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James Baldwin

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

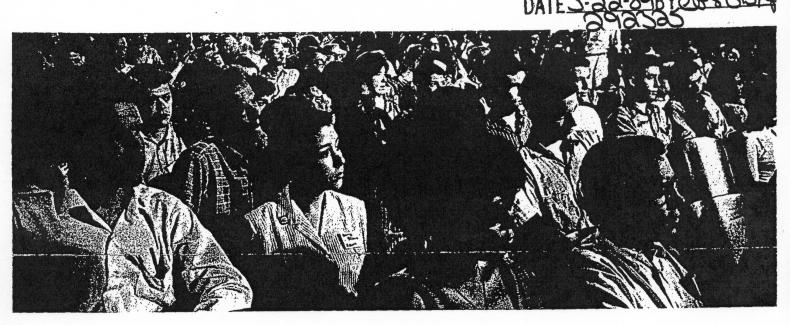
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AN URGENT MESSAGE FROM:

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Dear Friend:

As you are reading this letter, the young men and women shown above are in Mississippi performing an act of faith and courage that is so extraordinary that I find myself struggling for words to describe my feelings toward them.

They are some of the more than 1000 volunteers who have come from all over our country to spend this summer in the most terror-stricken area of the south -- Mississippi where 900,000 Negroes live in feudal conditions unimaginable to the outsider.

The gravest of dangers await these courageous workers. Some details of what they face are given in the enclosed article reprinted from Newsweek. The first of the summer volunteers have already been arrested; project offices have been attacked and even bombed. God knows what may happen between now, as I write this letter, and when you receive it.

All of us are waiting anxiously and still praying for the safety of the three young people who have disappeared.

And yet, they are coming; teachers, nurses, technicians, college students, legal advisors -- both Negro and white.

They are coming: on a unique mission, an unofficial peace corps for the south, bringing their skills and courage to communities which have been almost completely shut off from the American mainland.

These courageous young people will staff a wide range of programs whose goal is nothing less than to help bring the Mississippi Negro into the 20th century. Their undertakings will include: 1) the establishment of Freedom Schools teaching everything from the techniques of non-violent protest to technical skills and remedial reading; 2) expanded voter registration drives; 3) supporting Negro candidates for public office; 4) the creation of community centers across the state.

The director of the Mississippi Summer Project is Robert Moses, a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. SNCC will be the driving force in carrying out the entire project. Bob Moses is a brilliant, 29-year old Negro who was educated at Hamilton and Harvard, then gave up an excellent teaching appointment to work in the civil rights movement.

Not many of us can leave jobs and families to spend a whole summer in Mississippi. But all of us can help see to it that these courageous young people have enough food to eat - sorely needed books and teaching materials - medicines for illness and injury- legal aid to keep them (or get them) out of jail.

These young people belong to us -- they are our sons and daughters. But just being proud of them won't help. Mayor Thompson of Jackson Miss., says "They won't have a chance." I ask you to help give them a chance by sending a generous contribution for the Mississippi Summer Project and to send it NOW. Please send as much as you can -- every dollar you can spare will be put to direct and immediate use.

Sincerely yours,

James Baldwin

P.S. Time is so short - the need so immediate!

Please send your contribution now to me at

SNCC - 100 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y.

Make all checks payable to SNCC.

Newsweek

February 24, 1964

MISSISSIPPI:

Allen's Army

The second summer of the Negro revolt was still months off. But ever since the first, Allen Thompson, the graying, satin-smooth mayor of unreconstructed Jackson, Miss., has been acting as though Armageddon were just around the corner.

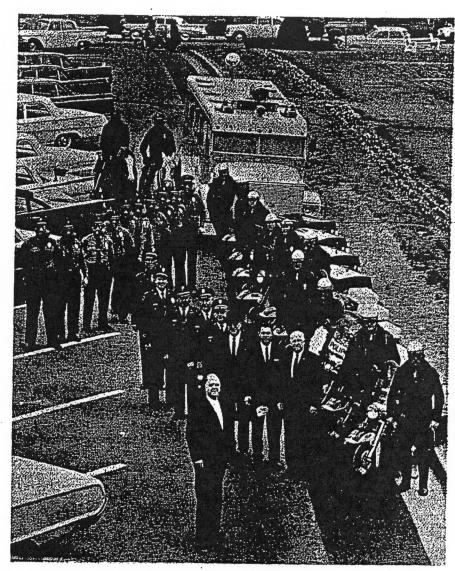
Girding for a new wave of civil-rights demonstrations this summer, Thompson is massing an impressive-and expensive -deterrent force of men and military hardware. To defend the capital city of 144,422, he is building up his young, tough, riot-trained police force from 390 to 450, plus two horses and six dogs. The force is "twice as big as any city our size," Thompson boasted last week—and it will be backed by a reserve pool of deputies, state troopers, civilian city employes, and even neighborhood citizen patrols.

With a hefty \$2.2 million budget to spend, the department recently bought 200 new shotguns, stockpiled tear gas, and issued gas masks to every man. Its motor fleet includes three canvascanopied troop lorries, two half-ton searchlight trucks, and three giant trailer trucks to haul demonstration POW's off to two big detention compounds. "I think we can take care of 25,000," the

mayor said.

Weepers: But the pride of Allen's Army is Thompson's Tank-the already popular nickname for a 13,000-pound armored battlewagon built to the mayor's specifications at roughly \$1 a pound. The twelve-man tank, abristle with shotguns, tear-gas guns, and a submachine gun, flopped on its first mission -putting down a demonstration at all-Negro Jackson State College two weeks ago. As it rolled up, a tear-gas shell went off inside, and all twelve men out crying. Nevertheless, stumbled Thompson says reverently: "It's a wonderful thing.

