FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. HQ 100-399321-A

Section 3

February 10, 1965 - February 27, 1965

75 Pages

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MALCOLM X BARRED BY FRENCH SECURITY

LONDON, Feb. 9 (UPI)—Malcolm X, an American black nationalist leader, was refused entry by France today. He returned here and said defiantly, "I never go to any place where I am not wanted."

Malcolm flew to Paris today to speak to an Afro-American rally there but French officials met him with a Government order saying his presence was undesirable. He was back in London four hours after he had left it.

He said he had offered an English penny to French security men at Orly Airport in Paris and told them to "give that to de Gaulle because the French Government is worth less than a penny."

The 39-year-old former Black Muslim leader said nine policemen and officials had met him at the plane.

"They gave me no reason why I was barred and did not let me contact the American Embassy," he said. "I was shocked. I thought I was in South Africa. They let [Congo Premier Moise] Tshombe in. He's the worst person on earth and he's de Gaulle's friend."

Malcolm said he planned to spend the rest of the week in London "if nothing else happens," then return to New York.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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UPI-44

(MALCOLM X)

SMETHWICK, ENGLAND--A VISIT BY BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X. TO THIS MIDLAND STEEL-MILLING CENTER, WHERE NEGROES ARE NOT OVERWHELMINGLY POPULAR, STIRRED A STORM OF PROTEST TODAY.

MAYOR CLARENCE WILLIAMS CHARGED THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR X'S VISIT ARE "TRYING TO TURN SMETHWICK INTO A BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA."

RESIDENTS PROTESTED THE TRIP WOULD STIR UP NEW RACIAL PROBLEMS.

LONDON NEWSPAPERS SAID THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORP., WHICH TRIED TO ARRANGE A TELEVISION APPEARANCE FOR X IN THE TOWN, MADE A "DEPLORABLE MISTAKE."

MALCOLM X SAID HE TOURED THE INDUSTRIAL TOWN TO LEARN FOR HIMSELF IF IT WERE TRUE NEGROES ARE TREATED HERE AS THEY ARE IN ALABAMA... "LIKE HITLER TREATED THE JEWS."

"IF COLORED PEOPLE GO ON BEING OPPRESSED IT WILL SPARK OFF A BLOODY RACIAL BATTLE," X SAID.

A BBC TEAM TRIED TO ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN THE NEGRO AND PETER GRIFFITHS, WHO DEFEATED LABORITE PATRICK GORDON WALKER IN LAST OCTOBER'S GENERAL ELECTION, BUT GRIFFITHS WAS IN LONDON.

GRIFFITHS' DEFEAT OF GORDON WALKER--WHO RECENTLY RESIGNED AS FOREIGN SECRETARY AFTER A SECOND ELECTION DEFEAT--STIRRED PROTESTS IN PARLIAMENT THAT THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN WAS RUN ON THE RACIAL ISSUE. THE M.P. DENIED THE CHARGE.

MALCOLM X VISITED MARSHALL STREET, WHERE GHD SMETHWICK TOWN COUNCIL IS BUYING HOUSES FOR RESALE TO WHITE PEOPLE ONLY.

WILLIAMS SAID IT WAS REGRETTABLE THAT "ILL-INFORMED PEOPLE" SHOULD BRING NEW PUBLICITY TO THE TOWN.

"IT'S SIMPLY DEPLORABLE FOR THEM TO COME HERE APPARENTLY WITH THE AVOWED INTENTION OF CREATING MORE TENSION," HE SAID. "IT MAKES MY BLOOD BOIL THAT THIS MAN (X) SHOULD BE ALLOWED INTO THE COUNTRY."

THE LONDON EVENING STANDARD, COMMENTING ON THE VISIT, SAID THE BBC WAS "UTTERLY LACKING IN JUDGMENT AND RESPONSIBILITY."

IT DEMANDED THE DISMISSAL OF DERRICK AMOORE, HEAD OF THE BBC TEAM.

A BBC SPOKESMAN DENIED THAT THE CAMERA TEAM TOOK X TO SMETHWICK. HE SAID THE NEGRO LEADER WAS ALREADY IN THE AREA AND THE TEAM SIMPLY TRIED TO ARRANGE FOR HIM TO MEET GRIFFITHS.

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UPI A3SN

BY STANLEY SCOTT

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

NEW YORK, FEB. 14 (UPI)--POLICE TONIGHT SOUGHT CLUES TO WHO TOSSED FOUR FIRE BOMBS FROM A PASSING AUTO SETTING FIRE TO THE HOME OF BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X. Little

IN THE HOUSE AT THE TIME WERE MALCOLM, HIS WIFE, BETTY, AND FOUR DAUGHTERS--ATTILAH, 6; QUBILAH, 4; ILLYASH, 2; AND GAMILAH, 5 MONTHS. NONE WAS INJURED.

THE MOLOTOV COCKTAILS, TOSSED THROUGH A LIVING ROOM WINDOW WHILE THE FAMILY SLEPT, WRECKED THE LIVING ROOM AND CAUSED MODERATE SMOKE AND WATER DAMAGE TO THE OTHER EIGHT ROOMS OF THE BRICK HOUSE.

MALCOLM AND HIS FAMILY FLED INTO THE STREET WHILE FIREMEN FOUGHT THE FIRE. THEY DID NOT RETURN TO THE $17,000 DWELLING IN THE MODERATE-INCOME EAST ELMHURST SECTION OF THE CITY. THE NEGRO NATIONALIST LEADER WAS REPORTED TO HAVE TAKEN OFF FOR DETROIT, WHERE HE HAD A PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENT, WHLE HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN TOOK UP RESIDENCE WITH FRIENDS.

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1ST ADD MALCOLM (A39N) NEW YORK X X X WITH FRIENDS.

POLICE SAID THEY HAD NO CLUES TO THE BOMB THROWERS. NEITHER DETECTIVES NOR MALCOLM WOULD COMMENT ON A POSSIBLE MOTIVE. BUT THE HOUSE HAS FIGURED IN LITIGATION BETWEEN MALCOLM AND MEMBERS OF ELIJAN MUHAMMAD'S BLACK MUSLIMS, WHO OUSTED MALCOLM FROM THEIR ORGANIZATION.

INVESTIGATORS SWEPT UP FRAGMENTS OF FOUR BOTTLES IN MALCOLM'S HOME. THE BOMBS WERE FASHIONED OF WHISKEY BOTTLES CONTAINING A VOLATILE FLUID AND WICKS WHICH WERE SET AFIRE BEFORE BEING TOSSED THROUGH THE WINDOW.

POLICE SGT. THOMAS CONNORS SAID THE FRAGMENTS OF THE BOTTLES HAD BEEN SENT TO THE POLICE LABORATORY FOR CHEMICAL ANALYSIS AND POSSIBLE FINGERPRINTS.

THE BOMBS CRASHED THROUGH THE FRONT WINDOW ON THE FIRST FLOOR OF THE TWO-STORY HOUSE AT ABOUT 2:50 A.M. EST.

ONLY A FEW HOURS EARLIER, MALCOLM, WHO HAS CALLED ON NEGROES TO ARM THEMSELVES WITH RIFLES TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST WHITE ATTACKS, HAD RETURNED FROM A TRIP TO ENGLAND.

"I WOKE UP AND HEARD A CRASH THROUGH THE WINDOW," MALCOLM SAID. "THE FIRST THING I KNEW THE HOUSE WAS ON FIRE."

FIREMEN, RESPONDING TO A SINGLE ALARM, QUICKLY CONTROLLEDIT.

ASKED WHETHER HE KNEW ANY REASON WHY BOMBS MIGHT BE FIREDINTO HIS HOUSE MALCOLM LAUGHED.

HE HAS BEEN AT ODDS WITH THE CHICAGO-BASED BLACK MUSLIMS SINCE HE WAS OUSTED LAST MARCH AND FORMED HIS OWN MILITANT NEGRO GROUP.

THE MUSLIMS CONTEND THAT THEY OWN THE HOUSE AND THAT IT WAS PURCHASED SOLELY FOR THE USE OF ONE OF THEIR LEADERS. MALCOLM MOVED IN WHILE HE WAS THE NEW YORK CHIEF OF THE BLACK MUSLIMS. AN EVICTION ORDER HAS BEEN ISSUED BY QUEENS CIVIL COURT, WHICH SET JAN. 31 AS THE DEADLINE FOR HIM TO MOVE.

MALCOLM TOLD POLICE HE WAS GOING TO DETROIT FOR "SOME BUSINESS I HAVE THERE." HE REFUSED TO ELABORATE BUT SAID THE BOMBING HAD MADE IT "MORE INSISTENT THAN EVER THAT I GO."

IN EUROPE, MALCOLM RAN INTO CONTROVERSY.

LAST WEEK HE VISITED THE BRITISH STEEL-MAKING CENTER OF SMETHWICK, WHERE RACIAL TENSIONS HAVE RUN HIGH BECAUSE OF AN INFLUX OF NEGROES FROM BRITISH COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES.

FORMER BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY PATRICK GORDON WALKER WAS DEFEATED IN HIS BID TO WIN A SEAT IN COMMONS IN A SMETHWICK CONSTITUENCY LAST OCTOBER. WALKER'S LOSS TO PETER GRIFFITHS HAD RACIAL OVERTONES AND THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CO. (BBC) CAME IN FOR CRITICISM WHEN IT TRIED TO ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN MALCOLM AND GRIFFITHS.

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B.B.C. Assailed for Conducting Malcolm X on Smethwick Tour

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Feb. 13—The British Broadcasting Corporation is being criticized for conducting Malcolm X, the militant Black Nationalist, around Smethwick, the town on the outskirts of Birmingham that has become a symbol of Britain's racial problems.

The former leader of the Black Muslims, who now heads a breakaway group, arrived in Britain after he had been refused entry into France last Tuesday.

Just before he left for the United States today, he said he had "accepted the hospitality of some Englishmen." He added: "It was incidental that they were from the B.B.C. When I was spotted in Smethwick with by B.B.C. hosts, there were people who tried to hang the B.B.C."

He spent nearly three hours in Smethwick yesterday. He was interviewed on the town hall steps and then driven by a B.B.C. television news team to Marshall Street.

In an effort to curb the influx of colored immigrants, town authorities are buying up the decrepit terrace houses on this street and selling them only to white families.

"If colored people here continue to be oppressed, it will start off a bloody battle," Malcolm X said. He added that he would not wait until "Fascists" had built the "gas ovens."

Alderman Clarence V. Wil- protested that "these television people and the whole of the news-getting side of the English world" were "endeavoring to turn Smethwick into a kind of Birmingham, Alabama.

The Mayor said that it was "disgusting" that Malcolm + should be in Smethwick, and that he should not have been allowed in the country.

Malcolm X's comments also drew a rebuke from Cedric Taylor, chairman of the Standing Conference of West Indian Organizations for Birmingham and District, who said that "remarks about gas ovens are, I feel, the worst thing that anybody could say."

Malcolm X went to Birmingham, a major industrial center about 100 miles northwest of London, to speak at a private meeting of Islamic students at Birmingham University.

In Birmingham he arranged to meet a B.B.C. television news unit in Smethwick. The B.B.C. had wanted him to confront Peter Griffiths, the Tory who, by capitalizing on the racial issue, defeated former Foreign Secretary Patrick Gordon Walker and now represents Smethwick in the House of Commons.

Mr. Griffiths said he would not be available and the news team then drove Malcolm X around the town. The B.B.C. denies it acted as his host.

A spokesman for the Government-chartered broadcasting corporation said a date has not yet been set for using the Smethwick film material.

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The Evening Star
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New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
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Malcolm X Story: Muslim 'Prophet' Ordered Bombing

Malcolm (left) Accuses Elijah Muhammed

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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By RICHARD BARR

"I believe that it was done on orders of Elijah Muhammed."

Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X hurled this charge at the head of the Black Muslim Movement today as he headed back for New York "to tell everyone what is going on and who is responsible" for the firebombing of his Queens home early yesterday.

The controversial leader said his statements would come at a meeting of his Organization of Afro-American Unity at 8 o'clock tonight in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th st. and Broadway.

FLEES WITH FAMILY

"It doesn't frighten me; it doesn't quiet me down in any way or shut me up," said Malcolm of the wrecking of his small brick home at 23-11 97th st., Elmhurst.

"I will not move. My family understands what is involved and they feel the same way I do. I am not afraid of them and will not run from them."

Malcolm, 39, his wife, Betty, 37, and his daughters—Attilah, 6, Qubilah, 4, Illyasah, 2, and Gamilah—5 months—fled the house unharmed about 2:45 a.m. when at least two, and possibly three Molotov cocktails reportedly crashed through the living room windows and burst into flames.

