-27-64. (W/ per state 12/18/86)  
MALCOLM had been talking about his experience in Nairobi. In substance, he stated that "you know everywhere in the world radio and TV programs cut off (have a station break) at 10:00, well the people at the TV station in Nairobi were so interested in what I was saying that they let the program go on until four minutes after ten". (W/ per state 12/18/86)

MALCOLM X said that among other things, he told the audience in Nairobi that three civil rights workers had been killed in Mississippi and nothing had been done about it. He added, "Fortunately, the TV program that was on just before I appeared, had something about dogs in it. So, during my talk, I had the opportunity to remind the viewers of the dogs they had just seen and told them that those were the kinds of dogs that the police in the United States were training to attack the Negroes." (W/ per state 12/18/86)

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According to MALCOLM X, there are a lot of American Negroes in Kenya. He said, "They ought to organize themselves into a pressure group so they can get some respect from the U.S. Government." He also said that the only unorganized group in Africa was the group of American Negroes who are living or working on this continent. He pointed out that the refugees from South Africa, Angola, and Mozambique were organized and they commanded respect.

When MALCOLM X made a speech at University College of Addis Ababa a few weeks ago during a prior visit to Ethiopia, he said that those American Negroes working in American Embassies have been chosen because they would not be likely to embarrass the United States Government. Unknown to him, there was an embassy officer in the audience during that speech.

On the occasion at the Ethiopia Hotel bar, MALCOLM X had apparently changed his tactics. He said, "Some Negroes have been able to get responsible jobs in the U.S. Government. But you must remember that it's because of 'irresponsible' people like me, that the 'responsible' ones get some of those jobs." He was taking credit for being a "necessary irritant" to bring about desirable results.

"I talked with Attwood in Nairobi," said MALCOLM X. He was referring to Ambassador WILLIAM ATTWOOD. Although he did not quote verbatim his conversation with Ambassador ATTWOOD, he indicated that he had expressed his displeasure to the Ambassador about an alleged effort on the part of the American Embassy there to prevent Americans from meeting with him (MALCOLM X). He added, "I know they sent word here that I was coming and they are trying to keep me from making any public speeches."

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The last argument that MALCOLM X put forth was "If the U.S. Government would do what it needs to do, there wouldn't be any need for me to say anything." He also remarked that when he was in Cairo sometime earlier, he had talked with fifteen African Ambassadors within two days. He added, "They were all 'pro us.'"

MALCOLM X said he was leaving for Lagos the following morning. Although he did not specifically mention it, there was some indication that he might also stop in Ghana. At no time did MALCOLM X comment on anything positive about the racial problem or progress in the United States. MALCOLM occasionally used "Afro-American" when referring to Negro Americans. He acted in a cordial and polite manner, but was completely negative in his arguments about the racial situation in the United States.

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[REDACTED] advised on 10-13-64 that MALCOLM X arrived in Nairobi over the weekend (October 10 and 11, 1964) and told local embassy employees on October 11, 1964, that he was going to Zanzibar. MALCOLM did not indicate his reason for making this trip.

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[REDACTED] advised on October 22, 1964 that MALCOLM X arrived in Nairobi, October 15, 1964, from Dar-es-Salaam. MALCOLM X attended Kenyatta Day Celebration and appeared prominently at social functions although he was not a guest of "GOK" (Government of Kenya).

MALCOLM appeared on VOK-TV, October 21, 1964, in a special interview during which he stated that "American voters had little choice between President JOHNSON and (Senator) GOLDWATER, as the former was a Southern segregationist and the latter was an anti-integration right winger, ("one was a wolf, the other a fox"). He called the Civil Rights Act of 1964 nothing but a calculated propaganda move by the United States to impress the people of Africa and Asia. MALCOLM stated that nothing had changed for the Negro since passage of the law, that in fact Negroes were being persecuted more vigorously than before. He also pointed out that African independence movements had given great impetus to the American Negroes struggle for freedom.

He said he and his followers intended to take up the plight of the American Negro with the United Nations, posing questions of human rights not civil rights as discrimination in the United States had become a world problem because it was obvious that America was incapable of coping with it. During his stay in Nairobi, MALCOLM stated he came to Kenya at the invitation of "certain government members" and according to MALCOLM X he had previously visited Nairobi on his way to Dar-es-Salaam and had been here "four or five days" secretly in order to contact government leaders without publicity. According to MALCOLM X, he had presented a plan to African leaders to condemn the United States in the United Nations for racism. African leaders he

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stated were sympathetic and he had convinced those who had been "misinformed". MALCOLM refused to disclose what "GOK" leaders he had talked to and was vague on any plans for a press interview.

MALCOLM said he planned to depart for Addis Ababa, October 24, 1964, for a four day visit and then go to Lagos, Accra, Conakry, Bamako and possibly Dakar and "definitely" Algiers

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[REDACTED]

5 advised on 10-19-64  
that the local press in Nairobi (not further identified) reported that MALCOLM X flew from Dar-es-Salaam to Kenya with African leaders KENYATTA and OBOTE on October 18, 1964. MALCOLM is quoted as saying that Americans will never voluntarily give American Negroes freedom until forced to and that as ministers they (Negroes) do not have the forces. According to MALCOLM, Africa has the key to the Negro problem solution and will determine the degrees of freedom because the African leaders hold the strategic power balance in world affairs. He said that part of his mission to Africa was to make (African) leaders aware of their position of power. He stated that American aid was not a favor to Africa because Africa contributed human flesh to the American economy. MALCOLM further stated that he was surprised at the support which African leaders have for the American Negro cause. According to MALCOLM they had all showed him unlimited concern and sympathy.

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MALCOLM X left Addis Ababa on October 19, 1964.

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At Lagos, Nigeria

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[REDACTED] advised on 11-6-64  
that MALCOLM X visited Lagos for the second time on October 29, 1964. He previously visited Lagos in May, 1964.

On his arrival on October 29, 1964, he held a press conference. MALCOLM X was quoted as saying that he was "touring Africa to better acquaint himself with the problems facing the continent so he could tell his people at home about these problems, factually and in detail." MALCOLM X said that "one of the greatest problems facing Africa was internal squabbling" and continued, "in East Africa it is the Africans against the Asians, and in West Africa, it is the Moslem against Christians and all these are feed by outside force".

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At Conakry, French West Africa.

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[REDACTED] advised on 11-14-64  
that MALCOLM X left Conakry by plane on November 13, 1964. He was "GOG guest" and carried a visitor's visa. He visited the hospital ship "SS Hope" twice accompanied by a GOG interpreter and took pictures. He was enthusiastic about "Project Hope", saying "it was the best United States project he had seen in Africa and especially commended integration aboard ship".

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Return to United States from African Tour on 11-24-64:

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[REDACTED] New York City, advised on November 24, 1964, that passenger manifest list of TWA flight 801, Paris, France, contained the name "SHABAZZ". This flight was scheduled to arrive at JFK International Airport, 6:00 p.m., November 24, 1964.

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed MALCOLM X arriving JFK International Airport via TWA flight 801 from Paris, France, at 6:41 p.m., November 24, 1964.