Would a collision come? Thompson thought so-and so did the young warhawks of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, already mapping a massive summer campaign in Mississippi. SNCC was dispatching questionnaires last week to prospective recruits for its own nonviolent army of 500 to 1,000-mostly college students-to staff



Thompson, troops—and armor

"freedom schools," community centers, and voter-registration drives. "The summer of 1964," SNCC chairman John Lewis said, "could really be the year for Mississippi. Before the Negro people get the right to vote, there will have to be a massive confrontation, and it probably will come this summer ... We are going to Mississippi full force."

And when they come, Thompson feels he has the means to contain them. There will be no unlawful marching and peaceful picketing," he vowed. "We are not going to let them come into the downtown area.'

The mayor insists his army is only a second-strike force designed to preserve law and order. "We have to wait," he told Newsweek's Karl Fleming, "until they start trouble." But Thompson is certain trouble will come. "This is it," he said. "They are not bluffing and we are not bluffing. We're going to be ready for them ... They won't have a chance."

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100 Fifth Avenue

New York, N. Y. 10011

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"...They won't have a chance."

Mayor Thompson of Jackson, Miss.



Please—Give them that chance—NOW!

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC

SAC, BOSTON (97-145)

DATE: 7-28-61

FROM

SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

SUBJECT:

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The information set forth hereinafter was made available on the dates indicated by who has furnished reliable information in the past.

6/26/61

as the call was long distance from Newark, New Jersey) was in contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

b70-2

the wonderful turnout (probably the 6/25/61 "feast" spensored by Temple No. 4, Washington, D.C.). Stated it was full to the brim. MUHAMMAD stated he had been watching some of it on TV and added his "bronchitis" get werse Saturday night and I wasn't able to do any talking and my breath was too short and my voice was so that I could hardly talk without coughing. So I told my wife I can't make it because I wouldn't be fit to be sitting among people coughing and spitting up mucus all the time, and it would be a disgrace and I just can't make it. MUHAMMAD went on to say that he felt better around moon and had tried to get something out, but it was too late.

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3-New York (105- 7809) (Info) (RM) 1-100-8999 (MALCOLM X HISTLE) -Q-100-(JAMES BALD) 3-Philadelphia (25-26094) (Infe) (RM) 1-100--1-100-2-Pheenix (105-93) (Infe) (RM) -1-100-(ELIJAH MUHAMMAD) 1-San Francisco (25-29163) (Info) (RM) 1-Washington Field (100-22829) (Info) (RM) 9-Chicago 1-100-6989 (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD) 1-100-32519 1-100-37886 1-100-27167 1-100-26797 1-100-37129 1-100-28457 1-100-31176 ("Crusader") JRS:BMC (31)

told MUHAMMAD he would like to come out and see MUHAMMAD wext week. MUHAMMAD told he should call tewards the end of this week to see if he would still be here as he had been thinking of going to Arizona until he gets rid of the brenchitis. MUHAMMAD stated that medicine just gave him temperary relief and added that he needs a long rest. and all the fellowers who MUHAMMAD went on to thank were in Washington yesterday and who carried out such an orderly and wonderful mass meeting. MUHAMMAD added he was proud of his followers. MUHAMMAD also wanted to make known his regrets that the officer here did not escert him to the airport the last time he was here, adding it was stupid of the officials and MUHAMMAD would not let it happen again. MUHAMMAD stated he had bad them out for this neglect. adding they should have escerted him to the airport to show their thanks for the good work he did here for a whole week in his efforts to convert the "dead."

6/26/61

A Brother Minister, believed to be MALCOLM X LITTLE, Minister of Temple No. 7, New York City, was in contact with (believed to be and the Holy Apostle. MUHAMMAD thanked MALCOLN and the ether believers and fellowers for all the noble work they did there (probably Washington, D.C.) after adding it was wenderful. MUHAMMAD stated that "the whole world should bear witness; there is no God but Allah and that MUHAWMAD is his servant; that progress is being made in the wilderness; that his name is being known in the wilderness where the dragen of the evil world lives ... " MUHAMMAD stated he would have put aside a million dollars in cold cash if he could have been there, but he wasn't able and Allah knows best. stated he took worse on Saturday night and it would have been impossible for him to get up on Sunday to make a speech.

MUHAMMAD then speke about Brother BALDWIN, adding he had heard him speak this merning and stated that he was wenderful. MALCOLM stated he was just talking with Brother BALDWIN. MUHAMMAD teld MALCOLM to give him his best love and he thought he was wonderful; that MALCOLM should tell him if he had known his telephone number he would have called him as soon as he was through looking at him. MALCOLM gave MUHAMMAD telephone number WA 9-5921 for Mr. JAMES BALDWIN in New York City. MALCOLM stated BALDWIN was very influential among the intellectuals there.

1

MALCOLM told MUHAMMAD they were blessed with a very large flock there and he believes there were a thousand "eriginals" down there who came down in cars.

A discussion ensued about MUHAMMAD's health and MALCOLM told MUHAMMAD he hoped he would do what he did before, adding that if it involves any cost it would be easy for them to arrange a plan which would be nothing to anyone. MUHAMMAD stated they did not even have to think about it as everything is taken care of and they already have enough. MUHAMMAD stated they are doing that every time they go to the temple. MUHAMMAD added that if it would get het here it would be good, but added that this is the worst place. MUHAMMAD stated they had to turn on the heat yesterday and added that it was 97 in Phoenix yesterday. MUHAMMAD stated he did not think he could get out there this week, but possibly next week.