Malcolm, who was asked to vacate the Muslim-owned house after breaking with the Muslims last year to set up his own rival militant anti-white movement, spoke by telephone before heading home from Detroit where he'd gone to keep a speaking engagement shortly after the blaze.

"They fear I might create an organization that will be better than theirs and detract from theirs. But I'm not afraid.

A decision was due today on Malcolm's appeal for a stay of a civil court ruling which gave him until Jan. 31 to vacate the house.

"We own this place, man,' Joseph X, self-described Muslim business manager said shortly after the fire.

"He was going to be evicted. We have money tied up here. We have to hear about it on the radio. He didn't even give us a courtesy of a phone call."

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Malcolm X, Family Bombed Out of Home

By JOHN MALLON

Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader who charges that Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims have been plotting against his life since he defected from their movement about a year ago, was bombed out of his home in East Elmhurst, Queens, early yesterday.

Malcolm X, 39, whose surname is Little; his wife, Betty, 37, and their four daughters fled to safety at 2:35 A.M. from their blazing one-family brick and shingle house at 23-11 97th St.

The house was severely damaged by a Molotov cocktail thrown through a living room window. Fragments of a second bottle bomb were found in the rear of the ~~house.~~

Apparently the two Molotov cocktails were tossed at the same time, but the one at the rear merely smashed against the back door and failed to ignite.

The family was asleep in three rear bedrooms when, according to Mrs. Little, "there was a conglomeration of strange sounds that woke us up."

Malcolm X and his wife raced from their bedroom to an adjoining one occupied by Attilah, 6, Qubilah, 4, and Illyash, 2. Gathering the girls, they then went into a small bedroom and picked up Gamilan, 7 months. Still in their night clothes, the six escaped through the rear door. They spent the night with friends in Manhattan.

The living room was ruined by smoke, flames and water. The five other rooms were damaged in varying degrees. A taxi driver turned in the fire alarm. The blaze was out by 3:05 A.M.

Jug Found in Bedroom

A gallon jug with some unidentifiable liquid still in it was found on a dresser ~~in the~~ older

(UPI foto)
Malcolm X outside his Queens home yesterday.

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girls' bedroom. No one seemed to know how it got there.

He's Not Surprised

Later, Malcolm X said, "I didn't see anyone but I sensed there was someone out there. It could have been done by any one of many. I'm not surprised that it was done. It doesn't frighten me. It doesn't quiet me down in any way or shut me up.

"I intend to point out to the people of New York who I think is behind this and what will develop from it, if something is not done about it."

Attempts on His Life

Asked if he knew any reason why his home should be bombed, he laughed. For the last year, ever since he left the Black Muslims to head his own black nationalist movement, he has been insisting Muhammad's group has been conducting a reign of terror against all those who either have left the movement or who are threatening to do so.

Not long ago, he told a NEWS reporter of several recent attempts on his life.

"They almost got me in front of my house on July 5," he said. "They didn't try to use guns. They had blades. There were four of them and when I got into my car, they rushed the car. I drove away, came back and got my rifle. By that time, they were gone."

Last December, he said, 20 Muslims burst into a Haryou meeting in Harlem. The Haryou officials locked him in an office until police could be called.

He asserted the "reign of terror" has been sparked by the Black Muslims' dwindling membership—from a high of 100,000 in 1960 to less than 10,000 at present.

He said that in an effort to maintain the group's strength, Elijah has been using a special enforcement unit of the Fruit of Islam movement to coerce all those threatening to disassociate themselves from the organization.

(NEWS foto by George Lockhart)
Policeman inspects damage in home of Malcolm X.

Flies to Detroit

Yesterday morning Malcolm X flew to Detroit to address an Afro-American rally. At night he was slated to address one of a series of rallies at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway.

Police were alerted for possible trouble at the meeting between the opposing black nationalist groups.

Ownership of the bombed-out Queens house—in a mixed neighborhood—has been a cause of dispute between the groups for some time. The Muslims said it was bought for one of their leaders and Malcolm X is no longer a leader. He has refused to move out. The case is in the courts.

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Fighting Black Muslim Eviction

Molotov Bombs Fire Home of Malcolm X

Little Bombing

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The home of Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader, was seriously damaged early yesterday by a fire that apparently was started by two Molotov cocktails.

Malcolm, his wife and his four young daughters all were in the house at the time of the fire but escaped uninjured. The house is at 23-11 97th St. in East Elmhurst, Queens.

Police and Fire Department investigators thought that the fire was started in the living room by Molotov cocktails—bottles of burning gasoline—that were thrown through a front window. Along with other glass fragments, they found an intact bottle neck containing a rag and bearing drops of a liquid thought to be gasoline.

AWAKENED

Malcolm told the police he was awakened by a noise, probably shattering glass, at about 2:30 a. m. He awakened his wife and children and led them to safety, out the back of the house, he said.

Neither Malcolm nor the police would speculate yesterday about who threw the fire bombs, but Malcolm said: "I intend to point out to the people of New York who I think is behind this and what will develop from it, if something is not done about it," he said.

Malcolm is a defector from the Black Muslims, and has been at odds with them for months. Aside from their doctrinal differences, the Muslims claim that they own the house in which Malcolm is living, and they want him to get out of it. He has refused to move, so far.

When the Muslims secured a court evictions order, Malcolm claimed that the house had been given to him, and began litigation that postponed the carrying out of the order.

Joseph X, who described himself as a business manager for the Muslims, appeared at the house after the fire yesterday and told reporters:

"We own this place, man. He was going to be evicted tomorrow. We have money tied up here. We have to hear about it on the radio. He didn't even give us the courtesy of a phone call."

THE DAMAGE

The house is a one-story brick. The damage to the exterior of the building appeared to be slight, but several rooms were charred inside, and there was extensive fire, smoke and water damage to the furnishings. The fire was thought to have started about 2:30 a. m. It was out by 3:05. The alarm was turned in at 2:46 by a cab driver who noticed the flames as he passed by.

The house is located in a middle-class neighborhood that has both white and Negro residents.

Malcolm had returned from a trip to England just hours before the fire, and he left again yesterday morning for a speaking engagement in Detroit. He was to return to New York last night.

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Herald Tribune—UPI

TARGET FOR VIOLENCE—Malcolm X surveys the damage outside his East Elmhurst, Queens house yesterday following the Molotov cocktail attack. The Negro leader and his family were not injured.

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MALCOLM X FLEES FIREBOMB ATTACK

Wife and 4 Daughters Also Escape as Flames Sweep Brick House in Queens

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By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X, the controversial Black Nationalist leader, and his family escaped injury early yesterday when a firebomb attack wrecked the small brick house in which they lived in Jackson Heights, Queens.

Two, or possibly three, bottles of gasoline with fuses were hurled through the windows of the living room. They exploded and set fire to the house, at 23-11 97th Street.

Malcolm X had returned from a visit to France and England at 3 P.M. Saturday. He and his wife and four daughters were sleeping in bedrooms down a hall about 10 feet from the living room. The Molotov Cocktails crashed through the windows and exploded at about 2:45 A.M.

Malcolm X said he was awakened by the thud of the first explosion. He rushed his wife and children through the kitchen door into a small paved areaway behind the house and out of the range of the fire.

The blaze was quickly extinguished by the Fire Department, which, together with the Police Department bomb squad, opened an investigation. In the absence of firm clues, it was assumed that the firebombs were thrown from a passing automobile.

The house has been the subject of a prolonged controversy between Malcolm X and the Chicago-based Black Muslim movement, of which he was the former New York representative. The Black Muslims hold title to the house. They demanded Malcolm vacate it when he broke with them to found his own organization.

A civil court ruling gave Malcolm until Jan. 31 to vacate, but he appealed for a stay. A decision on the appeal is scheduled for today.

Malcolm' wife, Betty, and his daughters—Attilah, 6; Qubilah, 4; Ilyasah, 2, and 5-month-old Gamilah—were given shelter by neighbors yesterday. Later Malcolm and his wife returned to collect the few personal possessions that survived the fire. Then the Black Nationalist left for Detroit to keep a speaking engagement.

In a telephone interview, Malcolm said in Detroit that the attack could have come from several quarters—supporters of the Black Muslims or of the Ku Klux Klan, which he has been attacking in the South, or related groups. Malcolm recently visited Selma, where he attacked the Klan and other groups.

Malcolm said that he and his wife had been receiving anonymous telephoned threats daily for some time.

He said that he was awakened yesterday by the thud of an explosion and that, as best as he could remember, there were two or possibly three detonations.

The house is a modest one. It consists of a small living room, a dining room, two tiny bedrooms, a former utility room used for the baby's crib, a bathroom and kitchen. There is a small room under the gabled roof. There is also a small garage behind the areaway.

Malcolm was the center of incidents in France and Britain before returning to New York last Saturday. The French immigration police refused him permission to land at the Paris airfield and sent him back to England. He had been scheduled to address a meeting of Afro-Americans in Paris.

Malcolm X had been urging American Negroes to invoke the right of self-defense if attacked by white racists.

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United Press International

OUTSIDE DAMAGED HOME: Malcolm X, the controversial black nationalist leader, getting out of car at house in Jackson Heights, Queens. He and his family escaped from blazing house after firebomb attack early yesterday morning. They were not hurt in fire.

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Malcolm X's Home Fire-Bombed

A-3

NEW YORK, Feb. 14 (AP) Three gasoline bombs hurled through a living room window early today extensively damaged the home of Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader.

Malcolm X and his wife and two children fled through a rear door of the house to escape injury.

"It could have been done by any one of many," the Negro leader said of the bombing.

The blaze turned two rooms into charred shells and also damaged three others.

The 9-room brick house is in a mixed Negro and white neighborhood in the Elmhurst section of Queens. It originally was owned by the Black Muslims.

Malcolm X began occupying it while he was a leader in the organization and refused to leave after he broke with the Muslims last year.

A judge finally ordered him evicted, but Malcolm X contended the dwelling was given to him. Litigation postponed the carrying out of the eviction order.

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A New Bomb Hits Malcolm: Eviction Writ

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By JACK MALLON and GERALD KESSLER

Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X, who was fire-bombed out of his East Elmhurst, Queens, home early Sunday, was the victim of a legal bomb yesterday. He was ordered evicted immediately from the one-family brick and shingle house at 23-11 97th St.

The eviction ruling came in the midst of suggestions by his rivals, the Black Muslims, that if anybody bombed the neat little home, it was Malcolm.

Malcolm, who defected from the Chicago-based sect of Elijah Muhammad about a year ago, has been saying ever since that the Black Muslims were out to get him.

Suspects the Muslims

After he and his family were forced to flee the blazing house Sunday, he intimated that the Black Muslims were the instigators of this, the latest, of his troubles.

The chief Black Muslim spokesman yesterday was Jimmy X, head of Temple of Islam Mosque No. 7 at 102 E. 116th St. He said he believed Malcolm was the perpetrator of the bombing.

"I believe he got his desired effect," Jimmy X said. "He loves a crowd; he loves publicity. He is obsessed with the idea that we're after him."

Denies a Muslim Plot

He denied that the Black Muslims had plotted against Malcolm's life, a charge that Malcolm has repeatedly made.

Jimmy X said it was ridiculous to think that the Black Muslims would damage the East Elmhurst house when they were about to gain possession.

Malcolm had been ordered to move out by Jan. 31 by Civil Court Justice Maurice Wahl.

Malcolm X
Troubles pile up

No Further Stays

Wahl held a hearing a week ago on a petition by Malcolm's attorneys to vacate the decision. The Black Nationalist leader, his wife and four daughters continued to live in the house pending Wahl's new ruling, which he made yesterday.

Wahl denied any further stays, refused to vacate his original eviction notice and wrote: "Malcolm X can be moved forthwith by action of a city marshal."

Black Muslim attorney Joseph B. Williams of Brooklyn said that the Muslims believed Malcolm did the bombing.

Williams said that as soon as the papers could be filed in the new eviction decision, a marshal would move to remove Malcolm's possessions from the house.

Malcolm at Hotel

Malcolm himself was reported at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem. His family was believed to be staying with friends.

The bombed-out house has been the center of contention between Malcolm and the Black Muslims since he decided to leave the organization. *They said the residence* was bought for a Black Muslim leader and that Malcolm was no longer a Black Muslim leader.

Malcolm said the house was given to him by his supporters.

Police Probe Goes On

Queens police continued their probe yesterday into the bombing. A lab test showed that the liquid in a glass jug found on a dresser in one of the bedrooms was gasoline. Police were baffled about how it came to rest upright *atop a dresser since*, it was believed, it had been tossed into the house through a window.

At a late hour yesterday, not one Black Muslim had officially transmitted to police the organization's apparent belief that Malcolm arranged his exit from the Queens' home.