At London, England, November 30, 1964 to December 6, 1964

b7D

[REDACTED] On November 27, 1964, [REDACTED] British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC), New York City, advised that MALCOLM LITTLE was scheduled to leave New York City via BOAC from JFK International Airport and to arrive in London, England, December 1, 1964. He further stated that MALCOLM LITTLE planned to return to the United States on December 6, 1964,

b7D

[REDACTED] At a reception for MALCOLM X held on November 29, 1964, sponsored by the OAAU he remarked that he was travelling to London, England, on November 30, 1964, and would debate at Oxford, University, on December 1, 1964.

b7D

[REDACTED]

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NY 105-8999

Special Agents of the FBI on November 30, 1964, observed MALCOLM X boarding BOAC flight 506 which left JFK International Airport, New York, at 10:30 p.m., the same date for London, England. He travelled under the name MALCOLM X and was scheduled to arrive at London, England, December 1, 1964.



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X(S)

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X(S)

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X(S)

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NY 105-8999

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Special Agents of the FBI on December 6, 1964, observed MALCOLM X arriving at JFK International Airport, New York, on BOAC flight 501 from London, England, 2:30 p.m.

~~SECRET~~

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NY 105-8999

IX. ASSOCIATION WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

At an open public rally sponsored by the MMI, held on June 7, 1964, MALCOLM X, as the main speaker, told of his recent tour of Africa and claimed that African countries had promised to take the American racial problem to the UN for a solution.

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NY 105-8999

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b7C [REDACTED] that an individual identified only as [REDACTED] had been in contact with MALCOLM X while in Cairo, Egypt, [REDACTED]

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Ghana  
N.Y.

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[REDACTED] a known MMI member, at New York, stated on August 24, 1964, that he recently heard from MALCOLM X, who stated he received an offer of 20 scholarships which would be made available at Al Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt for the members of the MMI. [REDACTED] stated that all expenses, including travel, board, and tuition, would be paid for by an unknown individual in Cairo, Egypt.

b7D (S)

b7D

Muslim Magazine Inc.

N.Y.

[REDACTED] At an MMI meeting, held on September 9, 1964, in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, New York City, MMI Assistant [REDACTED] stated MALCOLM X had written while in Africa. The letter was addressed to an unknown African delegate to the Organization of African Unity Conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. In the letter, MALCOLM X stated that if the conference needed recruits to join the rebel military forces in the Congo, he could obtain 10,000 recruits in the Harlem section of New York City.

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NY 105-8999

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Publication "Liberator" is characterized in Appendix hereto.  
It is to be noted that 23-11 97th Street,  
East Elmhurst, New York, is a single family  
residence occupied by MALCOLM X.

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(S)

F.I.A.

N.Y.C.

-131-

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NY 105-8999

561 [REDACTED] b7D Cx  
An article in the "New York Post," a New York daily newspaper, dated September 8, 1964, captioned "MALCOLM Sees Evil Choice at Polls," stated that "Former black muslim leader MALCOLM X used the upcoming Presidential election as a choice between two evils for Negro votes."

In his autobiography, (written by ALEXANDER HALEY) an excerpt of which appears in the "Saturday Evening Post" magazine, MALCOLM described President JOHNSON as the "wolf" and, while he refrains from endorsing either man, MALCOLM seems to think that GOLDWATER is the lesser of two evils.

b7D On September 4, 1964, [REDACTED] Rome, New York, furnished the following information to SA [REDACTED] N.Y.  
[REDACTED]

b7D [REDACTED] stated that on September 1, 1964, he visited the office of ALEXANDER PALMER HALEY, a Negro writer and newspaper correspondent at 414 West Dominick Street, Rome, New York, on an official matter. According to [REDACTED] HALEY advised he had just completed a book he had written concerning MALCOLM X LITTLE. [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED]  
HALEY indicated he had been in contact with MALCOLM X on more than one occasion in regard to this writing, and that he, HALEY, and MALCOLM are to share in the royalties expected from this book.

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NY 105-8999

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[REDACTED] Washington, DC, advised on June 26, 1964, that MALCOLM X was seen observing the NAACP Convention held on that date in Washington, DC.

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[REDACTED]  
X(C)

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(C)

The complete authenticity of this information could not be determined.

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[REDACTED]

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NY 105-8999

X OPINION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

A. Re MALCOLM X

By letter dated September 2, 1964, J. WALTER YEAGLEY, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice advised that MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka MALCOLM X in the course of his recent tour of the Middle East and African countries, has reportedly been in communication and contact with heads of foreign governments urging that they take the issue of "racism" in America before the United Nations as a threat to world peace.

Mr. YEAGLEY indicated that since such activities could conceivably fall within the provisions of the Logan Act, and are moreover deemed to be inimical to the best interests of our country and prejudicial to our foreign policy, the Department of Justice requested the Secretary of State to make appropriate inquiries of our embassies in the Middle East and Africa for any pertinent information concerning MALCOLM X's alleged contacts and communications with heads of foreign governments.

Mr. YEAGLEY expressed concern over the fact that MALCOLM X's activities abroad indicates a possible violation of the Logan Act.

B. Re MMI

By letter dated September 28, 1964, Mr. YEAGLEY advised that if evidence is available which will establish the MMI has been or is receiving funds from any Arab or African government, or is acting at the order, request or under the direction of the foreign government, it may be obligated to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

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APPENDIXMUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

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) 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 time 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.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

A second confidential source advised on October 20, 1964, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which is also headed by MALCOLM X.

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APPENDIX

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

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

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the 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.

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~~SECRET~~2.APPENDIX

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

On May 7, 1964, 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.

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~~SECRET~~1.APPENDIXNATION OF ISLAM, MOSQUE #7,  
NEW YORK CITY

On May 5, 1964, 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 part of the NOI headed by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. Mosque #7 has two branches; Mosque #7B at 105-03 Northern Boulevard, Queens, New York City, and Mosque #7C at 120 Madison Street, Brooklyn, New York. These branches are part of Mosque #7.

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 7th Avenue, as far back as 1947.

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APPENDIXORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

On August 19, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

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APPENDIXPROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY,  
PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT,  
"PROGRESSIVE LABOR"

A source advised on July 2, 1962, that Progressive Labor groups held a conference in New York City on July 1, 1962, where MILTON ROSEN acted as chairman. He read a statement at this conference setting forth their intention to form a new Marxist-Leninist party in the United States. ROSEN stated that a more formal organization was necessary, one which would provide a frame-work for all who wanted to join in a united effort to build an American vanguard. The forces of this new organization are to consolidate all existing forces around Progressive Labor and organize additional forces; expand and improve political activities; win additional forces to an outlook of Marxism-Leninism and increase the open advocacy of socialism; develop a significant Marxist-Leninist program for the new party; and organize a collective organization of leaders and members.

"The Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper, issue of January 7, 1962, Page Ten, Column Three, reported the expulsion of MILTON ROSEN, former Labor Secretary of the New York State Communist Party, from the Communist Party, United States of America.