MALCOLM stated that the month ends Friday and he asked if MUHAMMAD would like him to do "that thing" all around there. MUHAMMAD told him to go ahead. MALCOLM stated he thought it would probably be better on Monday. MUHAMMAD replied it would, adding he should notify them to close them on "you" and on Tuesday he could close in on the other Party.

MUHAMMAD mentioned that (probably of Newark) called and wanted to see him.

MUHAMMAD told MALCOLM that if he talked to the should tell him he should come in with MALCOLM and he would be expecting him on Tuesday.

broa

MALCOLM and MUHAMMAD then spoke of semething for the second Sunday in August, the 13th. MUHAMMAD stated that if he felt good he might take a "light one" on the West Coast as the waters have been stormy for a long time. MUHAMMAD stated he might take one in San Francisco mext month.

6/26/61

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was in centact with WHAMMAD) ELIJAH stated he had just listened to speech on the tape and thought it was wenderful. MUHAMMAD stated he was proud of thought Allah MUHAMMAD COIC he thought he had really lashed their number one enemy. and ELLEAH discussed how wenderful BALDWIN (JAMES BALDWIN of New York) was, stating there was no "Ton" in him. MUHAMMAD expressed a hope to be able to help Pout sometime this summer adding that it may be one week next month if he felt all right. MUHAMMAD stated he would go to the other place (New York) in August.

6/27/61

long distance from Boston) was incontact with ELIJAH MUHANNAD.

teld MUHAMMAD that they had a wonderful time on Sunday (in Washington), but had missed MUHAMMAD. expressed a desire to come to Chicago to see MUHAMMAD in the near future. MUHAMMAD instructed to come in next Tuesday, adding Brother MALCOLM and Brother JAMES of Newark would be there. Stated that he and his followers wanted MUHAMMAD to take a rest until he is well.

6/27/61

prebably of the NOI) was in contact with in Monroe, Louisiana. asked if he should make out a. check to stated it would be all right to make it out to nim or to It was indicated this would be a cashier's check so he did not see why it could not be made out to a court official there. Instructed to send the check to Post Office Box stated he would send the check special delivery so he could get them "out" as soon as possible. asked if TROY (TROY CADE, Minister of the NOI group in confoe, Louisiana) had received the envelope as yet. stated he had not given it to TROY as they had thought it best not to give it to him as they did not know what he contains. added TROY knows about it, however.

6/27/61

Florida) was in contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. indicated he was in court at the time of this contact and wanted to check with MUHAMMAD before he made any statement. MUHAMMAD instructed to say that Islam is for peace, that their people have never been aggressive, but wanted to live in peace and dignity. MUHAMMAD told to beg the court's forgiveness and say they did not know that anything they did was against the law. MUHAMMAD instructed to not to try to get smart. Stated he would like to come and see MUHAMMAD. MUHAMMAD instructed to write first, adding that he may be going back to Phoenix.

6/28/61

(LITTLE) at New York and stated ELIJAH MUHAMMAD wanted JOHN (probably JOHN 4X SIMMONS) and MALCOLM to make a tape and send it down for national distribution; that in this tape they should give MUHAMMAD's regrets for not being in Washington and bless all those who were there.

6/28/61

An unidentified brother was in contact with

The brother stated that Minister
TROY (TROY CADE of Monroe, Louisiana) had called and stated
he was released this afternoon; that TROY was not harmed or
mistreated, but is weak from the poer conditions and from poor
food; that they had TROY in a special hole and that probably
all he got was bread and water. The unidentified brother
stated that the minister wants to know what he should do now.
ELIJAH MUHAMMAD came to the phone and told the unidentified
brother to tell the minister to go ahead just the way they planned.

6/30/61

was in long distance contact with at the residence of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.

stated he had told her he would call her. replied that he had said he would call at 9 o'clock. stated he would call her back.

6/30/61

(ELIJAH) and

to Mr. MUHAMMAD that

- 5 -

one of his employees whom he had trusted had stolen six checks worth \$1000; that the boy enlisted in the Army on the and he has a warrant 27th and that his name is are becoming very popular, as the "Calumet Index" out for him. devoted about 4000 words to them in which they were all given the devil. stated he has with him now and he wants his money for the printers. stated he had been unable to get in touch with the brothers down there; that he even loaned the one \$350 of his own money and has not heard from them and they have only sent him a check for \$300 thus far. 61C-2

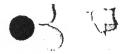
then spoke to and told him that Brother and Brother borrowed 350 for the Gary "Crusader" and went ahead and sold ads so they have an eight page paper; that all they sent was a check for 300 and that does not pay anything for last week's or this week's paper. Stated he was sticking his neck out and the printer was going along only because of him.

stated me would talk with them and if they owe this money he will tell them to pay up. It was indicated the office number is Turner 5-4357. It was further indicated they print 5,000 copies there.

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100- 311-44 Report from Philadolphia 2/11/44 sine 11/42 EALDWIN, JAMES 10/58 SSN 31 64 39 113 luly located my C IMB 5/25/39 N.C. Emp Hotts Barkery, Rancey Ave near D Kal Bklyn Hes 53 Walton St Burn MY BALDWIN, JAMES was. *26-141 2 white, early 20's, 6', neat BALDWIN, JAMES 1/61 JAMES D. BALDWIN; hos Erie Pa Emp by Director co Islan Mrt Sal BALDWIN, JAMES 1/61 (JAMES D. BALDWIN) TOB 5/29/14 Hirector (1) Ason Art Gallery Kansas Cit PALDITY, JAPES 9/61 MATIONAL GUY DIAN, 9/25/61 p. 5

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, Memorandum WYNAATS UP CONTATIND 6/13/61 FROM: SUBJECT: information in the past personally provided a written statement to SA This statement is maintained in 67D-1 - New York (RM) (APRICAN ACTIVITIES IN US) SOUTH APRICAN UNITED PRONT) LIBERATION COMMITTEE FOR APRICA TOTAL KARAGO se ato Chassified b 18 - Philadelphia 1 - 100-45587 (2) 17 - Other Philadelphia Files Declassify o JN1 6 1961 FBI - NEW YOU

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"NATIONISLAM, COLONIALISM, and the UNITED STATES ONE MINUTE TO 12:

"Auspices of The Liberation Committee for africa Place Martinique Hotel 22nd, Street and Broadway, New York City

"Friday, June 2, 1961 "8:30 P.M.