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Malcolm X Asserts He'll Name Persons Who Bombed House

By MARTIN ARNOLD

Malcolm X said yesterday he would name the persons who bombed his house last Sunday.

This immediately brought a statement from a leader of the Black Muslims, from which Malcolm X defected last year. The Muslim, James X, indicated that he believed Malcolm had set off the firebombs himself "to get publicity."

The Black Muslims and Malcolm X have been feuding since Malcolm left the movement last year. One of the issues in the feud has been the house that was bombed, a small brick one at 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens.

The Black Muslims, a Chicago-based organization, hold title to the house. Malcolm X used to be one of the organization's New York leaders, and when he broke with the organization, it demanded that he vacate the house.

Yesterday Justice Maurice Wahl in Civil Court dismissed a move by Malcolm for a further stay on his eviction from the house. Malcolm had been ordered by the judge to surrender the house last June, but he had obtained a stay pending a new hearing.

Justice Wahl said that the new hearing was held before him Feb. 8 and that it was "full of acrimony." He ruled that since Malcolm X had appealed his original eviction decision to the Appellate Division, the division had jurisdiction and Justice Wahl was "thus powerless" to stay it any further.

Malcolm X broke with the Black Muslim movement to form his own group, the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Two or three bottles of gasoline with fuses were tossed into the house at about 2:45 A.M. Sunday and set it afire

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UPI-43

(MALCOLM X) Little

NEW YORK--BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X WAS HOMELESS TODAY FOLLOWING A FIRE-BOMB ATTACK ON HIS HOUSE EARLY SUNDAY AND AN EVICTION ORDER YESTERDAY.

MALCOLM AND THE BLACK MUSLIMS BLAME EACH OTHER FOR THE BOMBING. "MY HOUSE WAS BOMBED BY THE MUSLIMS UNDER THE DIRECT ORDERS OF ELIJAH MUHAMMED", MALCOLM SAID.

A MUSLIM SPOKESMAN, JIMMY X, CLAIMED MALCOLM BOMBED THE HOUSE HIMSELF BECAUSE "HE LOVES A CROWD...HE LOVES PUBLICITY."

MALCOLM LOST A PLEA TO JUSTICE MAURICE WAHL IN CIVIL COURT YESTERDAY ASKING THAT AN EVICTION ORDERED BY THE COURT BE VACATED. THE BLACK MUSLIMS SAID THE HOUSE BELONGED TO THEM AND THEY WANTED TO EVICT MALCOLM. MALCOLM CLAIMED IT HAD BEEN GIVEN HIM BY SUPPORTERS.

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LONDON--THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE ASKED THURSDAY TO DECLARE MALCOLM X AN UNDESIRABLE ALIEN TO MAKE CERTAIN HE IS REFUSED FUTURE ENTRY TO BRITAIN, IT WAS ANNOUNCED TODAY.

PETER GRIFFITHS, OPPOSITION CONSERVATIVE PARTY MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE TOWN OF SMETHWICK, GAVE NOTICE HE WILL PUT THIS QUESTION TO HOME SECRETARY SIR FRANK SOSKICE IN COMMONS. HE WILL ALSO ASK WHY MALCOLM X WAS ALLOWED TO VISIT ENGLAND.

MALCOLM X WAS RECENTLY BANNED FROM VISITING FRANCE.

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NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

Malcolm X Awaits Step In Eviction

O Little

Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X and his former colleagues in the Black Muslim cult today awaited the next move in a legal battle to evict Malcolm from his Muslim-owned home at 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst.

The battle sounded like a full-scale war early Sunday when someone lobbed two or three Molotov cocktails through the windows of the small, one-story house. The fire bombs exploded and burned out the living room but Malcolm X, his wife and their four small daughters escaped without injury.

Malcolm X charged last night that his home "was bombed by the Black Muslim movement on the orders of Elijah Muhammed," head of the sect and Malcolm's former boss. The Muslims, on the other hand, blamed the bombing on Malcolm.

Muslim spokesman James X said the cult owns the house. It was given to Malcolm while he was leader of Temple of Islam Mosque No. 7, 102 E. 116th St., a position now held by James X.

After leaving the Muslim fold to form his own Negro nationalist group about a year ago, Malcolm X continued to live in the house with his family. He contended the house was his property, but the Muslims retained title to it and applied for an eviction order.

Civil Court Justice Maurice Wahl decided yesterday that Malcolm X "can be moved forthwith by action of a city marshal." Muslim attorney Joseph B. Williams said furniture and other possessions will be moved from the house as soon as the necessary papers are filed. Malcolm X has appealed to the Appellate Division of State Supreme Court to halt the eviction. Meanwhile, he and his family are living with friends.

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Eviction Server Finds Malcolm X Moved Out

NEW YORK (AP)—A city marshal armed with a court order and a strong foot showed up at a fire-bombed Queens residence today to evict Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X.

As it turned out, he didn't need the court order—only his foot to kick in a window and gain entrance.

Malcolm X, police said, had moved out his family and furnishings during the night, leaving all the doors locked and no key under the doormat.

The residence at 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst, is owned by the Black Muslim movement, which was headed until last year by Malcolm X.

When Malcolm X broke with the organization and set up one of his own, the Black Muslims began court proceedings to evict him. Malcolm X refused to leave. A court order for his eviction finally was obtained recently.

Last Sunday, three gasoline-bottle fire bombs were thrown into the living room through a window and caused extensive damage. Neither Malcolm X nor his wife and four daughters were hurt.

Malcolm X termed the bombing the work of Black Muslims. The Black Muslims retorted that Malcolm X did it himself because of a love for publicity.

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Muslims Take Blasted Home

A city marshal, armed with a court order and accompanied by a Black Muslim representative named Joseph X, arrived yesterday at fire-bombed 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst, Queens, to evict Malcolm X, Black Nationalist leader.

The marshal found the door locked, no key under the mat, and nobody home. He kicked in a window to enter and take possession.

Malcolm, it developed, had moved during the night to a new home at 84-50 110th St., East Elmhurst. Some of his followers did the moving with two station wagons.

His ouster was ordered following a suit by the Black Muslims, who said their organization, from which Malcolm had withdrawn, owned the 97th St. house. Last Sunday, three gasoline bottle fire bombs were thrown through a living room window, damaging the house but leaving Malcolm, his wife and four daughters uninjured.

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BULLETIN
2ND LEAD MALCOLM X (A26N)
BY STANLEY SCOTT

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UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

NEW YORK, FEB. 21 (UPI)--MALCOLM X, WHO WAS OUSTED BY THE BLACK MUSLIMS AND FORMED THE RIVAL BLACK NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION, WAS SHOT AND KILLED TODAY WHILE ADDRESSING A MEETING OF HIS FOLLOWERS. TWO UNIDENTIFIED GUNMEN WERE IMMEDIATELY SEIZED.

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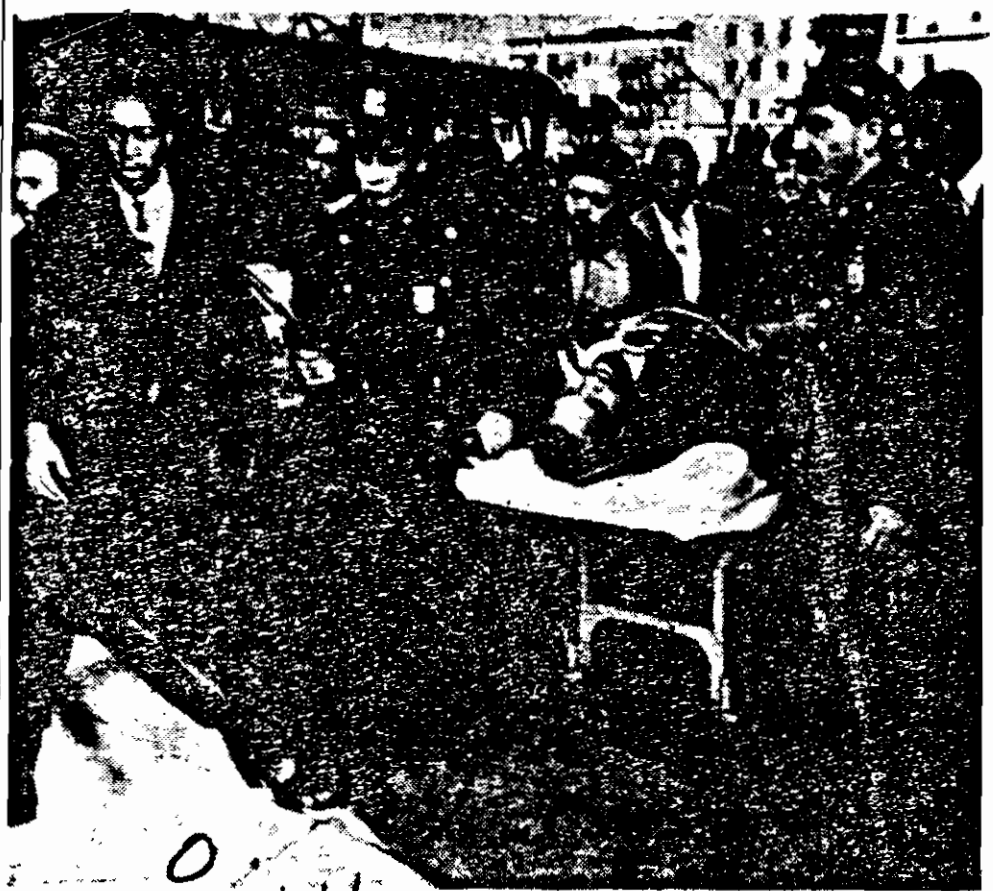

O. Little

United Press International

Malcolm X is taken on a stretcher from the Audubon Ballroom in New York where he was fatally shot yesterday while he was addressing a meeting of his followers.

Other Pictures on Page A3

Wounded Suspect Is Charged

Ex-Black Muslim Leader Shot Down Speaking to 500

By Stanley Scott

NEW YORK, Feb. 21 (UPI)—Malcolm X, bearded Negro advocate of violence against the whites in the civil rights struggle, was shot to death today while making a speech to his followers.

Police blamed the killing on the Black Muslims, a militant Negro organization which ousted Malcolm X recently only to have him set up his Black Nationalist organization and open a recruiting drive to woo Black Muslims as members.

As 500 persons watched in horror, Malcolm X fell in a bloodied heap on the rostrum at the Audubon Ballroom, located on the fringes of Harlem's Negro district. At least seven bullets ripped into his body.

[Police charged a 22-year-old Negro, Thomas Hagan, with firing some of the fatal shots, the Associated Press reported. Hagan, shot in the leg in the melee that followed the slaying, was held in the prison ward of Bellevue Hospital. Police Capt. Paul Glaser said Hagan killed Malcolm with a sawed-off double-barreled shotgun, and was himself wounded by one of Malcolm's followers.]

A second man was also held for questioning.

[Accounts of the murder differed. The Herald Tribune News Service reported that two men in the back of the hall started a fight and that Malcolm X's bodyguards moved toward them to restore order. It was then, according to this account, that the two Negroes moved up the aisle and shot Malcolm X. Another account had five men taking part in the shooting.]

The murder created fresh tensions in Harlem.

Tonight more than 100 of

See MALCOLM, A3, Col. 4

The life of Malcolm X was marked by irony.
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MALCOLM—From Page A1

Malcolm X Shot to Death While Speaking at Rally

E WASHINGTON POST Monday, Feb. 22, 1965 A3

Associated Press

MALCOLM X
. . . shot to death

Malcolm X's followers gathered across the street from his Hotel Theresa headquarters and the police detail in the area was doubled.

Police also called on the Black Muslims to close their "The Shabazz" Temple No. 7 restaurant in Harlem. The Muslims complied.

Police also told them to cancel a meeting slated for late today at the Muhammed Temple of Islam. Again the Muslims complied.

A police informant told United Press International that detectives were investigating a report that six of Malcolm's followers had left New York by various routes to seek revenge on Elijah Muhammad, Chicago-based leader of the Black Muslims.

To police, embarrassed by the slaying while Malcolm X was regularly making statements that the Black Muslims were "out to get him," were closed-mouthed about the investigation, even denying that any suspects had been picked up.

But Sgt. Alvin Aronoff, who apprehended Hagan, described it this way:

"I just got to the entrance of the Audubon Ballroom. I got out of the car with Patrolman Louis Angelos and there was a mob coming toward us out of the door. They all piled on this fellow Hagan. He had been shot in the leg. They were kicking and pummeling him and shouting, 'Kill him. Kill him.' I thought the man would be lynched.

"I fired a shot in the air and we grabbed Hagan and pulled him into the car. I found four unused .45-caliber cartridges in Hagan's pocket."

Two other persons were hit by stray bullets. A semi-automatic rifle was found in the auditorium.