A second and third source advised in February, 1963, that this new Marxist-Leninist party had not yet been organized on a formal basis, but that Progressive Labor groups had been formed in several localities in line with the proposals of MILTON ROSEN. The sources advised as of February, 1963, that the leaders of this group were referring to it as the Progressive Labor Movement.

A fourth source advised on March 15, 1964, that the Progressive Labor Movement follows, supports, and is politically orientated toward the Communist Party line of Red China rather than that of the Soviet Union.

A fifth source advised on March 28, 1964, that at a Progressive Labor Movement meeting held in New York City on that date, it was announced that the Progressive Labor

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2.APPENDIX~~SECRET~~

**PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY  
PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT,  
"PROGRESSIVE LABOR"**

Movement would try to hold a national convention in New York City in September, 1964, to organize the Progressive Labor Movement on a more formal basis into a Progressive Labor Party.

The fifth source also advised that the Progressive Labor Movement publishes a monthly magazine called, "Progressive Labor" and also a quarterly theoretical publication called the "Marxist-Leninist Quarterly." The source also advised that starting June 1, 1964, the Progressive Labor Movement would start publishing a weekly newspaper in New York City.

The March, 1964, issue of "Progressive Labor" sets forth that it is published monthly by the Progressive Labor Company, General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York.

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APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY -  
NEW YORK LOCAL

A source stated on August 25, 1960, that the New York Local (NYL) of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was founded during 1938 in New York City.

A second confidential source stated on April 8, 1964, that the NYL was affiliated with and followed the aims and purposes of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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1.APPENDIX~~SECRET~~FRUIT OF ISLAM

On May 8, 1964, 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.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~1.APPENDIXFREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1964, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

On May 25, 1961, another source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by JAMES JACKSON, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

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NY 105-8999

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APPENDIX

LIBERATOR

1. A "Communist magazine."  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities,  
Annual Report, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942,  
p. 18).

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York

~~SECRET~~

JAN 20 1965

NYfile 105-8999  
Bufile 100-399321

Title Malcolm K. Little

Character Internal Security-Muslim  
Mosque Incorporated  
Reference is made to the report of  
Special Agent ██████████ dated and captioned as above

b7c

at New York.

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

~~SECRET~~

Routing Slip  
FD-4 (Rev. 3-4-64)

Date 2-3-65

To:

Director

BU FILE # 100-399321  
NY FILE # 105-8999

Att.: Domestic Intel.

SAC \_\_\_\_\_ Title MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
 ASAC (Km) IS-MMI

Supv. \_\_\_\_\_

Agent \_\_\_\_\_

SE \_\_\_\_\_

IC \_\_\_\_\_

CC \_\_\_\_\_ ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

Steno HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Clerk DATE 12-17-83 BY 6269 pme/estfam

ACTION DESIRED

- Acknowledge  Open Case  
 Assign \_\_\_\_\_ Reassign  Prepare lead cards  
 Bring file  Prepare tickler  
 Call me  Recharge serials  
 Correct  Return assignment card  
 Deadline \_\_\_\_\_  Return file  
 Deadline passed  Return serials  
 Delinquent  Search and return  
 Discontinue  See me  
 Expedite  Send Serials \_\_\_\_\_  
 File  to \_\_\_\_\_  
 For information  Submit new charge \_\_\_\_\_  
 Initial & return  Submit report by \_\_\_\_\_  
 Leads need attention  Type  
 Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

Re NY report dated 1-20-65 captioned as above  
and your r/s:

1) page 102, middle of page corrected to No

670 2) [REDACTED] located on page 35

*b7c* John F. Malone *b7c*  
Assist. Dir.

Office NYO

See reverse side

F B I

Date: 1/29/65

the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-441765)

FROM: SAC, MOBILE (105-600)(P)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
IS-MMI HERIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
OO: NEW YORK DATE 1/29/65 BY 806946162

MALCOLM K. PLITHLE

By teletype 1/29/65, to the Bureau and New York, captioned Registrars of Voters, Dallas County, Ala., Voting Discrimination, CR - EL, BUfile 44-12831, information was set out that the Alabama Journal, a daily newspaper of Montgomery, Ala., carried an article concerning MALCOLM X on 1/28/65. The article reported that he was to be in Montgomery, Ala., 1/31/65, and might go to Selma, Ala., where it is noted racial demonstrations have been taking place for the past two weeks and further activity is expected, particularly 2/1/65.

b7D  
On 1/29/65, [REDACTED] furnished a copy of the 1/22/65 issue of the Tuskegee Grams, a weekly publication of the Information Bureau, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. This publication under the heading, "Announcements" reported the appearance of MALCOLM X was scheduled for 2/3/65, at 8:00 p.m. in Logan Hall, sponsored by Institute Council Lecture Series, "Spectrum on Political Ideologies." [REDACTED] will attend this lecture and report on same.

③ Bureau  
② - New York  
③ - Mobile  
(2 - 105-600)  
(1 - 137-76) (MO 67-C)

JTB:gjk  
(8)

c.c.  
[REDACTED]

Consolidation  
Place 1cc in  
100-399321  
JTB

100-399321

RECORDED  
1965 FEB 8 1965

[REDACTED]

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

FEB 12 1965 JTB

in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-441765-5-11

FEI WASH DC 0724

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

JAN 31 1965

TELETYPE

FEI CHICAGO  
112\ AM CST URGENT 1/31/65 EH  
TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO \100-33593\ 1P

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Feit \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. T \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss H. Jones \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, IS DASH MMI ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 12-14-93 BY 8269 *jeffrey*

RE CGTEL ONE TWENTY NINE, SIXTY FIVE.

*EWD*  
[REDACTED] ADVISED ONE THIRTY, LAST,  
MALCOLM X LEAVING CHICAGO ELEVEN THIRTY AM, CST, ONE THIRTY  
ONE, INSTANT, FOR NEW YORK VIA TWA.

*61D*  
[REDACTED] STATED WHEN LEAVING STUDIO OF WEKE DASH TV, CHANNEL  
SEVEN, ONE THIRTY, LAST, AFTER TAPING OF QUOTE KUP'S SHOW  
ENQUOTE A GROUP OF TEN DASH FIFTEEN NOI OFFICERS FROM CHICAGO  
ACCORDING TO MALCOLM ADVANCED TOWARD MALCOLM, HOWEVER CHICAGO  
PD IMMEDIATELY DISPERSED GROUP. NO INCIDENT. NO POSITIVE  
IDENTIFICATIONS ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] PER MALCOLM. RETURNNING OF  
MALCOLM TO HOTEL WITHOUT INCIDENT. CHICAGO WILL ADVISE BUREAU  
AND NEW YORK OF ANY PERTINENT SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS THIS  
REGARD.