"Due to the heavy traffic tieup on approaching the Lincoln Tunnel the buss did not arrive in New York until eight-thirty o'clock. The auditorium was crowded when we arrived but the program had not started. Daniel Watts who was the chairman of the affair greeted the group and we were admitted without the stated fee of \$1.00. The program started at nine oclock the chairman, Daniel Watts, stated the purpose of the meeting designed for positive action for freedom of the African people and to aid in the struggle to end conialism abraid and discrimination at home

"The first speaker was Mr. John Killens author of 'Then We Heard the Thunder,' Young Blood' and 'Odds Against Tomorrow,' Mr. Killens stated that the period in which we areliving is one of great up surge of the common people. That the colored people of the world are on the move to attain their freedom, liberty and justice. He was not

CONTYDENTIAL

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"a very force speaker as most of his speech was from prepared manuscript. The next speaker was James Higgins, editor of the York Gazette and Daily. Mr. Higgins addressed the audience in his usual witty style which drew many hearty laughs from the audience. He told of the embarrassment of the officials in regards to Cuban fiasco and ended with a serious note from the writings of the American revolution.

"Mr. James Baldwin was the last speaker, William worthy, the third speaker, told of a conference from which he had just returned in Washington, D.C., where the countries leading interlectuals had assembled for a conference on the building of the nations character. The eme of his address was the seeming lack of understanding of what is taking place in the world and the utterly impossibility to continue along the same path that we are now treading. And that he had quite bluntly told them that the majority peoples of the world who are colored are no longer going to be content with a second class position in the world. this point the chairman called for a collection to help to defray the expenses of the Committee and to pay some of its debts. This amounted to only \$182.00 which was small considering the size of the audience which was at least two-thirds white middle class Jews. speaker was Vusumi Make of The South Africa United Front. His was critical of the role of the United States in regards to the sub-human role of the Union of South Africa and of the Obsession of the American Government on the question of Communism. He stated that how the representatives of America claim to be against Colonialism and oppression yet in the United Nations they vote to support these Nations Colonial policies. Mr. Make presented a constructive plea for support of the oppressed majority the South African Natives. The last speaker and the most forceful of the evening was that of James Baldwin author of 'Go Tell It On The Mountain.' Mr. Baldwin whom it had been explained had spent the last nine years in Paris, Frances, realyy capivtated the audience with his frech accent and the couragelousness of his message. He stated that it was a priod of revolution that confronts the world and that America has taken a position throughout the world against revolutions. And that only in revolution will the problems of this country be solved. The audience was quite enthusiastic in its acceptance of this speech as it seemed to go along with the ideas of most of those present

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"We were welcomed by Gunther and several members of the Socialist Workers Party at the meeting.

"Though the chairman had expressed prively that he did not wish his movement to be dominated by the communist and other radicals this seems to be the case. There seemed to be no representative of any of the Muslim groups present and this is strange as they are foremost in the fight for African liberation. The Buss for Philadelphia left New York at one-thirty oclock P.M. arriving in Philadelphia at 4:15 A.M."



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5/60 97-1772-5 EAL! IN, JAMES NEWSPAPER CLIPPING spensored advertisement for "The all (d Times; 4/6/60 65-9779-153 BALDWIN, JAMES PALDWIN, JAMES was. wnite, early 20's, 6', neat 10/58 RALDWIN, JAMES SSN 100-145148-1 P2 BALDWIN, JAMES 6/61 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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1/61 BALDWIN, JAMES BALDWIN) (JAMES LIBRARY 6/61 BALTWIN, JAMES THE WORKER, 6/11/61 p. 10 col. 5 67C-4 BALDWIN, JAMES s. 38, p. 2 5 59, p 5 B 120, p 13, 14 B.205 p.3 97-1792-49 P6 5/60 BALDWIN, JAMES 97-1792-49 5/60 COV. PG. B BALDWIN, JAMES above was a sponsor for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee BALDWIN, JAMES Report from Philadelphia 2/17/44 4/61 LIBRARY BALDWIN, JAMES Writer MATIONAL GUARDIAN, 4/17/61 p. 4 col. 1 33

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

SAC, ATLANTA OT (100-4593) DATE: 1-28-61

FROM

SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

(·..

NATION OF ISLAM SUBJECT:

IS - NOI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

The information set forth hereinafter was made available on the dates indicated by who has furnished reliable information in the past.

7/10/61

was in long distance contact from Atlanta, Georgia with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and stated things are going good now and can return to normal but he has stated the not found anyone to take over. (probably wanted another chance. ESIJAH stated he did not plan to do away with him but just wanted to show him we can. ELIJAH thought it would be OK take over again. then talked with MUHAMMAD and asked for another chance, to let the stating he had learned a lot from MUHAMMAD agreed and told him to watch himself. MUHAMMAD then told come back to Chicago with but to tell the people there he would be returning but not to tell them when.