Sanford Garelick, Assistant Police Inspector, said:

"This is the result, it would seem, of a long-standing feud between the followers of Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, and the people who broke away from him, headed by Malcolm X."

Malcolm X had uttered only three words — "Brothers and Sisters —" when the bullets ripped into him.

At the nearby Vanderbilt Clinic where a team of doctors tried to save Malcolm's life, a spokesman said, "There was no response at all. He was dead on arrival. There was no response from the time he was brought in."

Malcolm X, his wife and four children had been firebombed out of their Queens home just a week ago in an attack he attributed to the Black Muslims.

Negro leaders, many strongly opposed to the racism preached by Malcolm X, expressed themselves as aghast at the slaying. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. said tonight in Atlanta that he was "deeply saddened and appalled" by the slaying.

"This evil act must be strongly condemned by all people of goodwill," he said.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the slaying showed the "futility of violence."

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Malcolm's Life Marked by Irony

By Dick Schaap
Herald Tribune News Service

NEW YORK, Feb. 21—He was the son of a minister and he became a dope addict. He was the brightest student in his grammar school classes and he never got through high school. He hated white people and he fixed them up with Negro prostitutes. He was a saint and a former pimp, and even in the last five years of his life, when he had settled firmly into the fiery Black Nationalist image he had created for himself, Malcolm X never escaped the contradictions.

His killing today, at 39, was the ultimate irony. Malcolm X was shot to death by Negroes.

He hated whites. He insisted he hated whites. But somehow, it was hard to believe him. Always on his face there was the slight smile, the ironic smile that mocked his words even when he has making the most outrageous statements. It was his pitch, his hatred for the white man, but it never seemed to be his conviction.

Shows Courtesy

I never saw Malcolm X treat a white man unkindly. In the balcony of the Assembly chamber in Albany, he was soft and gentle to the white police guards who surrounded him. In a loft above a theater in Harlem, he was courteous to a white man who considered renting him space. In his office, among his aides, he invariably had time for a visiting white man. He did not offer solutions. He offered slogans and shouts of violence and calls to the street, and, mostly, he offered words.

He could talk. He was obsessed with language, obsessed with words, and he spilled them out, in rallies, in conversations, in interviews. He trapped himself in words. He contradicted himself with predictable regularity. He was always an extremist on either side [illegible] question.

He loved Elijah Muhammad with a fierce love that no one other Black Muslim could match when he was still working in the Black Muslim organization. "Elijah Muhammad has seen Allah," he used to say. Then, when Malcolm split with Muhammad, he hated with unequaled passion.

Background of Violence

Malcolm X came out of a background of violence. He was born in Omaha, Neb., one of 10 children of the Rev. Earl Little, a Baptist minister whose main faith was in Marcus Garvey, the fierce Black Nationalist.

The Ku Klux Klan marched on Mr. Little's home shortly before Malcolm was born, and years later, sitting in the Hotel Theresa in Harlem, Malcolm liked to say that he met the white devils while he was still in the womb.

"My father was the color of this," he once said, pointing to his black shoes, "and my mother, whose mother was raped by a white man, was light enough to pass for white. I hate every drop of white blood in me because it is the blood of a rapist."

The Little family moved to Milwaukee shortly after Malcolm was born, and then to Lansing, Mich. Malcolm grew up there, the only Negro in his class, and when he was six, his home was burned down. A year later, his father was killed, found dead under a streetcar. Malcolm always insisted that his father had been lynched.

He was separated from his mother, sent to a school in Michigan where he, again, was the lone Negro. He did well, but by the age of 16, he had fled to Harlem, and there he became "Big Red." He was always tall, and his hair had a red tinge, and the nickname grew naturally out of his physical appearance. But there was more. He was bad.

He smoked marijuana and then he sold it. He ran numbers. He sold bootleg whiskey. He conducted tours of Harlem brothels for visiting whites.

He was only a teen-ager, but he moved fast. He was making perhaps $2000 a week before he was 20. Then he planned a big robbery, a robbery in Boston, and he was caught. He was sent to a maximum security prison in Concord, Mass., and it was there, in 1947, when he was 22 years old, that he was converted to the Black Muslim doctrine.

He worked in Detroit for two years after being released from prison in 1952, then came to New York to head Muslim Mosque No. 7 in 1954.

Acquires Power

Malcolm acquired power, but it was a strange power. He never directly led an incident of violence. He preached violence, but no one ever saw him in a fight.

By the end of the 1950s, Malcolm X was, beyond question, the No. 2 man in the Black Muslim movement, Elijah Muhammad's most valuable lieutenant. He preached his hatred for the whites strongest then, in the early 1960s and there were rumors that his followers and Elijah

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United Press International

Malcolm X's widow, right, weeps outside the Audubon Ballroom after her husband was shot to death yesterday.

Muhammad's followers might number 100,000 or more.

But the reports always seemed exaggerated, and the Black Muslims never mustered any great national revolt. They called for a separate black state within the United States, but they did not openly fight for it.

Malcolm's power grew, and more and more he became the spokesman for the Black Muslim movement. Elijah Muhammad would grant interviews only rarely; Malcolm was almost always available.

Friction Seen

By the middle of 1963, it was obvious to anyone who followed the Black Muslim movement that Malcolm X was a threat to Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm always denied it. He always deferred to Elijah Muhammad. But still there was an undertone of friction.

And then when President Kennedy was assassinated and Malcolm made his remark about "chickens coming home to roost," Elijah Muhammad pounced. He suspended Malcolm. He silenced Malcolm. That was in December, 1963.

Three months later, stifled by the suspension, Malcolm X quit Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslim movement. He went off to Mecca to study Islam, and he sent word back to friends that he was now discovering the true religion.

He said that Elijah Muhammad's teachings had been false, that separatism was not necessarily the answer, that perhaps white men did not have to be hated. He talked of brotherhood and hinted of conciliation.

He returned to New York in the summer of 1964, and he set up the Muslim Mosque Inc. in the Hotel Theresa, then changed his organization's name to the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

He fluctuated between conciliation and outright racism, contradicting himself over and over. He made overtures to the accepted civil rights organizations. He said he was working for human rights. He had perhaps 300 parttime followers. And then, only two months ago, he said, "we need a Mau-Mau in the United States."

He never did seem able to decide whom he hated most. His speeches were most eloquent to whites, and his fury seemed contained. He had a potential for leading people that he never really used. And then, today, after all his sermons of hatred for the white man, he died at the hands of Negroes. He might have smiled at the irony.

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Associated Press

Sgt. Alvin Aronoff grips the arms of Thomas Hagan, 22, one of the men held for questioning after the fatal shooting of Malcolm X. Hagan was hospitalized with a bullet wound in the leg. He and another man were taken to a patrol car after they were attacked by followers of the slain Black Nationalist leader.

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Victim Known As Articulate Negro Leader

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By Ramon Geromia
Washington Post Staff Writer

Malcolm X, shot to death in a New York hotel yesterday, ranked high on the list of the Nation's Negro leaders.

The 38-year-old Black Nationalist leader was known as an articulate, able and dynamic orator who broke away from the Black Muslin cult last March 8 to form his own group, The Muslim Mosque, Inc.

A short time later, he also set up an Afro-American organization saying that "the main emphasis of the new movement will be black nationalism as a political concept and form of social action against the oppressors."

Once recognized as the chief spokesman for the anti-white Black Muslim group, Malcolm X rejected the organization saying that "for 12 long years I lived within the narrow-minded confines of the 'strait-jacket world'" of Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the Black Muslim cult.

Malcolm X was born in Omaha, Neb., one of 10 children of the Rev. and Mrs. Earl Little. His father was active in the back-to-Africa movement of black nationalist Marcus Garvey.

As a young boy, he moved with his family to Lansing, Mich., where they lived in a previously all-white neighborhood. Within three years, Malcolm later said, the home was burned to the ground and his father was found bludgeoned to death under a street car.

He ran away from home at the age of 11 and ended up in Boston at the home of a half-sister. At 15 he was living in Harlem, but by 1945 was back in Boston where he was arrested, convicted of burglary and was sentenced to 8 to 10 years in the Charlestown State Prison, where he served 77 months before being paroled.

his ideas did not change and he continued his work as a Black Nationalist evangelist with unremitting vigor.

His attitude toward the Negro movement is perhaps best summarized in a 1960 comment quoted by Wallace Terry, then a staff writer for The Washington Post:

"We want to get behind leaders who will fight for us," Malcolm said, ". . . leaders who are not afraid to demand freedom, justice and equality. We do not want leaders who are handpicked for us by the white man. We don't want any more Uncle Tom's."

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In 1952 he joined the Black Muslims, the unofficial name of the organization known formally as the Nation of Islam. Then, like all practicing members of the cult, he substituted X for his last name to symbolize the last name his ancestors lost when brought here from Africa as slaves.

He also practiced the stringent moral code of the Black Muslims and gradually became the spokesman and in effect the number two man for Black Muslim leader Elija Muhammad.

Malcolm X also became the heir-apparent to the spiritual leader of the Black Muslims, but it is believed that he lost out in a power struggle to guarantee his succession to Elijah who for some time has been in ill health.

Then, 14 months ago, the feud exploded. Ironically, it was touched off by Malcolm X's comment on the assassination of President Kennedy, which he characterized as an instance of "the chickens coming home to roost."

Speaking in Ney York, Malcolm X said that "being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad."

A week later, Elijah Muhammad publicly reprimanded Malcolm X for the remarks and suspended him indefinitely from the Black Muslims. "We, with the world, are very shocked at the assassination of our president," said Elijah Muhammad.

Later, when rejecting the Black Muslims, Malcolm X wrote to a New York friend from Mecca, Saudi Arabia, that "I shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in (Elijah Muhammad) even more fanatically and more blindly than I did."

But although Malcolm X split from the Black Muslims,

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The Washington Post and Times Herald A-3
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New York Journal-American
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New York Post
The New York Times
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date FEB 22 1965

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By Harry Naltcharan, Staff Photographer

On Feb. 4, Malcom X readied his camera to photograph the church where he spoke briefly to Negroes in Selma, Ala., during the voter registration drive held there.

On June 14, 1963, he spoke into a reporter's microphone as he observed a civil rights demonstration of about 3000 marchers proceeding down Pennsylvania Avenue.

United Press International

A week ago Sunday, Malcolm X arrived at his New York home after a fire bomb was thrown into the house during the night. Neither he nor his wife and four children were injured but the home, in Queens, suffered heavy damage.

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ADD MALCOLM X, NEW YORK (UPI-44)

CITY MEDICAL EXAMINER DR. MILTON HALPERN SAID THAT MALCOLM DIED OF MULTIPLE WOUNDS OF THE HEART AND AORTA BY BULLETS OF DIFFERENT CALIBERS AND SHOTGUN PELLETS, INDICATING THAT AT LEAST THREE ASSASSINS MOWED HIM DOWN. HALPERN SAID THE NEGRO LEADER WAS HIT MANY TIMES IN THE CHEST AND LOWER EXTREMITIES AND ONCE IN THE FACE.

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REC-6

Widow Under Police Guard

By CY EGAN
Journal-American Staff Writer

In fear of her own life and those of her four small daughters, the widow of assassinated Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X was in seclusion under heavy police guard today.

"I knew Malcolm would be killed some day," said the sobbing widow, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, 37, who is one month pregnant. But she shook her head and then stared blankly in silence when asked who the killers were.

"I believe Malcolm named the killers to police last Friday as the men who were responsible for the fire-bombing of our home," she finally ventured.

Malcolm, his wife and their children—Attilah, 6, Qubilah, 4, Illyasah, 2, and Gamilah, 5, were forced to flee the small brick house at 23-11 97th st., Elmhurst, Queens, early last Feb. 14 when several Molotov

Attilah Little b7c

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New York Daily News
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The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date

FEB 22 1965

cocktails were hurled through living room windows.

"When this happened, he didn't fold up his arms and cry," she said. "He felt is was a tragic thing but that the struggle for the Negro must go on."

Mrs. Shabazz said her husband had received a telephone call at the New York Hilton Hotel on Saturday and a second yesterday morning from a person who warned "you better wape up before it's too late."

She said a policeman escorted Malcolm to the hotel room and about 15 more were on duty around the hotel. But she claimed police had denied her husband's request for a pistol permit.

Her attorney, Manhattan Democratic Assemblyman Percy Sutton, said, however that Malcolm either owned or carried a .25 caliber pistol or a rifle, but "he was unarmed when he was killed."

Mrs. Shabazz said she and some of her children were present when her husband was assassinated, but did not actually witness the shooting.

"I heard noise," she said. "My husband said, 'Everything is all right.' Some in the third row stood up. I heard shots. I just fell to the floor. I looked out. I saw people crawling. I just knew they had shot him."