LOCAL MILITARY ADVISED.  
END

WA \ AM HFL FOR RELAY

FEB 8 1965

TU/S

REC-133

100-399321-216 *Albany*

FEB 8 1965

RELAYED TO Ny

FEI WASH DC 0724

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

JAN 29 1965

TELETYPE

FEI CHICAGO

\742 PM CST URGENT 1-29-65 DHM

TO DIRECTOR \100-399321\ AND NEW YORK \105-8999\

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
FROM CHICAGO \100-33593\ HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
MALCOLM K. LITTLE, IS DASH MMI, OO\ NEW YORK

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss H. Lee  
Miss Gandy

RE LOS ANGELES TEL INSTANT, CAPTIONED QUOTE, ORGANIZATION  
OF AFRO DASH AMERICAN UNITY, IS DASH MISC., UNQUOTE.

JANUARY TWENTY NINE, INSTANT, ISSUE CHICAGO QUOTE SUN TIMES  
UNQUOTE STATED MALCOLM X WOULD APPEAR ON QUOTE KUP\S SHOW UNQUOTE,  
LOCAL TV INTERVIEW PROGRAM, JANUARY THIRTY, NEXT. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS  
DATE MALCOLM X TO ARRIVE CHICAGO SIX TWELVE PM THIS DATE VIA TWA  
FLIGHT NUMBER TWENTY SIX FROM LOS ANGELES AND WOULD STAY AT SHERMAN  
HOUSE, CHICAGO. MALCOLM TO LEAVE CHICAGO SIX PM JANUARY THIRTY,  
NEXT, AND DURING ENTIRE STAY IN CHICAGO WILL BE UNDER STRICT CHICAGO  
PD GUARD [REDACTED]

BUREAU AND NEW YORK WILL BE ADVISED OF ANY PERTINENT  
DEVELOPMENTS THIS REGARD.

AM COPY TO LOS ANGELES FOR INFO.

END

WA FOR RELAY 10 1865

WA... BMS FOR RELAY

REG 16

100-399321-21765  
5-100-399321-21765

FEB 8 1965

RELADED TO

F B I

Date: 2/1/65

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

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

b7C  
 [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED]

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 8 copies  
 of a LHM pertaining to MALCOLM X's plans to travel to  
 England and France during February, 1965.

b7D

[REDACTED]  
 NYO will continue to follow subject's  
 activities and attempt to obtain information on the  
 mode of transportation to be taken by MALCOLM X on  
 his trip to London, England and Paris, France.

b7D  
 The enclosed LHM is classified "Confidential"  
 because of information set forth therein [REDACTED]  
 the unauthorized disclosure of which could  
 result in identification [REDACTED] and compromise  
 future effectiveness.

cc: Bureau (Enclos. 8) RE  
 1-AAC 4-4 Bureau (Enclos. 8) RE  
 1-ABG RHG Dept. 1-Legat London  
 1-ABG RHG Dept. 1-Legat Paris  
 1-SAC New York  
 1-ASE-EM (1-100-153308) (OAAU)  
 1-ASE-EM (1-100-152759) (MMI)  
 1-CSE-E [REDACTED] b7C  
 1-CSE-E [REDACTED] b7C  
 2-LO don't use - 2 b7C  
 3-13 info re 27 b7C  
 5-14 [REDACTED] b7C  
 5-17 [REDACTED] b7C  
 5-17 [REDACTED] b7C  
 5-17 [REDACTED] b7C  
 5-17 [REDACTED] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12-19-83 BY [REDACTED]

REC? 100-399321-2

FEB 5

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJ: [REDACTED]  
Per [REDACTED]



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.New York, New York  
February 1, 1965

[REDACTED]

Re: Malcolm K. Little  
Internal Security -  
Muslim Mosque Incorporated

the characterizations of  
the Muslim Mosque  
Incorporated and the  
Organization of Afro-  
American Unity are  
attached hereto

REC'D BY FBI NEW YORK  
DATE 1/21/65 8269 [REDACTED]  
67D

[REDACTED] advised on [REDACTED] that at an Organization of Afro-American Unity meeting held on January 31, 1965, Malcolm X stated that he plans to leave for London, England on February 5, 1965, and remain in London, England, until February 8, 1965. From London, England, he plans to travel to Paris, France, and remain in Paris, France, until February 11, 1965.

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.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE

DECLASSIFIED BY 6855  
ON 5/12/77 DML/GSL

[REDACTED]

100-399327-218

ENCLOSURE

Re: Malcolm K. Little

[REDACTED] advised on [REDACTED] that Malcolm X stated that while in London, England, he will speak with West Indians about racial discrimination in the United States.

The "New York Amsterdam News", a Negro weekly newspaper, published in New York City, dated January 30, 1965, contained an article which stated that "Malcolm is to spend February 6, 7 and 8 in Europe, speaking in London and Paris. The England appearance is to be sponsored by the Council of African Organizations. In France, the sponsor is the Africans and Afro-Americans.

"Brother Reubin, an associate of Malcolm X, made the announcement. He described the European sponsors as 'African Students Organizations'".

On January 24, 1965, over radio station WINS, Jack Anderson, broadcasting for Drew Pearson, made the following comment:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation; Malcolm X, the American Black Nationalist Leader, has been secretly contacting African Governments to strengthen the ties between African and American Negroes. He is also expected to be a star attraction at the coming Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers, where he likely will join in the propaganda attacks on his own Government for its racial discrimination. Ironically some of the most strident anti-American voices will speak for countries that mistreat their own minorities."

1.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

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) 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 time 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.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

A second confidential source advised on October 20, 1964, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which is also headed by MALCOLM X [REDACTED]

NY 105-8999

1.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

On August 19, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REC-9  
(SC) 100-399321

— 218

1 - Liaison

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

Date: February 4, 1965

To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: MALCOLM K. LITTLE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MEMLIK MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

12-19-83

Classified by 8269 jpk/ak/jtc  
Declassify on: QADR

Reference is made to previous correspondence  
concerning the captioned individual.

Information has been received that Malcolm Little  
plans to travel to England and France during the early part  
of February. He will reportedly depart this country on  
February 5, 1965, and will return about February 11, 1965.  
In this connection, there is enclosed one copy of a memo-  
randum dated February 1, 1965, at New York, New York, which  
contains available information of the subject's contemplated  
travel.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES

DOD [REDACTED]  
DOE [REDACTED]  
FBI [REDACTED]  
IAF [REDACTED]  
NSA [REDACTED]  
ONI [REDACTED]  
OSI [REDACTED]  
TAC [REDACTED]  
USIA [REDACTED]

Enclosure

1 - Director (Enclosure)  
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

BY COURIER SVC

80 FEB-5

COMM-FBI

DECLASSIFIED

ON 5/12/85 BY DHL 1654

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley (Enclosure)  
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Mr. John Bear (Enclosure)  
Acting Assistant Attorney General

2 - London (100-3313) (Enclosures - 2) (See note page two)

2 - Paris (Enclosures - 2) (See note page two)

2 - New York (105-8999) (See note page two)

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

RECEIVED  
FEB 9 1965  
[REDACTED] (21)

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Gandy  [REDACTED]  [REDACTED]

declassified  
2/10/85

FEB 9 1965

[REDACTED] (21)

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

Gandy  [REDACTED]  [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

1 - Chief, U. S. Secret Service (Enclosure)

1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Enclosure)  
Department of the Army

Attention: Director of Security

1 - Director of Naval Intelligence (Enclosure)

1 - Office of Special Investigations (Enclosure)  
Air Force

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

b1 [REDACTED] c  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

New York keep the Bureau immediately advised of further information concerning the subject's travel plans.

