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

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

VI. AFFILIATION WITH THE MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

A. Formation of the MMI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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On March 16, 1964, [REDACTED]

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

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

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

67D

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

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

- "(a) To provide a suitable place of worship for its members and others in accordance with the Islamic Faith.
- "(b) To maintain a house of study for the advancement of the Islamic Faith and Religion.
- "(c) To stimulate interest among the members in the formation, maintenance and the teaching of the Islamic Faith.
- "(d) To publish text books, pamphlets, brochures, and to solicit, collect and in other manners raise funds for the hereinabove and hereinafter enumerated purposes.
- "(e) To work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with the accepted Islamic Religious principals.

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

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

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

1. At New York, New York

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

March 15, 1964 meeting.

[REDACTED]

March 22, 1964 meeting.

[REDACTED]

March 29, 1964 meeting.

[REDACTED]

April 5, 1964 meeting.

[REDACTED]

April 12, 1964 meeting.

[REDACTED]

2. At Boston, Massachusetts

[REDACTED]

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3. At Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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[REDACTED]

NATION of ISLAM

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[REDACTED]

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4. Statements by Subject on General Aims of MMI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Statements by Subject on Political Aims of MMI

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

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

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

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