Mrs. Shabazz held a press conference last night at George's Supper Club, a Negro nightspot at 103-02 Astoria blvd., East Elmhurst.

Police raised the hood of the car in which she left the conference with Mr. Sutton and otherwise inspected the vehicle for bombs. They then tailed the auto as it sped off to an undisclosed destination.

Mr. Sutton said Malcolm X "died broke.

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1—*Trouble for Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little 39 years ago, really began last March when he split with Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslim sect over the issue of "non-violence." Malcolm X formed his own Black Nationalist group and proclaimed among other things that the blacks should arm themselves against the whites to combat racial discrimination . . . .*

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American 13
New York Daily News
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2—*After the break with Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm sought recognition with leaders of other Negro factions in New York. Here he joined in a four-way handshake with Congressman Powell, Rev. Galamison, leader of the school boycotts, and Gray, a left-winger and organizer of the Harlem rent strikes . . .*

3—*A few months after Malcolm quit the Muslims, their 'Prophet' Elijah came to Harlem and drew a capacity crowd. But a place of honor on the speaker's platform that once had been Malcolm's was now occupied by the verbose heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay (at left)...*

4—During Elijah's address, calling for non-violent separation of white and black Americans, his followers spotted David Whetstone, whom they believed a follower of Malcolm. The angry crowd dragged Mr. Whetstone (arrow) out into the street at 5th ave. and 143d st. and beat him unmercifully . . .

5—*Then, only a week ago yesterday, the differences between Negro extremists exploded into violence. Fire bombs were thrown into the windows of Malcolm's East Elmhurst, Queens, home. No one was hurt, but Malcolm X was grim and angry as he stepped from his auto to survey damage. Malcolm said he realized he was a marked man and he planned to identify the killers. He charged Elijah Muhammad with giving orders for his murder. Malcolm said when your time comes, your time comes . . .*

6—*And someone did murder Malcolm yesterday afternoon as he spoke to a rally in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th st. and Broadway. Dying he is carried away on a stretcher. Two gunmen pumped more than twelve bullets and four shotgun pellets into him as he was about to speak—and so the violent end of the quick, stormy Malcolm X, the racial extremist.*

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD AND CASSIUS CLAY
Stood Together After Break with Malcolm X

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Vengeful Blow For Malcolm X? 5 Firemen Hurt

REC-19

By DONALD R. FLYNN, RICHARD BARR and GUS ENGELMAN
Journal-American Staff Writers

Multiple explosions shattered and set aflame the Harlem Mosque of the Black Muslims early today.

The three-alarm fire reduced the building to smoking rubble in an apparent stroke of quick and violent revenge for the assassination of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X. OLITTLE

The widely-feared retaliation came at 2:15 a.m. when a series of blasts ripped Elijah Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 at 102 W. 116th st., where the Black Muslim "prophet" maintained New York headquarters on the fourth floor.

AVALANCHE OF BRICKS

A roaring fire swept the building almost at the instant of the blasts. Tons of bricks crashed onto two fire trucks in a roaring avalanche when the wall along W. 116th st. collapsed shortly after 3 a.m.

Apparently, fire bombs were thrown through an open fourth floor window from the roof of an adjoining buliding.

Six persons were injured—five firemen and one civilian. One fireman was in critical condition.

Fire Chief John T. O'Hagan and Chief of Detectives Lawrence W. McKearney both immediately labeled the fire and explosions "suspicious."

Asked if it appeared to be retaliation for the brutal murder of Negro Leader Malcolm X, Chief O'Hagan replied:

"I wouldn't be surprised. It seems logical. All our top investigators are here."

A shopping bag containing kerosene rags was found on the roof of an adjoining building at 113-15 Lenox ave., by two patrolmen.

8 INTERROGATED

Eight Negroes were rounded up in the area, which is a gathering place of Black Muslims, and were being interrogated in a temporary police headquarters set up in the Hollywood Bar & Grill across from the mosque at W. 116th st.

The explosions ripped the mosque "like a shot," one witness said.

"We heard this terrific

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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'voom!'" said Ptl. Robert DeKlade, who was one of the four policemen guarding the mosque in fears that this very thing might happen.

"We looked up," he said, "and saw flames at the top of the building. Then the windows blew out and flames came shooting out of the empty windows."

OUT OF CONTROL

The flames roared three stories high from the roof within minutes. It roared out of control until 4.20 a.m., gradually gutting all four floors, which collapsed in a charred jumble.

The blast came less than two days after Malcolm X, who once was a minister of the mosque but defected to set up his own religious group, was shot to death during a public gathering in the Audubon Ballroom at 166th st. and Broadway.

Only yesterday, his sister Ella vowed in Boston that:

"He will be avenge d!"

This threat was echoed by Leon 4X Ameer, 31, of Boston, heir-apparent to leadership of Malcolm X's movement.

"We are going to repay them for what they did to aMlcolm," he declared here last night before the bombing.

"There will be maximum retaliation."

He blamed Elijah Muhammad for the killing of Malcolm and said of Elijah:

"I don't know if he'll live out the month."

Ameer also casually said that he, himself, does not expect to live too long. The Black Muslims, he said, "are gonna kill me."

The mosque was blasted despite three policemen stationed inside the locked entrance, and another patrolman walking beat outside.

The mosque explosion prompted police immediately to double the security guard at the second-floor offices of Malcolm X's Muslim Mosque Inc. at the Hotel Theresa, 125th st and Lenox ave.

James X Shabazz, Malcolm's secretary and now acting head of his movement, arrived at the office early today. Evidencing neither shock nor sorrow, nor any concern over the incident, he calmly stated:

"I just read about it. I have not statement to make."

Asked if he was concerned by the possibility that the late Malcolm's followers might be accused in the incident, he replied:

"That's all. I have no statement to make about it."

PLOT IS SEEN

James Lawson, president of the United African Nationalist Movement and a veteran black nationalist, called the mosque burning part of "a well calculated and diabolical plan" that "would benefit the Communists more than anyone else."

Calling on "all people to cease and desist from all acts of violence," Mr. Lawson said:

"The police and investigative authorities should not rule out that this may be the beginning of a series of acts unleashed by Peking-oriented Communists. It does not have to be the result of a feud between followers of Muhammad and the late Malcolm X.

"I believe the police should have protected the Muslim property with more thoroughness."

BLAST VICTIM . . . Fireman Siegfried Newman injured by falling debris at the Muslim Mosque blast and fire, is aided by two companions while awaiting an ambulance. Journal-American Photo by Lee Morgan

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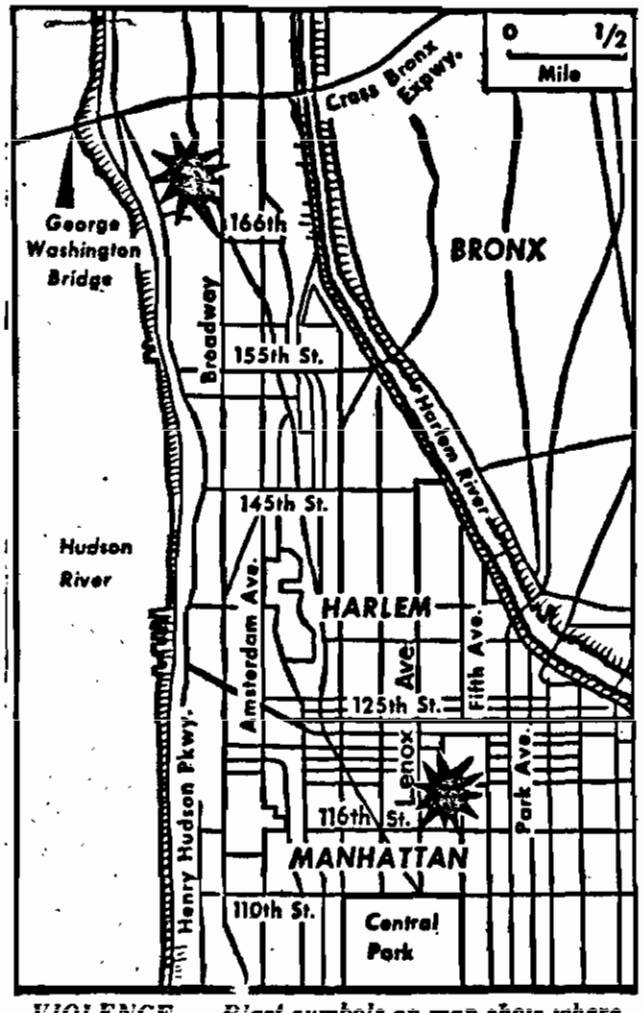

VIOLENCE ... Blast symbols on map show where Malcolm X was assassinated, at 166th st. and Broadway, and where the Black Muslim Mosque was blown up, at 116th st. and Lenox ave. AP Map

Mr. Lawson also criticized police in the protection of Malcolm X, stating:

"The fact Malcolm refused protection should not have been used as an excuse by police. The fact is a man can express intent to commit suicide in this town and police don't just let him die."

By the time firemen reached the scene, the fire was beyond control, quickly destroying the fourth-floor. It tumbled through into the vacant third floor, and finally the whole thing crashed to the ground.

The second floor was also vacant, and there was a store on the ground floor.

A Black Muslim meeting was held in the mosque last night, but broke up at midnight. After that, said police, no one was seen entering or leaving the building.

But Chief McKearney said it was possible for some one to enter unseen from the building next door on Lenox ave., where the kerosene-staked rags were found.

None of the eight men being questioned were labeled "suspects" as such.

"Everybody is to be questioned," declared Chief McKearney.

RAGING INFERNO

More than 100 firemen battled the raging inferno in 15-degree weather, becoming gradually coated with ice. Two firemen were aloft in an aerial basket, pouring water down into the shell of the building.

There were no indications whether anyone was strapped inside since there was no chance to search it before the fire roared out of control.

The blaze attracted a throng of spectators who heard the blast or sa wthe flames. But they didn't stay long in the frigid night air.

"I heard the explosion," said one elderly Negro woman. "I thought, 'Oh, my God, this is it!' and I threw myself down on the floor."

Another man, a member of the Muhammed Temple of Islam, the official name of the mosque, said the headquarters had been jammed earlier for the meeting and scores would have been killed if a bomb had exploded then.

"Man, the place was packed," he said.

The mosque was established here by Malcolm X upon orders from Elijah Muhammad, the self-anointed "prophet" of the Nation of Islam.

Malcolm broke with Elijah a year and a half ago and estamlished the Muslim Mosque, Inc., in the Hotel Theresa. He had long predicted that he would be murdered by the Black Muslims because of the defection.

The bloody killing of Malcolm and the fire-bombing of Mosque No. 7 compounded fears of bloody internecine strife among Negro nationalists here and in Chicago, home base for Elijah Muhammad.

MOSQUES GUARDED

Immediately after the explosion, two Elijah Muhammed mosques in Queens were put under heavy police surveillance.

Uniformed police on foot patrol covered the mosque at 105-05 Northern blvd., Corona, and another at 119-09 Sutphin blvd., in Jamaica.

A radio alert also was broadcast, ordering cruising police "to be on the alert for possible acts of vandalism." The mosque in Corona is near the former home of Malcolm at 23-11 97th st.

HEAD INJURIES

The most seriously injured in the Harlem explosion was Fireman Ziegfried Newmann, 27, of Hook and Ladder Co. 43, who suffered severe head injuries when he was caught in the rain of briks when the wall collapsed. He was admitted to Harlem Hospital in serious condition.

A civilian, Melvin Shelton, 34, of 349 W. 85th st., also was

Heavy police guard stands watch outside the Unity Funeral Home, 2352 Eighth ave., where the body of the slain Malcolm X reposes.

UPI Photo

admitted to the hospital for treatment for cuts of the right hand caused by flying glass.

Fire Lieut. John Fedjack, 50, also of Co. 43, was treated at the hospital for a sprained right wrist. Three other firemen were treated at the scene for minor injuries.

PROBE CONTINUES

The new outbreak of violence came as police continue their intense investigation into the execution of Malcolm, and as the Negro leader's grieving wife completed plans for his funeral.

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, hurt and bitter over her husband's murder, made official identification of the body yesterday, cradling weeping.

But she walked from the chief medical examiner's office at 520 1st ave. and quickly composed herself.

The body is at the Unity Funeral Home, 2352 8th ave., and friends may call from 2:30 p.m. until 11 p.m. today through Friday. The body is under a glass shield, dressed in a business suit.

Services will be at 10 a.m. Saturday in a church still to be selected, but probably in Adam Clayton Powell's Abyssinian Baptist Church at 132 W. 138th st., the largest in Harlem.

Burial will be in Ferncliff Cemetery in Hartsdale, Westchester County.

Mrs. Shabazz said she put off the services until Saturday, waiving a Muslim tradition that the sun should never set twice on the body of a believer, so that dignitaries from Africa may have enough time to get here. She expects several, she indicated.