NOTE:

New York has advised that subject will leave New York on 2/5/65 and go to London where he will remain until 2/8/65. He will then go to Paris prior to returning home about 2/11/65. New York is following for additional information.

Letter classified "Confidential" since it contains information from informants which, if revealed, could jeopardize their future effectiveness [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

JAN 31 1965

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC 0724

Mr. T \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. P \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. H \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. F \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. C \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. G \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gandy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gandy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Shabazz*  
FBI CHICAGO

111110 PM CST URGENT 1-31-65 AAA

TO DIRECTOR \100-3999321\ AND NEW YORK \105-8999\

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO \100-33593\

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-19-03 BY 8269gmbw/tay

SUBJECT \ MALCOLM K. LITTLE, IS DASH MI.

*Report*  
RE CG TEL JANUARY TWENTY NINE, LAST.

b7D [REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE SUBJECT DEPARTED O'HARE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, CHICAGO ELEVEN THIRTY AM THIS DATE VIA TWA FLIGHT ONE THREE ZERO ARRIVING KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ONE ELEVEN PM EST.

SUBJECT TRAVELLING UNDER NAME SHABAZZ.

REC-129

101-399321-219

END

WA FOR RELAY TO NEW YORK

WA... \ \ NHH FBI WASH DC RELAY 101-399321-219

■ FEB 3, 1965

5-WH/2  
RELAYED TO 14

101-399321-219  
FEB 10 1965  
FBI WASH DC  
R.B.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2/3/65

CODE

CABLEGRAM

~~URGENT~~

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

TO LEGAT LONDON

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-399321)

HALF  
MALCOLM K. LITTLE, INTERNAL SECURITY - NYI

ON FEBRUARY TWO, ONE NINE SIX FIVE, [REDACTED]

12-19-83  
Classified by 8269 fac/pwbc  
Declassify on: OADR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

ADVISED THAT SUBJECT HAS RESERVATION FOR FIRST-CLASS TRAVEL  
TO LONDON ABOARD FLIGHT SEVEN HUNDRED LEAVING NEW YORK AT  
EIGHT P.M. ON FEBRUARY FOUR, ONE NINE SIX FIVE, AND ARRIVING  
LONDON, ENGLAND, SEVEN THIRTY-FIVE A.M. FOLLOWING DAY. LITTLE  
IS TRAVELING UNDER THE NAME M. SHABAZZ.

b1

100-399321-220

FEB 4 1965

c.c. Foreign Liaison Unit (Route 700 & 1st Review)

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

BAF

WVF

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIA CABLEGRAM

FEB 3 1965

10:33PM RL

TELE. ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

FEB 9

1965

**CABLEGRAM TO LONDON**  
**RE: MALCOLM K. LITTLE**  
**100-399321**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**NOTE:**

AM 3 / SEP III '62

**CONFIDENTIAL**

NP	513
ENC.	RTS
CK	glo
APPC	ed
TYPED	
LOGGED BY	

**INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State**

45

**UNCLASSIFIED**

Action

EUR

FJJ537WSB445

07571

Info

PP RUEHC  
DE RUFJCC 395 09/1600Z

100 FEB 9 AM 11 05

L

ZNR

H

P 091555Z ZNH

P

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO RUDSC/AMEMBASSY LONDON  
STATE GRNC

INR

BT

CIA

UNCLAS ACTION: SECSTATE 4506 PRIORITY; INFO: LONDON 797  
PRIORITY FROM PARIS NINTH

NSA

SY

SCA

PPT

SCS

FBI

RMR

AMERICAN NEGRO NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X TODAY REFUSED  
PERMISSION ENTER FRANCE ON GROUNDS HIS PRESENCE UNDESIRABLE  
VIEW HIS BACKGROUND AND NATURE HIS VISIT. HE ARRIVED ORLY  
FROM LONDON 0955 AND WAS TO HAVE GIVEN AIRPORT PRESS CONFERENCE  
AND SPEECH TONIGHT TO NEGRO STUDENTS PARIS. HE LEFT ORLY  
FOR LONDON ON 1210 PLANE WITHOUT HAVING COMMUNICATED WITH  
PRESS OR WITH AFRO-AMERICAN GROUP WHICH HAD COME TO AIRPORT  
TO MEET HIM. BOHLEN

BT

CFN 4506 797 0955 1210

RECORDED  
100-399321-

NOT RECORDED

FEB 10 1965

NAT. INT. SEC.

INT. SECURITY

**UNCLASSIFIED**

REPRODUCTION FROM THIS CO  
PROHIBITED UNLESS "UNCLASS"

56 FEB 16 1965

F B I

Date: 2/2/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

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

6  
Encl  
9-1

Re NY airtel and LHM to Bureau dated  
 2/1/65.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are 8  
 copies of a LHM pertaining to subject's plans to  
 travel to England on 2/4/65.

**b7D**  
**b7C**  
subject's flight plans to London, England to  
SA [REDACTED]

NY will continue to follow subject's  
 activities and will observe subject's departure  
 from JFK International Airport on 2/4/65.

3-Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)  
 {1-Legat London)  
 (1-Legat Paris)

3-New York  
 (1-100-153308) (OAAU)  
 (1-100-152759) (MMI)

**je** :mmx

REC-16

100-399321-221

FEB 3 1965

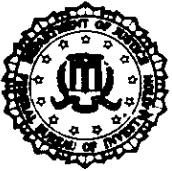
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12-19-83 BY 7869

Approved: *[Signature]*

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

Special Agent in Charge

FEB 9 1965



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

February 3, 1965

Re: Malcolm K. Little  
Internal Security -  
Muslim Mosque Incorporated

On February 2, 1965,

b7D

[REDACTED] advised that Little on January 28, 1965, telephoned for a one way first class reservation to London, England, aboard TWA flight 700 leaving JFK International Airport at 8:00 PM on February 4, 1965, and to arrive in London, England at 7:35 AM the following day.

Little is traveling under the name M. Shabazz.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/9/83 BY [Signature]

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.