7/10/61

was in contact with a man, probably stated it was very important ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. she come over for a talk with him stating he had already talked with him (WALLACE MUHAMMAD), and "I have made a change in him." MUHAMMAD teld he was busy with some people from out of town, but would call her later adding he thought he could work this out. gave her phone number as 2-Atlanta (RM) 1-100-SEARCHED STODEXED (Info) (RM) ALIZED FILED 2-Boston (100-1-100-(Info) (RM) FBI - NEW YORK 1-Newark (100b1C-3 (copies continued on i page) N will with 100-0 135001 34

CG 100-35635 New York (100-JAMES BALDWIN) (Info) (RM) 3-Philadelphia (25-26094 (Infe) (RM) 1-100-1-100-2-Pheenix (105-93) (Info) (RM) 1-100-(ELIJAH MUHAMMAD) 3-Washington Field (100-22829) (Info) (RM) 1-100-(American Nazi Party) 1-100b1c-3 12-Chicago 1-100-6989 (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD) 1-100-1-100-1-100-1-100 1-100 1-100 1-100-(American Nazi Party) 1-100-1-100-1-1004 JRS: BMC (26)

145-13514 NI 145-1355 ¥ 100-0-13500 1 + no order metro cf. or years

Per 2080, an information service of the Illinois
Bell Telephone Company, it was ascertained in July, 1961,
that was issued to
(also indexed as

7/10/61

An unknown male possibly calling from Phoenix, Arizona was in contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD regarding property MUHAMMAD has been trying to buy. The man advised MUHAMMAD to send a check for five per cent of the 23,000 to be held in escrow and stated the closing date was September 23. The man stated MUHAMMAD would have avery nice place and would enjoy it a let. MUHAMMAD stated he would have the Temple send the check tomorrow morning and added that he would be down there on the closing date.

7/11/61

610-2

was in contact with Mr. MUHAMMAD regarding when MUHAMMAD's committee would be available to look at some property. MUHAMMAD stated he and SHARRIEFF (RAYMOND) were busy today. Stated Wednesday and Thursday afternoon are the only time the attorney could show the property. Stated the property is a city within a city, has its own stores, and electric plant and consists of 650 apartments covering about 20 acres; that the sellers are asking about \$4,450,000. MUHAMMAD stated he would advise SHARRIEFF and he suggested she call later and talk with SHARRIEFF.

7/11/61

was in long distance collect contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and stated the escrow agent wants two things: 1) The check for the property which was made out by MAYMOND SHARRIEFF and JAMES ANDERSON, trustee, and the agent needs an affidavit that the mesque impowers them to make a gift to MUHAMMAD. MUHAMMAD said this would be sent right away. 2) Is MUHAMMAD's name to be put on the deed? MUHAMMAD replied it was and added the mosque was buying the property and giving it to him.

asked if MUHAMMAD wanted his wife's name put on the deed also.
MUHAMMAD stated he did. DANIELS stated everything was all right then and SHARRIEFF and ANDERSON should send the affidavit showing they are authorized to make the gift of a house to MUHAMMAD.

CG 100-35635

7/11/61

about seeing some property.

as the the "Chatham Village."

know as to the time he would be available.

0.0

7/13/61

A female, believed to be was in long distance contact from Boston, Massachusetts with Mr. MUHAMMAD. stated she was coming to Chicago with LUCILLE (VIOLA ROSARY) and that LUCILLE was coming for her car and she would drive back to Boston with LUCILLE.

7/13/61

MUHAMMAD (ELIJAH) was in contact with an unidentified girl at Hyannis, Massachusetts for Miss LUCILLE (VIOLA ROSARY). The girl stated LUCILLE was in Boston at EVELYN's place and planned to come to Chicago to pick up her car. ELIJAH asked for EVELYN's phone number and the girl stated it was CO 7-8759.

7/13/61

and stated he had heard from lawyer OSCAR
BROWN that the deal on the farm is ready to close and he has
an appointment for temorrow morning at 8:30; that BROWN
wants this brother to be there and the place to meet is
at 112th and Michigan. The brother requested this information
be given to the Messenger.

7/14/61

of Newark, New Jersey) was in contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and they spoke of having watched television last night. MUHAMMAD said the little brothers show they are waking up. Itated he was looking at some clippings from the papers of the NAACP rally in Washington Sunday and there were pictures of devils picketing in Union Station and they were carrying placards with the following: "Negroes Support the Black Muslims", "Remember the Congo", "Down with the NAACP".

- 3 -

b10-2

CG 100-35635

pictures to ELIJAH. MUHAHMAD stated this would be very good, but he did not think they would start so soon.

mentioned "they" (believed to refer to Temple No. 25, Newark, New Jersey) are going to move in 30 days.

MUHAMMAD stated he knew and he was sure they would not have trouble finding another place.

hoped that MUHAMMAD would be down there in August. MUHAMMAD stated he would be there if it was the will of Allah.

MUHAMMAD stated that MICHAUD had invited him to come there in September and he plans to do so if possible.

Stated that he (MICHAUD) usually fills up Griffith Stadium and is the most heard man on that side in that area, (possibly refers to Washington, D. C.).

67c-3

7/14/61

brother at MU 4-4486 and asked for

stated that sisters VIOLA, LEOTA 2X, and DAISY (indexed as VIOLA X and DAISY X) are there with beige robes.

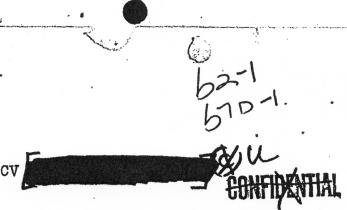
told to send them home adding that they should have white ones.