Mrs. Shabazz, meanwhile, was under police guard in the home of friends at an undisclosed location.

"Malcolm's wife has refused our offer of protection," said Insp. Thomas C. Renaghan. "She feels she is not in any danger."

But it was reported she is under guard nevertheless.

"She is still quite upset, and has not been able to tell us much," said Insp. Renaghan. "We have no knowledge of any names or any pieces of paper with the names of the killers on it that she or Malcolm may have had."

ASK COOPERATION

"If any person has any such list of names," he added, "we would be very happy to cooperate with him. It would be a great help if we could get such information."

The only suspect in custody

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thus far is Talmadge Hayer, 22, who remains in the Bellevue Hospital prison ward, his shattered left leg in traction and a bullet still lodged in the same leg.

A second man in custody is Malcolm X's "bodyguard," Reuben Francis, 33, of 871 E. 179th st., Bronx. He was charged with felonious assault and Sullivan law violation after police said he fired the bullet into Hayer's leg during the riotous pandemonium that erupted when Malcolm was killed.

HIGH BAIL SET

Francis was held in lieu of $10,000 bail yesterday by Criminal Court Judge Walter Gladwin. An affidavit signed by Det. Ferdinand Cavallaro alleged Francis fired at Hayer from the second-floor landing of the Audubon Ballroom, 166th st. and Brodaway, moments after Malcolm was slain Sunday afternoon.

Hayer suffered a broken ankle before he was rescued and dragged to safety by police after Malcolm's followers pounced on him in a furious attack.

Of Hayer, Insp. Renaghan said:

"He has not told us anything significant yet. It is possible that we may charge him with first-degree murder. If this happens, we may be able to get him to tell us something about the others who were with him."

Hayer, alias Thomas Hagan and Thomas Hayer, lives at 347 Marshal st. in Paterson, N.J., where the door was slammed in the face of a reporter who went there to inquire about him.

According to New Jersey authorities, Hayer was arrested on Nov. 8, 1963, on a charge of possession of stolen property

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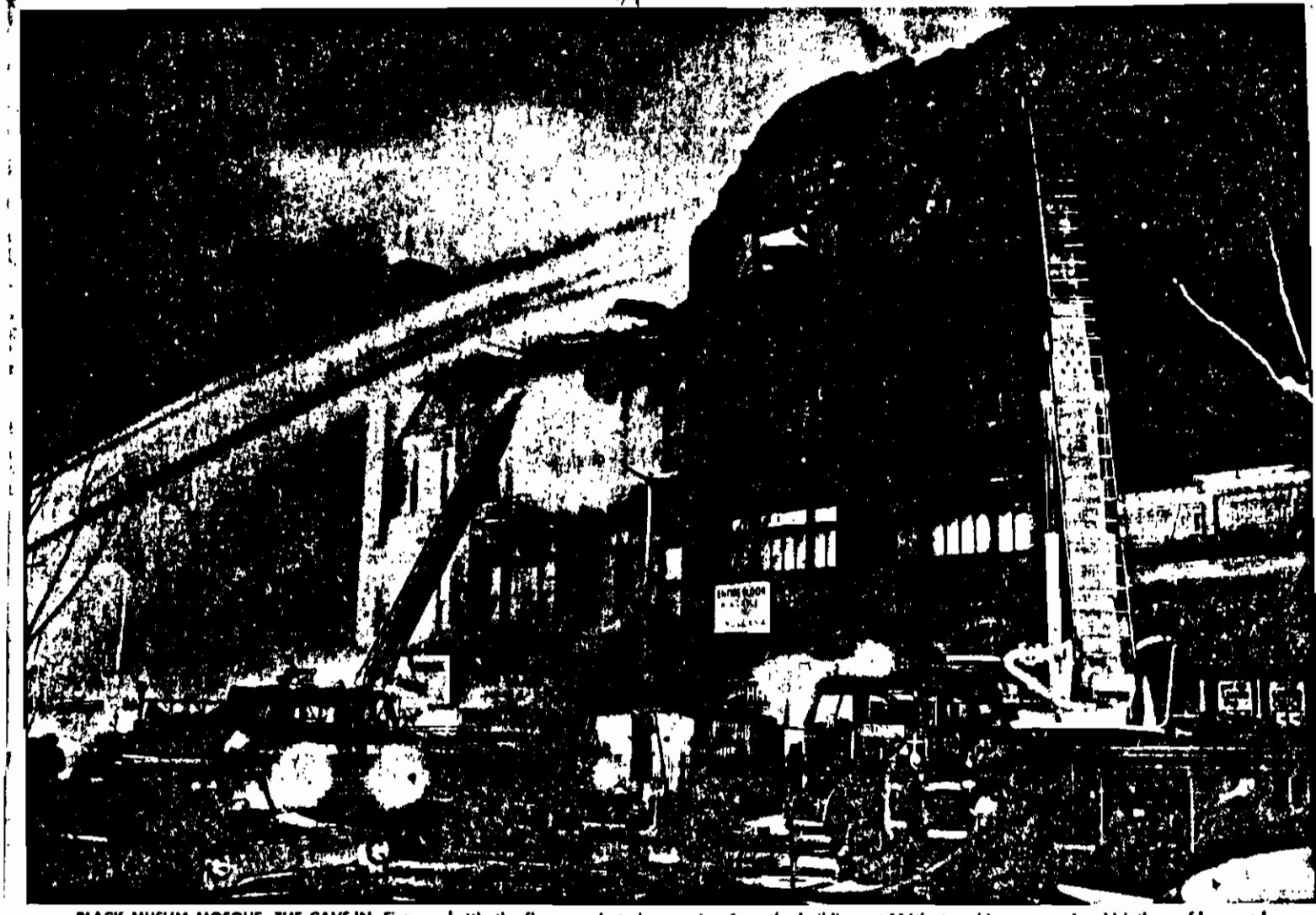
BLACK MUSLIM MOSQUE ABLAZE: Uncontrollable flames pour from the Harlem headquarters of the sect after Malcolm X avengers apparently had hurled fire bombs through windows. Here, the roof gives way while firemen fight to contain the flames. (Full Page of Photos on Page 21. Another Photo and Map on Page 4.) [illegible] Morgan. Copyright 1965, The Journal-American

Avengers at Work? Muslim Mosque Blaze



BLACK MUSLIM MOSQUE—THE CAVE-IN: Firemen battle the flames early today pouring from the building, at 116th st. and Lenox ave., in which the roof has caved in, bringing with it part of the wall, after an explosion and fire . . .

BLACK MUSLIM MOSQUE—THE RUBBLE: And the huge pile of bricks and mortar from the caved-in wall has toppled onto fire engines, injuring five firemen, and covers the fire hoses as it is strewn all over the street. (Other Photos on Pages 1, 4 and 5.)

Journal-American Photos by Leon Morgan. Copyright 1965.

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Malcolm Jailed as Hub Thief

Malcolm X was a member of a burglary gang that operated in Greater Boston until he was arrested and sentenced to 8-10 years in Charlestown State Prison in 1945.

Born in Omaha, Neb., as Malcolm Little, the son of a Baptist minister, Malcolm X first arrived in Boston to live with a half-sister when he was 11 years old, after running away from a detention home in Michigan.

Malcolm's half-sister now resides with her daughter in a South Shore community and is on welfare. She last saw the Black Nationalist leader three years ago when their aunt died in Boston. It's also reported he has a sister living in Boston.

Authorities said he obtained a railroad job when he was 15 and eventually wound up in Harlem, selling and smoking marijuana and leading a life of crime.

It was after his training in Harlem that he returned to Boston as a member of the burglary gang which resulted in his being arrested.

LIFE IN DANGER

In stories concerning his youth, Malcolm X once said that he continued smoking marijuana and drinking alcohol in prison for several years until he met another inmate who reformed him.

He then started to read serious works and his language became an obsession with him. He was converted to the Black Muslim cult in 1952 after serving in Charlestown State Prison.

Leon Ameer, former secretary to Heavyweight Boxing Champ Cassius Clay, said Malcolm X predicted last week that he would be shot and killed in the near future.

Ameer, presently living in a Boston hotel, said he met Malcolm X last Monday to discuss the future of their Black Nationalist organization.

Ameer said Malcolm X told him to be cautious because his (Ameer's) life also was in danger, since he was a top aide in the group.

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BOSTON GLOBE
Boston, Mass.

BOSTON HERALD
Boston, Mass.

BOSTON TRAVELER
Boston, Mass.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
Boston, Mass.

RECORD AMERICAN
Boston, Mass.

Date: 2/23/65
Edition: Complete
Author:
Editor: C. Edw. Holland
Title: Malcolm X OLITTLE

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THE MALCOLM X MURDER: *Expected Death, Not By His Own*

Preached Hatred Of the 'White Devil'

By DONALD R. FLYNN and STANLEY ROBERTS
Journal-American Staff Writers

Malcolm Little of Omaha, Neb., who became Malcolm X of the world, knew he would one day be killed violently, and accepted this fate as the price of leading Negroes against the "white devils."

He sounded like a man courting martyrdom, and found it ironically enough in Harlem, the Negro capital of America, delivered by his own kind.

"I know that any day, any night, I could die at the hands of some white devil racists," he wrote in his memoirs, "The Autobiography of Malcolm X."

"I dream that one day history will look upon me as having been one of the voices that perhaps helped to save America from a grave, even posibly fatal catastrophe."

That might be what Malcolm X meant to be his epitaph. What the world will really think of him cannot yet be told. The fact that he will be remembered at all is remarkable, considering his background and the road he was once traveling.

Boasts of Demand as Speaker

From a "zoot-suiter," a cocaine addict and a jailbird, he rose to become a leading spokesman for "separatism," the creation of a separate nation for American Negroes.

From an ignorant "hipster," he transformed himself into an articulate leader, and was able to boast that he was the second most sought after speaker in the United States. Barry Goldwater was first at that time.

He often said he became a racist from the womb, because his grandmother was raped by a white man. That was how he got his red hair and light complexion that he prided himself on as a youth but came eventually to hate as a stain.

"I hate every drop of that white rapist's blood that is in me," he declared.

He was born in Omaha on May 19, 1925, the son of the Rev. and Mrs. Earl Little. The Rev. Little was a follower of Marcus Garvey, who preached a "Back to Africa" message to Negroes. And thus, Ku Klux Klan riders smashed the Little home and forced them to move to Lansing, Mich. There, the Little home was burned down by racists, Malcolm wrote.

The Rev. Little died in 1831, bludgeoned and thrown under a street car, according to Malcolm. These shocks, and the desertion of a common-law husband after that, eventually broke the mind and spirit of Mrs. Little, Malcolm related, and ~~she has~~ been in a state mental hospital since the early 1930s.

'Like a Pink Poodle'

Malcolm attended Mason High School in Lansing, got good grades and was stunned as the only Negro in the school to be elected class president.

"I was unique in my class, like a pink poodle," he observed later.

Fate sent him to live with a sister in Boston's Roxbury section, the Harlem of the Hub City, and into a life of a shoeshine boy in a dance hall.

He soon learned that the real job was selling marijuana cigarets. Malcolm took it up himself, and moved into the "cool world."

A job on the Yankee Clipper train between Boston and New York brought him finally to "The Big Apple," and his

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American 4
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date

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own dream world—Harlem. He became a waiter in Small's Paradise on 7th ave., but was fired when he arranged for a soldier to meet a prostitute. The soldier was a "spy"—a "black tool of the white man."

Malcolm became a full-scale "hustler," selling "reefers"—marijuana. He faked a crazy act to be classifed 4-F. Then he slid into robbery to feed his $20-a-day cocaine habit, and wound up with a 10-year sentence after being caught in Boston.

But the Massachusetts state prison at Charlestown became, for Malcolm Little, a strange sort of monastery. First, he kicked the dope habit, "but even this was only part of the total transformation that was to come over me."

A Book Changes Him

His brothers and sisters began writing to him about a "new" religion and about its leader, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who was once himself in prison as a draft-dodger. Malcolm wrote to Elijah and was sent the book which completed the transformation, a tract called "Yacub's History."

This "history" is the "demonology" of the "new religion," and told of how an evil scientist, Mr. Yacub, created the white race from the world's original inhabitants—the black race.

Mr. Yacub was cast out of the holy city of Mecca by Allah as a rebel and "decided, as revenge, to create upon the earth a 'devil' race—a bleached-out white race of people."

This weird "history" was given to Elijah Muhammad in Detroit, Mich., by one "Master W. D. Fard," who is accepted as a god who appeared on earth .He later "vanished," leaving Elijah to carry on.

In his cell, Malcolm Little swallowed this "history" completely. He began trying to convert his hustler friends through letters, and this led him to read the dictionary—from A to Z.