100-3993-1-221

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
IS-MMI

DATE: 2/4/65

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Re CIA letter to Bureau, 12/23/64 re captioned  
matter. (S)u

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 6 copies of  
a LHM pertaining to MALCOLM X's [REDACTED]

(S)parcia et. 8/26/86

CIA is the source of information described  
as another government agency in attached LHM. (S)u

Attached LHM is classified "Secret" in view of  
the fact that CIA communication which contained information  
set out in LHM was so classified. (S)u

Encl 5

CC TO:	USIA
REQ. REC'D.	1-23-74
JAN 31 1974	
ANS.	
BY:	PP/DR

b7C

12-19-83 Classified by 8269 per [REDACTED]  
Declassify on: OADR  
per CIA letter 11/26/80  
190-5009-15

4-Bureau (Encls.6) (RM)  
(1-100-441765) (MMI)

1-New York (100-152759) (MMI)  
1-New York (100-153308) (OAAU)  
1-New York

APPENDIX I: AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISORY BOARD/ROUTING  
SLIP(S)  
DATE 1/30/84 Class 5  
[REDACTED]

100-399321-223

FEB 8 1965

b7C [REDACTED] jrc

— b7C

ENCLOSURE

Copied to [REDACTED] state, AAC [REDACTED]

by routing slip for  
 info  action  
date 2/12/65  
by [REDACTED]

SUPERVISOR [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

69 FEB 15 1965

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
February 4, 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Malcolm K. Little  
Internal Security-Muslim Mosque Incorporated

Another government agency which conducts  
intelligence investigations advised on December 23, 1964  
that Malcolm Little [REDACTED]

b1  
b3

[REDACTED] (S) [REDACTED] (S)  
Malcolm Little described  
as hypocritical all efforts to promote equality of status  
for Negroes in the United States, or to give "aggrieved"  
Negroes access to the courts. According to Little, these  
actions were designed to give a false sense of progress and were  
in any case inoperative. Little stated that the chief  
exponent of this deceptive strategy was the late President  
John F. Kennedy and nothing better was to be expected from  
President Lyndon B. Johnson. Little also stated that the  
best thing would be the election of Senator Barry Goldwater  
as President, since there was a possibility that real progress  
might emerge from the chaos that would be inevitable if he  
was elected. Little further stated that he favored the use  
of the Negro problem as an election weapon. He said white  
"liberals" and Negro moderates such as Martin Luther King  
(leader of the Southern Christian Conference), who opposed this  
course were either useless or positively harmful. (X)

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.

12-19-83 8269 per/medkey  
cc: OADR  
per CIA letter 11/26/80  
190-5009-15

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

ENCLOSURE

222

~~SECRET~~

Malcolm K. Little

Little did not identify himself with individuals or groups that advocated violence, or take part in it themselves, however, he spoke charitably of the violence used by younger Negroes in response to "intolerable police brutality." According to Little, these Negroes generally do not understand the issues intellectually, but they feel the problems so acutely that no form of self-expression other than violence is possible for them. (S)(u)

b1  
b3

[REDACTED] Little expressed a strong admiration for the Mau-Mau terrorist activities in Kenya before that nation became independent. He contrasted the bold use of violence of Africans in Kenya with the feebleness of the Africans in South Africa. His belief in the use of violence arose from his despair over the failure or lack of "human dignity" of the 22,000,000 Negroes in the United States. (S)(u)

Concerning his relations with the Black Muslims, Little limited himself to saying that he no longer belongs to the group (Nation of Islam) and had finally lost his former admiration for, and belief in, the infallibility of their leader (Elijah Muhammad, National Leader of the Nation of Islam). Little appeared to believe that the chief value of the Black Muslim concept was in helping to distinguish the Negroes from the Christian Community, and further in disposing of the old traditions of Christian resignation to suffering in humble status. He regarded Islam as a binding force among the Africans. He was reluctant to admit that the Islamic world might be capable of using religious brotherhood as a political lever, for example, against Israel. Little stated that friendship with "Liberals" was treachery to the Negro cause, since it gave falsely comforting impressions that the situation was improving. Until recently, according to Little, he held that the only possible attitude for him and for those like him to take, was to hate all whites without distinction. Recently, stated Little, he decided that this attitude would not do, but gave no indication of the kind of whites he is now prepared to tolerate. (S)(u)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Malcolm K. Little

Little rejected the Rastafarian Movement, that is the removal to Africa of the Negroes now in the United States. Little also rejected the idea of a partition of the United States into white and Negro regions. (S) u

Little failed to offer any description of the kind of society that he would like to see in the United States should his policies be put into effect. He said that his purpose in coming to Africa was to explain himself to African leaders and to seek their support; but he nevertheless insisted that the Negroes in the United States have become completely different from the Africans in Africa and accordingly must be judged in isolation. (S) u

[REDACTED]

Little indicated that the Communists in South Africa were the only group who were positively helpful to the South African Negroes. (S) u

The impression Malcolm Little left might at best be described as an anarchist who cannot or will not look beyond the struggle and chaos that he desires and expects. (S) u

A characterization of the Nation of Islam is attached hereto and all sources therein have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~SECRET~~

**SECRET**

Malcolm K. Little

1.

**APPENDIX**

**NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam**

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

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the 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.

**SECRET**

**SECRET**

Malcolm K. Little

2.

**APPENDIX**

**NATION OF ISLAM, formerly  
referred to as the Muslim  
Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam**

On May 7, 1964, 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.

**SECRET**

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

FEB 3 1965

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

1245 PM URGENT 2-3-65 JLW

TO DIRECTOR /1/ 100-399321 ATLANTA AND MOBILE  
FROM NEW YORK 105-8999 1P

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

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, AKA, IS - MMI.

RE NEW YORK AIRTEL, JAN. TWENTYEIGHT, SIXTYFIVE

SUBJ, AS "MR. MALCOLM X", DEPARTED JFK AIRPORT, NYC, ABOARD DELTA FLIGHT NINE SEVEN THREE AT EIGHT FORTY TWO AM, TWO THREE SIXTYFIVE. WILL ARRIVE ATLANTA, GA, TWELVE TEN PM FOR CONNECTING DELTA FLIGHT FOUR FOUR FIVE TO MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA. WILL ARRIVE MONTGOMERY AT TWELVE NOON, MONGOMERY TIME, TWO THREE SIXTYFIVE.

SUBJ HAS RESERVATIONS ON DELTA FLIGHT SIX ONE FOUR LEAVING MONTGOMERY NINE TEN AM, TWO FOUR SIXTYFIVE, ARRIVE ATLANTA ELEVEN FIFTYFIVE AM. WILL LEAVE ATLANTA ABOARD DELTA FLIGHT EIGHT TWO TWO, ARRIVE NYC ONE THIRTY SEVEN PM, TWO FOUR SIXTYFIVE. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

MOBILE NOTE CHANGE IN FLIGHTS AND TIMES. DATE 12-19-83 BY Edith J. [Signature]

FOR INFO ATLANTA, SUBJ ENROUTE TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, TUSKEGEE, ALA. FOR SPEECH ON TWO THREE SIXTYFIVE. BE ALERT TO FACT SUBJ WILL PASS THROUGH ATLANTA.