7/15/61

NOI) was in contact with Mr. BALDWIN (JAMES BALDWIN of New York City) and stated ELIJAH MUHAMMAD would like to have him for dinner on 7/16/61 at 4847 South Woodlawn. asked BALDWIN if he was appearing on TV tonight. BALDWIN stated he was at midnight. (JAMES BALDWIN, the author of "Mobedy Knows My Name" appeared on IRV KUPCINET'S "At Random" TV show at midnight 7/16/61).

COMPONENTIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS MINISTER OF STATE EXCEPT WHI E SHOWN MEMO: SAC Cleveland, Ohio OTHERWISE SSITTED BY AUCSR 7759H October 3. FROM: SA SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY RE CC CLEVELAND 1004 100 100-100-105-5105 (Pleveland) FPec :100-Dead COMMITTEE TO AID THE MONROE DEFENDANTS ORIGIN DOCUMENTATIO SOURCE DATE OF DATE AGENT ACTIVITY RECEIVED RECEIVING 9/25/61 who has furnished reliable information in the past 1-100-WILLIAM PATTERSON 29 1-100-New York (RM) 1-100-4013 1-100-SWP 57C-3 1-100-1-100-BAYERD RUSTIN FPCC 1-100-1-100-COMMITTEE TO AID THE 1-100-MONROE DEFENDANTS 1-100-1-100-1-100-1-100-MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE 1-100-670-3 1-100-7-Charlotte (RM) RICHARD GTESON SWP FPCC 1-100-1-100-1-100-1-100-JAMES BALDWIN 1-100-1-100-COMM. TO AID MONROE DEF 1-100-MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE 1-100-1-100-1-100-1-88-1-100-1-100-1-100-1-100-1-100-5- Detroit (RM) 1-100-1-100-ŞWP FPCC 1-100-1-100-1-100-1-100-COMM. TO AID MONROE DEF 1-100-A. J. MUSTE 1-100-MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE 1-100-1-100-Searched Indexed Serialized Filed ~76 FBI-NEW YURK OCT 3; 1961 TBI - CLF 39



Following is a verbatim copy of informant's report:

"Cleveland, Ohio September 25, 1961

"Report on the 'Aid to Monroe Defendants' committees

"All orginizers of local branches of the S.W.P. were informed last week in a letter signed by TOM KERRY of New York that the S.W.P. was quietly supporting the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants. The party sent a statement of the situation and circumstances in Monroe N. C. that led to the kidnapping charge against ROBERT WILLIAMS et al. party also asked that all Negro comrades work to get 'sponsers' for this movement and that lator these sponsers be organized into a action committee. In accordance with this directive, JOHN CLOUD had been relieved of his duties as director of the fund drive in Cleveland and chosen to organize a Cleveland chapter of the Comm. to Aid the Monroe Defendents. CLOUD announced that he would not follow the $\overline{\mathrm{N}}\mathrm{ew}$ York branch's proceedure which was, to get signitures first and then form a committee. He felt that few thinking people would sign a release for their names to be used without knowing more about the committee. He has therefore proposed that he recruit, ALONZO HOWARD, ALVIN WARD, AL. BRENT, FLOYD SMITH and DEWEY SMITH to aid him in getting a committee formed and after people know what is desired then to ask for signitures. This in brief would get sponsers from a committee rather then get the the committee from the sponsers as suggested by the New York Office. This was approved by the Cleve. Branch.

"A letter to GEORGE BREITMAN from GEORGE WEISSMAN was shown in the last branch meeting. This letter showed just how and why the S.W.P. was backing the 'Comm. to Aid the Monroe Defendents.' The letter explained that when the idea of this committee came into being, WEISSMAN met with LEROI JONES and

CONFIDENTIAL

"CALVIN HICKS: WEISSMAN offered a check for \$500.00 to get the committee started. JONES and HICKS however stated that in any committee formed no white person would be allowed to sit on the executive board. The check was withdrawn and WEISSMAN_left to form a committee with other people.

"The letter (a 3 or 4 page epistle) also contained the following information which will be reported here as remembered

"A split has occured between the S.W.P. and RICHARD GIBSON head of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. This split occured because of BERTA' GREEN secretary of Fair Play etc. From the letter it seems that GIBSON wants to get rid of all S.W.P. members in high positions in the Fair Play group.

"The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is also 'quietly' backing a Monroe aid committee. This will be called 'the Monroe Defense Committee' Some of the backers of this committee listed in the WEISSMAN letter were, JAMES BALDWIN, JOHN HENRIK CLARK; DIANE DI PRIMA, RICHARD GIBSON, JESSIE GREY, NAT HENTOFF; LEROI JONES, SEYMORE KRIM, V.T. LEE, ROBERT C. MAYNARD; PAULE MARSHALL, MICHAEL MC CLURE, A. J. MUSTE; JULIAN MAYFIELD, DR. ANA LIVIA MAYFIELD, WILLIAM PATTERSON, JERRY QUINN, BAYERD RUSTIN, ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND; LYLE STEWART and DAN WATTS

"This organization uses the address 53 West 125 St. NYC.

"The formation of the above listed committee leads me to believe there exist Three Monroe committees. The S.W.P. group, the group backed by Fair Play for Cuba and a group led by the On Guard for Freedom group. The On Guard for Freedom group is led by CALVIN HICKS who is a member of the group that wanted an all Negro committee. Since the last two groups mentioned use the same address it appears there is cooperation between the all Negro group and the interacial one.

ba-1 670-1

CV

"In another letter dated 9/21/1901 and signed by TOM KERRY, evidence is sent that the Communist Party is trying to infiltrate the S.W.P. backed Monroe comm. This evidence is an exact copy of a letter sent by Dr. A. E. PERRY, chairman of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendents to Mr. SYLVESTER LEAKE at 410 West 110 Street, N.Y. 25, N.Y. This letter is in reply to one sent by LEAKE in which LEAKE offers aid of various (unnamed..ed.) militant Harlem groups. PERRY said that he welcomed the offer of aid but not if the aid were contengent on changing lawyers. i.e. from CONRAD LYNN to some other person. PERRY states that since LYNN handled the N.C. 'kissing case' he (PERRY) and the rest of his group are well satisfied.