And then came the final touch, a "vision," when he awakened in his cell and saw "a man sitting beside me in my chair." Then the vision vanished.

"Later, of course, I learned that my prevision was of Master W. D. Fard, the Messiah . . ."

Changes His Name to X

In 1952, Malcolm was released and plunged into the work of Allah in Detroit, where he was paroled in the custody of his brother, Wilfred.

Malcolm joined Mosque No. 1 in Detroit, visited Chicago to meet Elijah, and was awarded his "X," becoming thereafter Malcolm X.

"The X for the Muslim was a symbol for the true African family name that he would never know," Malcolm explained. "It would replace the white-slave-master name which had been imposed upon my paternal forebears by some blue-eyed devil."

Malcolm X rose swiftly, recruiting enough converts to triple the membership of Mosque No. 1 in a few months. He was named assistant minister in 1953, and then moved to Chicago to be trained by Elijah. Once trained, Malcolm X was sent to Philadelphia to establish Mosque No. 12, which also flourished.

And thus, after only a month in Philadelphia, Malcolm X was sent on to establish Mosque No. 7 in New York City. By 1956, it was well-established, but Malcolm never would say what its membership was.

'All Witnesses Were Devils'

In January, 1958, Malcolm married "Sister Betty X," driving to his relatives home in Lansing, Mich., for the event.

"An old hunch-backed white devil performed the wedding," he wrote. "And all of the witnesses were devils."

The Littles—or Xs—had four children—attilah, a daughter named after Attila the Hun ("He sacked Rome," Malcolm explained; Quiblah, a daughter named after Kubla Khan; Ilyasah, a son whose name is Arabic for Elijah, and another daughter, Lamumbah, after the slain Congolese premier Patrice Lumumba.

"I guess by now I will say I love Betty," Malcolm wrote laconically in 1964. By this time the family was living in a home at 23-11 97th st., in Elmhurst, Queens. Over the next several years Malcolm X's reputation spread as the Muslim movement became known in America.

By the early 1960s, rumors spread through Muslim circles of trouble between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm declared in his autobiography that the trouble was Elijah's breaking of the Muslem commandments.

Hails Kennedy's Assassination

Malcolm's account of what developed was that Elijah was afraid of being denounced for his misdeeds, and so looked for an excuse to expell Malcolm. The chance came when President Kennedy was assassinated on Nov. 22, 1963, and Malcolm told a Manhattan Center rally of 7,000 persons that it was a case of "chickens coming home to roost."

"Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they always made me glad."

For this, Elijah Muhammad suspended Malcolm X and "silenced him for 90 days." The ban was never lifted, however, and Malcolm went his own way. He called a press conference to announce the creation of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., with headquarters in Harlem's Hotel Theresa.

Then, Malcolm realized a dream of many years. He made a pilgrimage to Mecca, also visiting Cairo, Dakar, Ghana, Nigeria and other African nations. He returned home in triumph, overwhelmed with offers to speak all over the nation.

He spoke at Harvard, Yale, Queens College and at many other schools.

Message of Bullets and Blood

On his own, Malcolm spread the message of blood and violehce.

"The price of freedom is blood, and if blood frightens you, then freedom frightens you," was a typical comment.

He set down 1964 as a year of turmoil—bullets and blood.

"There will be more violence than ever this year," he proclaimed in March of 1964. "White people will be shocked when they discover that the passive little Negro they had known turns out to be a roaring lion."

"If it's necessary to form a Black Nationalist party—or a Black Nationalist army—we'll form it," he thundered. "It's going to be a year of ballots or bullets. And if ballots won't work, bullets will."

Again: "We should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency . . . When our people are bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs."

One of his last major statements came in October of last year when he denounced Elijah Muhammed as a "religious faker," and officially broke with him.

Malcolm also rejected black racism as a doctrine, declaring that he "recognized all men as brothsrs." Thus, he was moving into the mainstream of liberalism in race relations.

"The well-meaning whites must become less vocal and more active against racism of their fellow whites . . . and Negro leaders must make their own people see that with equal rights also go equal responsibilities."

STRUGGLING with policemen is Talmadge Hayer of Paterson, N. J., one of alleged gunmen who slew Malcolm X. WCBS-TV Photo via AP

BULLET HOLES in the podium behind which Malcolm X stood are pointed out by a detective. AP Photo

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BLUFFED HIS WAY OUT

Driver Tells How Malcolm X Escaped Death in Chase

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Little

This story, never before told, sheds new light on the bloody underground war being fought by rival factions of America's extremist Negro community. Bradley revealed his story to Louis Lomax, Negro reporter and author.

By EDWARD BRADLEY
(As Told to Louis E. Lomax)

LOS ANGELES (NANA)—I am convinced that members of the Black Muslim sect planned to assassinate Malcolm X when he was here in Los Angeles three weeks ago. I know—because I drove the "death car" during a hair-raising, 70-mile-an-hour chase that climaxed Malcolm's terror-ridden 22-hour stay here.

There is no question in my mind that only quick thinking and a brazen bluff by Malcolm X saved both him and me from being gunned down on a Los Angeles freeway.

I know the Los Angeles Black Muslims and they know me. Some of my best friends are top men in the Los Angeles Mosque. They know every word I say here is true. The Los Angeles police also know it is true. In fact, several members of the Los Angeles plainclothes detail lived through some of the experience with Malcolm X and me. I cannot say the Black Muslims killed Malcolm in New York last Sunday. I can say they were out to get him.

It all started late in the afternoon of January 26. I received a phone call from Allen Jamal, a close personal friend and a former member of the Los Angeles Black Muslim temple. Jamal told me that Malcolm was coming to Los Angeles on the 28th; Jamal's car was in the repair shop and he asked me if I would act as Malcolm's driver while he was here. I have known Malcolm for almost ten years; I considered him a personal friend, and so I agreed.

Jamal and I arrived at the Los Angeles Airport just in time to meet TWA flight No. 9 from New York at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 28th. However Malcolm's flight was late and while Jamal and I were waiting we saw a Negro man whom we later discovered was John Ali, national secretary of the Black Muslims, sitting in the terminal lounge. Malcolm's plane was diverted to another gate and this is the only thing that prevented a dramatic confrontation between Malcolm and Ali, Malcolm's one-time close friend and convert.

Jamal and I drove Malcolm immediately to the Statler Hilton Hotel. Jamal and Malcolm got out of the car and entered the hotel to register. I gave my car to a hotel attendant for parking and then followed Jamal and Malcolm in

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star A1
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
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The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
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to the hotel. But as I was entering the hotel a car bearing six Black Muslims, including Ali, drove up to the hotel. I know they were Muslims because two of the men are longtime acquaintances of mine. They are John Shadazz, the minister of the Los Angeles mosque, and Captain Edward 2X (Sherrill), head of the Fruit of Islam of the local mosque. They spoke to me and asked why I was at the hotel. I told them I was there to meet a friend. After another pleasantry, the Muslims entered the hotel, leaving one member standing guard at the hotel entrance.

By this time Malcolm had checked into Room 1129. Malcolm and Jamal came down on the elevator and walked across the hotel lobby just as the Muslim entourage entered the lobby. I was just behind the Muslims and they and Malcolm came within ten feet of each other. The Muslims were stunned; Malcolm's face froze but he never broke his gait. It was clear that the Muslims did not know Malcolm was in town until that moment. Later events proved that the entire scene was but a dramatic coincidence. Ali had flown in from Chicago on temple business and just happened to have landed within minutes of Malcolm and they both just happened to be registered at the same hotel.

We rushed Malcolm to my car and drove to the two ex-secretaries to the honorable Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, who have filed suits saying the Muhammad is the father of their four children. Malcolm's main purpose in visiting the women was to warn them that they had been marked for assassination by the Black Muslims. Now that the

Muslims knew he was in town, Malcolm became apprehensive. He repeatedly told Jamal and me that the Muslims were determined to kill him.

He was so concerned, in fact, that he would not enter the home of the two women, as he was certain they, too, were being watched. Instead, he sent Jamal ahead on foot and had the two women and their children meet us several blocks away from the house.

Visited Attorney's Office

Malcolm and the two women visited the office of attorney Gladys Root. I was not in on the conference but Malcolm later told me that he warned both Attorney Root and the two ex-Muslim women that they were in grave danger.

Malcolm, Jamal, the two women and I had dinner together that evening. I took Malcolm back to his hotel about midnight. Black Muslims were all over the place. They were parked in cars on all sides of the streets. Some were on foot. They had the Statler completely surrounded. Malcolm sized up the situation and told me that he was going directly to his room and that he would stay there until I contacted him the following morning. Before getting out of the car, Malcolm warned me that I, too, was now in danger and that I should exercise extreme caution. Then Malcolm bounded from the car and dashed into the hotel.

Meanwhile, the two ex-Muslim women were taken home under police guard. Muslims were staked out at their home and two of them were arrested on the spot.

Early the next morning I received word from contacts I have inside the Los Angeles Black Muslim movement that once Malcolm's presence here was discovered the Muslims had called an emergency meeting of the Fruit of Islam.

Believed to Be Musclemen

The Fruit are the strong men of the temple and are believed to be musclemen. My contact told me that the Fruit were given orders to get Malcolm, Jamal and me.

I called Malcolm at 9 the next morning to say that I was on the way to pick him up for a round of appointments. Malcolm told me that Muslims had the hotel surrounded and that I should watch my step. He also said that he had received several threatening calls during the night. I arrived at the hotel a half hour later and saw Muslims standing on street corners pretending to be looking into store windows, and sellingnewspapers. Parking regulations prevented them from stopping near the hotel, but I saw at least two carloads of Muslims patrolling the area.

Shortly after I entered Malcolm's room the phone rang.

"Yes?" Malcolm answered.

"Nigger," the voice said, "You are dead; you are a dead Nigger."

Malcolm hung up the phone and put his head in his hands for a moment of silent thought.

"It's too dangerous," he said to me finally. "I'm not going to make any further visits on this trip. Let's stay in the room and call whom we can by phone and then get out of town."

Talked in Phone

For the next two hours Malcolm and I telephoned—and received calls from—wavering members of the Los Angeles Black Muslim mosque. Some of the top men in the mosque talked with Malcolm at length and I am convinced that he was on the verge of capturing a substantial following from the local temple.

Malcolm made a reservation to leave for Chicago on TWA Flight 26 at 12:30.

"This is all that I have to protect myself," Malcolm said to me as he brandished a zip gun disguised as a decorated fountain pen. "It only shoots one bullet," Malcolm continued, "but at least I'll take one of them with me."

I then called the police. I talked with Lt. Phillips of the intelligence department and informed him that Malcolm and I were headed to the airport and asked for protection. Phillips promised to have his men waiting for us at the TWA terminal.

"I never thought there would be a day when I would call Parker (the Los Angeles police chief) for protection," Malcolm said after I hung up the phone. "The last time I was in Los Angeles, Parker's men had gunned down some of our brothers and I gave Parker hell. The irony is that I now must call upon him to protect me from my former brothers."

Trailed by Two Cars

As Malcolm and I left the hotel we were trailed by two cars, both loaded with Black Muslims. By zig zagging and executing several U-turns, I was able to elude one of the cars but the second car followed us onto the freeway. As we fled down the freeway at 70 miles an hour, Malcolm talked of the Black Muslims and of his own aspirations:

He was determined to set up a true Moslem organization among American Negroes.

He was determined to strengthen the tie between the American Negro and the nonwhite people of the world.

He said he had evidence that the Black Muslims' movement was being financed by a very wealthy white Texan.

But most of all he talked of himself; that he was a man marked for death.

We watched through the rearview mirror. The carload of Muslims was gaining on us. I took the far, left lane of the freeay and the Muslims inched alongside to our right. Fear struck my heart; I knew they meant business. I expected any moment to see their car window lower and a volley of shots blaze toward us. I drove like a madman but the Muslims kept pace.

Used Cane as "Gun"

Then Malcolm acted. He reached on the floor of my car and picked up a walking cane I had been carrying since a back injury several months ago. Malcolm then lowered the back window of my car and lifted the cane is if it were a shotgun and aimed it at the Muslims who were then almost directly alongside us. The Muslim driver suddenly reduced his spped and fell into traffic behind us.

I swerved across the freeway and headed for the nearest exit. The Muslims became tangled in traffic and could not follow us up the exit ramp. We were then about five minutes from the airport and our rendezvous with the police detail was still a half hour away. The Muslims had seen Malcolm check out of the hotel; they saw him put his bag in my car; they had followed us down the freeway toward the airport. We were certain they knew where we were going. We were determined not to enter the airport terminal without police protection.

We stopped at a roadside cafe to while away the minutes before the scheduled meeting with the police. Malcolm, though tense, chatted with the white waitress who recognized him immediately. Meanwhile, I called Lt. Phillips and discovered that the police detail was already at the airport waiting for us.