REC-56

100-399321-223

SUBJ DUE TO LEAVE NYC FOR ENGLAND ABOARD TWA FLIGHT SEVEN ZERO ZERO, EIGHT PM, TWO FOUR, SIXTYFIVE

END

WA SML

FBI WASH D C

FEB 3

FEB 5 1965

F B I

66 FEB 10 1965 c Rosack

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM: Mr. J. F. Bland

SUBJECT: AFRO-AMERICAN BROADCASTING AND RECORDING COMPANY

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/29/83 BY 7069/jpw/awh

To: or  
Bennett  
Mohr  
Lamb  
Collins  
Conrad  
Evans  
Gandy  
Reagan  
Sullivan  
Travis  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

By airtel and memorandum both dated 1/29/65 Detroit advised that the captioned organization plans to sponsor the "1st Annual Dignity Projection and Scholarship Award Ceremony" on 2/14/65 at the Henry and Edsel Ford Auditorium in Detroit. At this ceremony it is planned to present awards to Sidney Poitier, the well-known Negro actor; Marian Anderson, the well-known Negro singer; Jackie Gleason; the J. L. Hudson Company, Chrysler Corporation, Ford Motor Company, and Detroit Radio Station WXYZ for their efforts in promoting integration in employment. It has been reported that Malcolm Little, the former number two man in the Nation of Islam (NOI), who since his defection from the NOI has formed his own hate organization, the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, will be the guest speaker. Little is extremely well-known for the hateful and violent statements he has made in urging Negroes to use all methods at their disposal to gain their rights in this country.

The captioned organization was formed by Milton R. Henry, a Negro attorney in Detroit, in April, 1964. Henry's name is included in the Security Index based on the extreme sentiments he has put forth in advocating that Negroes are justified in using guerrilla warfare tactics in order to secure their rights in this country. Henry was also affiliated with communist fronts in the Detroit area in the 1940's.

Detroit requests authority to furnish public source data regarding Malcolm Little and Milton R. Henry to the following established sources at Detroit:

b7D



100-39932  
NOT RECORDED  
FEB 8 1965

100:mlf (3)

CONTINUED - OVER

FEB 10 1965

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: AERO-AMERICAN BROADCASTING AND RECORDING COMPANY  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

b7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

No contacts are contemplated with Marian Anderson,  
Jackie Gleason or Sidney Poitier.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached airtel authorizing Detroit to furnish public source information to the above-mentioned established sources on a strictly confidential basis be approved. Detroit is being instructed to follow this matter closely and effect coverage on this affair so that the Bureau will be kept fully informed.

hcl GvW J  
JG ✓

F B I

Date: 2/2/65

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

(Type in plain text or code)

a.c. ARTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442235)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153308)

SUBJECT: ORGANISATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY  
IS - MISC.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and Chicago are six and one copies, respectively, of a LHM concerning an OAU public rally in NYC on 1/31/65, at which MALCOLM X was the featured speaker.

An information copy is being furnished to Chicago in view of MALCOLM X's implication that ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is in some way affiliated with the KKK. This remark by MALCOLM X may be indicative of his next line of attack on MUHAMMAD and the NOI.

The sources in this LHM are:

- LTD [REDACTED] [REDACTED]
- (3) - Bureau (Encis. 6) (RM)  
 2 - Chicago (100-35036) (NOI) (Encl. 1) (Info.) (RM)  
 1 - New York [REDACTED]  
 1 - New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (43)  
 1 - New York (157-892) (42)  
 1 - New York
- 100-  
 NOT RECORDED  
 100-111-111-111  
 FEB 11 1965

ABF:kpm  
(9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/27/00 BY SP-4 duped

10-10-1965

cc-wick

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge 404 SEC:

NY 100-153308

This LHM is not classified "Confidential" since the news release was public and the meeting itself was open to the public.

LTD [REDACTED] also advised that during his speech at this rally MALCOLM X outlined his future travel plans which are:

2/3/65	Travel to Tuskegee Institute, Tuskege, Ala. for a speech
2/4/65	Return to NYC
2/5/65	Travel to London, England; remain until 2/8/65
2/8/65	Travel to Paris, France; remain until 2/11/65.

Information on MALCOLM X's travels have been furnished to the Bureau and interested offices by separate communication under his caption.

The next scheduled OAAU public rally is on Sunday, 2/21/65.



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
February 2, 1965

Organization of Afro-American Unity  
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

Characterizations of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and the Nation of Islam (NOI) are attached hereto

b7D

[REDACTED]

OAAU news release dated January 27, 1965, captioned "Malcolm X Predicts Longest Hottest and Bloodiest Summer of the Black Revolution." This news release read in part as follows:

"Malcolm X, chairman of the OAAU will address the public Sunday, January 31 at 8:00 p.m. at the Audubon Ballroom at 166th Street and Broadway. The title of his lecture is Ballots or Bullets. Malcolm will contend that the present struggle for voters registration rights by the Afro-American will lead to the longest, hottest and bloodiest summer in the current freedom struggle."

b7D

[REDACTED]

advised that the OAAU held a public rally on January 31, 1965, from 8:15 p.m. to 10:50 p.m., at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City. There were approximately 550 persons in attendance.

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

ConOp #63-21  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/21/10 BY [Signature]

00-399321-  
ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

Organization of Afro-American Unity  
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

The meeting was opened by MMI Executive Secretary James 67X Warden, who then introduced OAAU chairman and MMI leader Malcolm X Little as the featured speaker. Malcolm X spoke on the subject of "Ballots or Bullets".

According to [redacted] Malcolm X made the following remarks:

Malcolm X spoke at length on the civil rights movement in the United States. He outlined the history of the rights struggle by stating that promises were made to the Negro in 1963 and all "we" got was the murder of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) leader Medgar Evers and of President John F. Kennedy. In 1964 more promises were made to the Negro and all "we" got was the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi and of a Negro educator in Georgia.

Malcolm X stated that so far in 1965 the Mississippi Freedom Democrat Party has been rebuffed in their effort to unseat the illegally elected United States Congressmen from Mississippi and Negroes are being denied their right to register to vote in Alabama. Malcolm X stated that unless something is done for Negro voter registration "we" must take "drastic steps", and he predicted the "longest, hottest, bloodiest summer ever". He further stated that the Negro youth of today will not submit to these wrongs but will "take action", and he claimed that the present mood of the Negro is away from non-violence.

[redacted] advised that Malcolm X was extremely careful in making the above remarks and made absolutely no mention of possible future violence in the civil rights field by himself or anyone else, nor did he encourage any specific action.

**67D**

Organization of Afro-American Unity  
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

According to [redacted] Malcolm X stated that the Negro masses have been deserted by the white liberals and that the Negro must look elsewhere for allies. He suggested that it was only natural to look to Africa and indicated that the Africans are ready and willing to assist the American Negro. He also referred to the Chinese Communists as "800 million dark people" who are not afraid of the United States and are willing to help the American Negro.

Malcolm X also remarked that recently he has purposely refrained from commenting about Elijah Muhammad and the NOI, but he plans to expose Muhammad's affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan.

Organization of Afro-American Unity  
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

1.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

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) 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 time 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.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

A second confidential source advised on October 20, 1964, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which is also headed by MALCOLM X.

Organization of Afro-American Unity  
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

1.

APPENDIX

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

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

On May 8, 1964, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the 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.

Organization of Afro-American Unity  
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

2.

APPENDIX

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

On May 7, 1964, 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.

Organization of Afro-American Unity  
Internal Security - Miscellaneous

1.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

On August 19, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

F B I

Date: 2/3/65

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442784)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41297)  
 SUBJECT: [REDACTED] IS - MISCELLANEOUS

12-19-83

Classified by 8249 JEWEL-TC  
Declassify on: OADR

Re Chicago airtel and letterhead memorandum to Bureau,  
 cc's to Boston, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia and  
 San Francisco dated 1/28/65.