"KERRY stated in his covering letter that LEAKE is a known Stalinist and objects to serving on any group where the S.W.P. is represented.



Extreme care must be taken in the use or dissemination of this information to paraphrase it so as not to reveal the identity of the informant.

REPORTED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SM-C

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT:

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-120145) DATE: 11/15/61

FROM : SA (423)

20.2ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 51 22189 BY BY BY BT 3109

62-1

The following information was furnished by on the dates indicated. In the event that any of the rollowing information is disseminated, the information should be carefully paraphrased in order to protect the identity of this source.

1 - Norfolk (100-(RM) 1 - New York (88 ugitive; UFAB-RIDIVAPPING (472) 1 - New York (100 -(423)1 - New York 100. (422) 1 - New York 100 (421)1 - New York 100-1 - New York 100-1 - New York 100 1 - New York 100-- New York 100 1 - New York 100-0 1 - New York 100-0 (42)100-1 - New York (NOI) (412) 1 - New York 105-7809) 1 - New York 100-146353) Monroe Defense Committee (41) 100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON) 1 - New York (414)(424)1 - New York 100-1 - New York 100-100-- New York (100-68223) (LEONARD BOUDIN - New York (100-146553) - New York - New York (100 -[42] (100 -1 - New York 1 - New York (1004 422) - New York (100-120145) JRC:nbc (25)SERIALIZEDO FILED & NOV 1.5 1961

NY 100-120145

On 9/20/61, was in contact with and told her that he had been visited by two FBI men. who questioned him about the whereabouts of that the Agents sought information about the location of whom they wished to question as he "was involved in someway about guns and things".

as he "was involved in someway about guns and things", said that he teld them that he had not seen since February. Commented that it was "peculiar" that the FBI would bother with him,

On 9/21/61, (possibly and told her that in contact with and told her that CALVIN (HICKS) had asked him to call to obtain the name and number of the lady that brought over to help on a previous occasion. Advised that she was MARY KAISER, the wife of ERNIE KAISER,

670-2

on 9/23/61. Was in contact with and told her that they had LEN HOLT over for dinner on the previous evening. He said that they met at CALVIN HICKS place on the preceding day, and decided to organize a joint rally for Harlem. remarked that they no longer had Muslim support.

On 9/23/61, (ph), was in contact with stating that he had JULIAN's letter on the Monroe kidnapping and was disappointed with it. He then asked about the Monroe Defense Committee and sponsors. Tremarked that she was a sponsor. Said that they made a mistake in including in the name of WILLIAM PATTERSON. Then advised him to contact CALVIN HICKS on this matter.

on 9/23/61, was in contact with and said that he had attempted to contact her on the preceding evening, but was unable to find her in. then remarked that he would be over to talk with her.

- 2

NY 100-120145

on 9/23/61, was in contact with and related to her that "we" got a subpoena on the preceding day and that his clients were to be investigated for three days. commented that they couldn't make any money in Richmond when they are fighting "them". asked if was in New York to raise money. answered that he was not exactly there for that reason, and said that he was hooked up with MONROE. He said that things were very bad down there and that he had "five sitting ducks to defend". said that one of the things which was a problem was communications as he couldn't discuss things over the phone. They then discussed money raising, and remarked that he was leaving the city early the next morning.

1002 on 9/23/61. oontacted stated that she had read Mr. MAYFIELD's article on "The Kidnapping" and had been anxious to get other people to read it also. her that she took the article to a neighbor, Mr. KENNETH DREW (ph), who had a community newspaper "The Corona-East Elmhurst News", who told her that he would run it on the front page. said that she told DREW that she would get permission to publish it from replied that since was not there, she would give permission publish it

On 9/24/61 was in contact with regarding a rally for the Monroe defendants. Said that there was no time and that he did not have enough information or speakers for the rally. Then remarked that he was going down to Monroe on the following week to see what the story was. They then discussed at length the possibility of a rally.

with Mr. DREW (regarding story on "The Monroe Affair").

Monroe Affair").

Monroe Affair would use the story.

Monroe Affair would use the story.

NY 100-120145

"The Corona - East Elmhurst News" as a newspaper mainly for the Negro Community. Which was half gossip and half community affairs. Saked if she gave DREW any literature from "The Committee" and explained that the story might be printed without information on where people could send money. Was not sure that she gave DREW the letter which included the list of sponsors reflecting important names such as JAMES BALDWIN, PAUL MARSHALL, and OBSIE DAVIS. Sked to approach DREW on a political basis and to furnish him with the latest list of sponsors, which also included SHIRLINY GRAHAM.

ing ks,

on 9/25/61, was in contact with LEONARD BOUDIN, and asked his opinion as to her speaking at a rally, which was proposed to be held in about two weeks, under the direction of the committee which had been formed to help the Monroe people. The approach would be one of talking about JULIAN'S (JULIAN MAYFIELD) attempts at getting his story across. BOUDIN suggested that he speak to her later when she could bring him up to date on this and other matters.

on 9/25/61, was in contact with who suggested that he use her name in connection with the rally. Thought that they should concentrate on JULIAN's break through the press with the story of MONROE. told that Mrs. (IEONORA) IEACH was arranging to have JULIAN's story published in the "Corona - East Elmhurst News". said that she was preparing a resume of JULIAN's for the publisher of this publication and wanted to prepare additional appeal information which would be used.