6 - Bureau (RM)

(1 - 25-330971) (NATION OF ISLAM) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 (1 - 100-399321) (MALCOLM X LITTLE) IN THIS DOCUMENT IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 UNLESS OTHERWISE SHOWN

1 - New York (Info) (RM)

1 - 105-8999 (MALCOLM LITTLE)

8 - Chicago

(1 - 100-35635) (NOI)

100-399321-  
NOT RECORDED  
98 FEB 9 1965

APPROPRIATE  
FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) DUE  
DATE [REDACTED] REV  
(15)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 8855  
 Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
 Date of Declassification indefinite  
 5/2/77 DMJ/6SK

FEB 12 1965

CARBON COPY

CG 100-41297

[REDACTED] b1  
In this regard the following information as obtained  
from [REDACTED] who is close to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, is set forth; b7D

(u)

67c

X(u)

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

FEDERAL 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) (b)(1), (b)(7)(C) 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 page 3

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXX
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 4 1965

TELETYPE

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 \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FBI NEW YORK

11-36 PM            URGENT 2-4-65            DAE  
TO DIRECTOR -15- 100-399321  
FROM NEW YORK 105-8999

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, AKA IS-MMI.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 13-7-83 BY 8869 jaepm/ray

SUBJ ARRIVED JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT NY VIA DELTA AIRLINES FLIGHT EIGHT ONE SIX SEVEN FORTY THREE PM TWO FOUR SIXTY FIVE FROM MONIGOMERY, ALA. VIA ATLANTA GA. HE WAS DRIVEN TO HIS RESIDENCE ARRIVING EIGHT ZERO SEVEN PM TWO FOUR SIXTY FIVE. SUBJ FAILED TO CANCEL RESERVATION ON TWA FLIGHT SEVEN HUNDRED WHICH LEFT JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT NY EIGHT PM TWO FOUR SIXTY FIVE FOR LONDON, ENGLAND. NO RECORD OF RESERVATION FOR SUBJ TWO FIVE SIXTY FIVE FOR LONDON AT THIS TIME.  
NO INCIDENT OR PRESS CONFERENCE HELD.

END

HFL

FBI WASH DC

London

FEB 2 2:27 PM '65

Call to London  
2-004  
2-005  
2-007  
FEB 11 1965

NEC 25

100-399321-224

FEB 8 1965

— — — J-WTR

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO:  
*J. W. Taylor*

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)

DATE: 2/9/65

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka  
IS-MMI

MALCOLM X was one of several guests on the television program "Hot Line" which was held on 2/2/65, at NYC. "Hot Line" is a live panel type program where the guests answer questions called in by the viewing public. It was shown over WPIX-TV, channel 11, NYC, at 9:30 p.m. This program is moderated by television personality DAVID SUSSKIND.

This program was taped by the NYO. MALCOLM X made his usual general statements about the racial problems in NY and throughout the US whenever the opportunity arose during the program.

No pertinent information was obtained from monitoring this program, therefore, no LHM is being prepared for dissemination.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-19-83 BY 8249 Jdewes/tay

2- Bureau (RM)  
1- New York

REC-113

JCS:mmd  
(3)



FEB 10 1965

100-399321-225

FEB 10 1965

5-

E.D.P. REC'D.  
67C

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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

FEB 5 1965

TELETYPE

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 \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

(u) FBI NEW YORK

10-37PM EST URGENT 2-5-65 MFR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI --14--/100-399321/

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/

MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA IS DASH MMI

RE NY TELETYPE DATED TWO DASH DIVE DASH SIXTYFIVE.

SUBJECT DEPARTED JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT NY VIA TWA FLT 700  
UT EIGHT DASH ELEVEN PM TWO DASH FIVE DASH SIXTYFIVE FOR LONDON,  
ENGLAND. ARRIVING LONDON ELEVEN DASH FIFTEEN PM LONDON TIME.  
SUBJECT PURCHASED TICKET FOR LONDON, PARIS, GENEVA AND RETURN  
TO NEW YORK. FLIGHTS TO PARIS, GENEVA AND RETURN TO NY "OPEN DATES".  
VIA TWA NO INCIDENTS OR PRESS CONFERENCE HELD.

END

JRL

FBI WASH DC

REC-118 100-399321-226

FEB 9 1965

EX-103

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-19-03 BY 8069 jlw/jew/tay

64 FEB 12 1965  
caused by m. floyd

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

FEB 5 1965

TELETYPE

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

FBI NEW YORK

1205PM URGENT 2-5-65 KRG

TO DIRECTOR /100-399321/

FROM NEW YORK /105-8999/ #3

MALCOLM K. LITTLE AKA, SM-MMI.

RE NEW YORK AIRTEL AND LHM DATED FEBRUARY TWO SIXTY FIVE AND  
TELETYPE DATED FEBRUARY FOUR, SIXTY FIVE.

SUBJECT UNDER NAME M. SHABAZZ MADE RESERVATIONS FOR ECONOMY  
CLASS TWA AIRLINES FLIGHT SEVEN HUNDRED FOR LONDON, ENGLAND  
DEPARTING JOHN F. KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, EIGHT P.M.  
FEBRUARY, FIFTH, SIXTY FIVE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/19/83 BY 8869/ymj

SND

334

FBI WASH DC

REC 6

100-399321-227

FEB 9 1965

Teletype - dated  
2/5/65  
W.H.F./cc'd  
1-NY

FEB 9 1965

6-11

J-W/HF  
J-W/HF

2/5/65

CODE

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

b7c

1 -  
1 -  
1 -

TO: LEGAT, LONDON

FROM: DIRECTOR FBI (100-399321) REC 61 — 227 —

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, INTERNAL SECURITY - MUSLIM  
MOQUE, INCORPORATED.

REBUCAB FEBRUARY THREE, LAST, AND BULET FEBRUARY  
FOUR, LAST.

BY TELETYPE THIS DATE NEW YORK ADVISED THAT SUBJECT  
DID NOT DEPART ON FEBRUARY FOUR, LAST, AS PLANNED BUT  
WOULD LEAVE NEW YORK FOR LONDON AT EIGHT P.M., FEBRUARY  
FIVE, INSTANT. HE HAS RESERVATIONS UNDER THE NAME  
M. SHARAKI FOR ECONOMY CLASS, TRANS WORLD AIRLINES,  
FLIGHT SEVEN ZERO ZERO, FOR LONDON DEPARTING JOHN F.  
KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT.

HANDLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRIOR INSTRUCTIONS.

COPY MAILED NEW YORK.

42 - New York (105-8999) VIA CABLEGRAM FEB 5 1965

WHY: cad

(7)

NR.

ENC.

CK.

A.

TY.

LDR.

514

or

mf

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✓

✓

NOTE:

Subject on Security Index. He is leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Information previously received of contemplated travel by Little to Europe. London advised by recab and told to alert appropriate sources for travel and activities.

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (route through for review)

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

4 FEB 12 1965

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

NJ-862

4/1965

JPL H/4