(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASS! I IED DATES 2020 BY 2020 80 2020 ACCURATE DATES 2020 BY 2020



RFK&Baldwin

THE JAMES AT WECHSLER

Attorney General Kennedy's confrontation with James Baldwin and a dozen other creative, mostly non-organizational Negrove ces leaved nearly three hours, although, he one participant has removined, "it seemed to be ending at least 15 times." Fragmentary reports indicated the nature of the impasse, but they could not do justice to the dimensions of the dyama.

For a larger glimpse of the exchange, I talked with Professor Kenneth Clark, the noted Negro psychologist, who was present throughout the session. His account, recited more in pain than in wrath, illuminates the breakdown in communication that, in his phrase, transformed "a dialogue into a diatribe."

In Clark's view the crucial incident came early in the meeting, and the central figure was not Mr. Baldwin, or any of the other big-name figures such as Harry Erlatonte and Lena Horne, who were in the room. It rather concerned unheralded Jerome Smith, a 25-year-old CORE Freedern Ricer who has been badly beaten by Mississippi's racists, and whose scars—physical and psychological—are deep.

Smith is neither notably articulate nor library in speech; but he has faced death in the emancipation movement, and accepted the prospect. Early in the proceedings he spoke up to say that he felt "nauseous" at the need to plead with the Attorney General for protection against the cruelty of the segregationist thugs.

Then he proceeded to observe that he felt no moral obligation to help liberate Cubans as long as his own government appeared

unable to inside his freedom. He could not follow the flag.

In Clark's judgment—apparently shared by the rest of the delegation—Bobby Kennedy lost fouch with the group by his rejoinders to this outery. He professed to be shocked and outraged, and created the impression that he had been personally affronted.

"We were shocked that he was shocked," observed Clark, "and that he seem a genuinely unable a understand what Smith was trying to say.

From that moment on the discourse and downhill; the sense of alienation of the assembled Negroes despend. Baldwin quietly remarked that Smith was "the most important person in the room." What had begun as a seminar became an a iversary relationship.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.

30 NEW YORK POST

5/28/63

Edition: LATE CITY

Author: JAMES A. WECHSLER
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF

Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF Title: RACIAL SITUATIONS

Character

or Classification, BU, 100-386400

Submitting Office: NYO

100-14653-6 ISEARCHED INDEXED

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MAY 2.81963 FBI — NEW YORK

The estrangement was peculiarly serious because this was In in sense an anti-Kennedy cabal. Belafonte has long enjoyed contiled scelar relations with RFK; moreover, nearly all these in the room conceded that the Kennedy regime had made more meaningful moves in the realm of civil rights than any modern administration.

It is Clark's belief that if Bobby Kennedy had mingled convincing sympathy with reasoned disagreement at Smith's remarks,

things would have proceeded differently.

In a way it was the story of the 100-year misunderstanding. What the Attorney General was trying to say was that he was doing virtually all that he could to advance the cause of equal rights, and descried recognition for the effort.

X.

What Baldwin and his cohorts were saying was that, if he really could not do more than he was doing, the country was in big trouble. There were also critical references to matters left undone-such as the Justice Dept.'s failure to intervene in the housing desegregation fight in Deerfield, Ill. One participant observed bitterly that Negroes were beginning to describe "urban renewal" as "Negro removal."

As the colloquy progressed, or rarogressed, substantive issues

yielded steadily to matters of spirit

Kennedy tried to talk pragmatically of the gains that could made through negotiations here and there with groups of

enlightened whites.

To most of those who were Estening such "deals" were too little and too late. They were contending that the nation faced "a fundamental moral issue" whose resolution would determine our place in the world. They were disturbed by a sense that the Administration was soliciting their "gratitude" for present favors.

The gulf was most crudely evident when the Negroes raised questions about the dubious role of the FRI in civil rights cases. The Attorney General delicately passed this one to his civil rights chief, Burke Marshall, who sold rather lamely that the G-men were crack investigators but that "special men" were sent into situations where the FBI seemed delinquent.

"This answer produced almost hysterical laughter," remarked

* The tension slowly increased. When discussion arose of the impact of recent events on male Southern Negroes, playwright Lorraine Hansberry exploded. She said the country ought to be worrying about the "specimens of white manhood" recently immortalized in photographs showing their knees on the breasts of Negro women who had been dragged to the ground. Then she walked out, and didn't return.

"The fact that Boboy Kennedy sat through such an ordeal for three hours proves he is among the best the white power shadowe has to offer," said Dr. Clark.

"The fact that Boboy Kennedy sat through such an ordeal for three has to offer," said Dr. Clark.

"The fact that Boboy Kennedy sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat through such an ordeal for three hours proved the boby sat three hours proved three hours proved the boby sat three hours proved three ho

society."

Part of the concern of Clark and others is whether the Attor ney General left the session self righteously and irritably convinced that the are insatingled and that he is a maligned man, radion than with new awareness of the depths of passion now committed to the equal-rights battle, and a new understanding of the human and moral stakes involved. His response on reflection could be a large clue to the size of the man.

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10/61 100-146553 * BALDWIN, JAMES MY AUTHOR OF "NOBODY KNOWS MY NAME" BALDWIN, JAMES 1/61 JAMES BALDWIN) BALDWIN, JAMES was. white, early 20's, 6', neat BALDWIN, JAMES 5/63 166-145-5 BALDWIN, JAMES 10/58 SSN Negro DOB 5/25/39 N.C.

50