Malcolm and I were ushered into the terminal by eight plainclothesmen. The TWA security men were also on hand. As Malcolm was purchasing his ticket, two Black Muslims came into the terminal marching in lock step. As if in military cadence. "Those are Muslims," one of the policemen said excitedly. "I recognize one of them. They call him Jingles."

"Watch them," Malcolm said quickly. "They are decoys. They were sent here to divert attention while the real killers do their work. Look for black men dressed like laborers or something like that. That is the way the killers will be dressed. Those two men there are decoys."

It was this precise use of decoys that accomplished Malcolm's death last Sunday.

Outflanked Officers

The two Muslins marched directly toward us. The police moved forward to intercept them. The Muslims executed a half right, then a half left, therby outflanking the officers. The two Muslims then took up observation posts some 50 feet from us as the police formed a protective cover. TWA officials rushed Malcolm and me into a small office and then led us to his plane through the underground cabbage chute. I saw Malcolm onto the plane and said goodby.

"I am a marked man," Malcolm said to me. "I'm ready to die. I just don't want them to hurt my family."

Malcolm and I had missed death by inches and we knew it.

Now Malcolm is dead. As I write this, unrest contorts the Negro community from coast to coast. Fear and panic have invaded the Black Muslim organization here, and I am certain there will be trouble when the Muslims meet in Chicago for their annual convention this weekend. Whatever happens, I am further convinced that the Black Muslims are doomed. In death, Malcolm X has accomplished what he could not do in life.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Muslims Enraged by 'Sneak Attack'

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

"It was a vicious sneak attack," said Joseph X.

"That's right," said the dozen Black Muslims clustered around him.

"The worst thing a man can do is tamper with your religious sanctuary," said Joseph.

"That's right," said the men in the hot, crowded storefront office.

"We are Muslims," said Joseph. "We all know we have to go sometime. We just want to go like Muslims."

"That's right."

Two blocks farther down Lenox Avenue, at 116th Street, a hose fixed to a fire truck's aerial ladder was throwing water on the smoking, ice-festooned ruin of Muhammad's Mosque No. 7, the Black Muslim headquarters in New York.

At 2:15 A.M. yesterday fire had raced through the fourth-floor meeting hall, destroying its interior and that of the Gethsemane Church of God in Christ on the floor below. Police later found a five-gallon gasoline can, a brown shopping bag stained with gasoline and some oily rags on the roof of an adjacent building.

The fire, termed "definitely suspicious," came a day and a half after Malcolm X, who had left the Black Muslim movement to form his own black nationalist movement, was shot to death in the Audubon Ballroom, in upper Manhattan.

"I would say we expected something like this," a Harlem resident said yesterday as he leaned on a police barrier and looked with little interest at the ruined mosque. "I would say these cats are going to be scratching until there's not but one of them left."

Joseph X, a Black Muslim spokesman, said that the followers of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, had alternative meeting places in mosques at 120 Madison Street, Brooklyn, and 105-05 Northern Boulevard, Queens.

As Joseph was talking in the office of Muhammad Speaks, the movement's newspaper, at 153 Lenox Avenue, the news came over the radio of a bomb threat at the Unity Funeral Home, where Malcolm's body is on view. "Now they'll be accusing us of that, too," Joseph said.

Throughout the day barricades were set up at 115th Street on both sides of the avenue. Buses were rerouted and the 116th Street IRT subway station was closed until 3:40 P.M. There were about 60 policemen in the area directing traffic and the small crowds that gathered at the barricades.

Eyewitnesses differed about the fire's beginning. Some, including several policemen guarding the mosque entrance, said they had heard an explosion or explosions. But Mrs. Louise Washington, who lives on the top floor at 111 Lenox Avenue, one door down from the mosque, said she had heard nothing.

She said she and her husband did not know there was a fire until a policeman knocked on their door.

A man in a bar, who did not wish to be identified, gave this account:

"Man, I've seen some fires but this one was like no fire I ever saw. First there's this little crash, you know, but real quiet. Then it say VOOOOM! The flames came straight up in the air and straight out over the street. Then the smoke—like this oil smoke, you dig?—it rolls out slow and then drops down slow, like it was falling. Man, I just stood there hypnotized."

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

31 NEW YORK TIMES

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Date: 2/24/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: PAUL L. MONTGOMERY
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM X LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
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Classification: BU100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

[X] Being Investigated

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Belmont
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RAM Hand Seen in Muslim Ravage

By WILLIAM FEDERICI, EDWARD KIRKMAN and HENRY LEE

The assassination of Malcolm X, dissident Black Muslim leader, and the fire-bombing of an orthodox Muslim temple in Harlem less than 36 hours later, probably were the work of a third, even more fanatic Negro hate group, top police and federal investigators told THE NEWS last night.

As more violence threatened in Negro communities across the country, these sources disclosed that the Revolutionary Action Movement, dedicated to organized violence, had long plotted to pit the aging Prophet Elijah Muhammad against the fiery Malcolm X and thus focus world attention on the problems of the American Negro.

[illegible] organization, known as [illegible] includes hard-core young [illegible] heads, from both the prophet's [illegible] Malcolm's organizations, who [illegible] of a global black revolution. RAM is masterminded by Robert F. Williams, turncoat North Carolina Negro now working for Communist Cuba and China, who conceived the plot to bomb the Statue of Liberty, the Liberty Bell and Washington Monument.

Financed by Crime

RAM, headquartered in Philadelphia and strong in Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland, became active here only about six months ago. Since then, police have known that guns and ammunition have been pouring into Harlem. According to an FBI report which THE NEWS had access to, RAM has apparently completed its first phase of recruitment and education for ideological warfare. Now the outfit is believed concentrating on financing—through stickups, muggings and other means — and "direct action" against the American system through acts of violence.

Support for this explanation of the assassination and bombing came indirectly from James [illegible] CORE director. He said [illegible] the murder of Malcolm [illegible] political killing [illegible] implications."

Farmer said most people are leaping [illegible] to the conclusion [illegible] Muslims were re-[illegible] Farmer said Malcolm had come to believe the whites could make a significant contribution to the Negro drive for equality and be their allies and supporters.

International Plot Seen

"It is significant that he was struck down as his views were changing," Farmer said.

Farmer, who called for a White House investigation, expressed his conviction that Malcolm X's death "was an international plot, although the executioners themselves weren't foreign agents."

Similarly, James Lawson, president of the United African Nationalist Movement, called the Harlem mosque bombing a "well-calculated and diabolical plan" that "will benefit the Communists more than anyone else."

Witnesses Reluctant

The investigation "should not rule out that this may be the beginning of a series of acts unleashed by Peking-oriented Communists," he said. "It does not have to be the result of a feud between the followers of Muhammad and the late Malcolm X."

Although Malcolm X was assassinated Sunday afternoon in view of 500 of his supporters,

What are the facts?

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News 3
New York Post
The New York Times
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
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Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph Coyle said witnesses have not been helping the police.

"When the heat is off, we expect some of these people will come forward," Coyle said at the Wadsworth Ave. station, where the investigation is concentrated.

"As of now, I don't think they feel secure."

Coyle said that Talmadge Hayer, 22, the one suspect captured, has refused to talk to police. He is in the Bellevue Hospital prison ward. He was assertedly shot by Malcolm's bodyguard Reuben Francis, 33, who is being held in $10,000 bail on charges of felonious assault and Sullivan Law violation.

Coyle refused to say whether police knew the identities of two other assailants who sprayed Malcolm X with some 16 bullets and shotgun pellets, two of which pierced his heart.

Bomb Threats Phoned

"We've never gotten much cooperation from the Black Muslims the Black Nationalists," he . "But we're making some progress. We're seeing a little of the dawn."

As hunderds of police reinforcements, both uniformed men and detectives, poured into Harlem from Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx, there were threats of further violence.

Several bomb threats were received at the Unity funeral home, 2052 Eighth Ave., at 126th St., where Malcolm's body will be on display daily until Friday in a $2,000 burnished copper coffin with a full-length glass cover. The funeral is scheduled tentatively for 10 A.M. Saturday.

Police searched all persons entering the funeral home and inspected floral wreaths delivered there. Dozens of uniformed cops were posted near the two-story building, some of them on the roof.

According to Joseph E. Hall, director of the parlor, a man he knows said he had overheard talk that a bomb would be tossed. Armsted Barrett, assistant manager, got a phone call from a woman who said: "I overheard three men say they are going to blow up the funeral home." A third caller said:

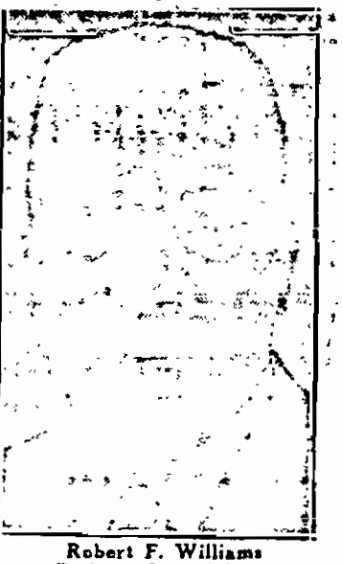
"Malcolm X's body will never be buried. It will be cremated by fire bombs."

Tossed From Roof

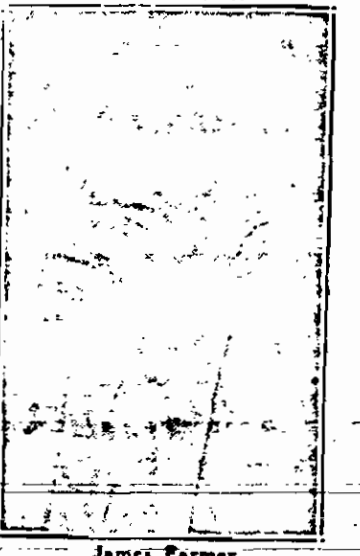
Investigation of the blast which destroyed Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 7, 102 W. 116th St., early yesterday, disclosed that a Molotov cocktail had been tossed into the fourth-floor from the roof the building. Police said they recovered an empty five-gallon can on the roof next door at 113 Lenox Ave., there were traces of gasoline in it, but they could recover no fingerprints.

Hereafter, police said, members of the Tactical Patrol Force will be posted on the roofs of two other mosques in Corona, Queens, and one each in Brooklyn and the Bronx.

Five firemen and a bystander were hurt in the three-alarm fire and blast that occurred at 2:15 A. M. The mosque had been Malcolm X's headquarters when he was still a follower of the Elijah



Robert F. Williams
Dedicated to violence



James Farmer
Suspects international plot

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Tolson
Belmont
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Trotter
Tele Room
Holmes
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Sharpshooters Guard Harlem Mortuary

CORE Chief: Malcolm's Death Plotted Abroad

NEW YORK, Feb. 24 (UPI) — Police sharpshooters lined surrounding rooftops today in a vigil against threatened violence at the Harlem funeral home where the body of slain Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X is on public view.

The investigation of Malcolm's assassination and yesterday's fire-bombing of the Black Muslim headquarters mosque in Harlem took on new overtones with the claim by civil rights leader James Farmer that the killing was "political" and masterminded overseas.

NOT THE MUSLIMS?

Mr. Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said:

"I doubt seriously if the Black Muslims murdered Malcolm. There is something far greater than the Black Muslims involved." He called for a White House investigation.

"I am convinced the killing was an international plot, altho the executioners themselves weren't foreign agents," he said.

Mr. Farmer said it did not seem "accidental that his death came at a time when his views were changing" toward "the mainstream of the civil rights movement."

THOUSANDS

In less than four hours last night, more than 2000 persons filed past the glass-covered, bronze coffin of the tall, bearded militant Negro leader whose fiery voice was silenced Sunday as he addressed a Harlem rally.

All visitors and floral tributes were carefully searched by police before being allowed inside the mortuary. Several telephoned threats that the mortuary would be bombed were received [illegible] the funeral [illegible] scheduled for Saturday.

New York police pressed their investigation amid mounting fear of a nationwide vendetta between Malcolm's Black Nationalists and the rival Black Muslims, whom the Nationalists blame for Malcolm's death.

—UPI Telephoto

The entrace to the Black Muslim mosque offices in Harlem is a shambles yesterday after fire and explosion rocked the building.

Following the destruction of the Muslim Mosque in Harlem, Chicago police increased their guard on heavyweight champion Cassius Clay, a prominent Muslim, and Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad.

Mr. Clay said he would not go into hiding for fear of his life and if he is the intended target of assassins "I am here — they can come and get me."

He said he would fight a scheduled eight-round exhibition at the Muslims' national convention Saturday.

Security forces were also built in San Francisco, where a Muslim Mosque was slightly damaged by flaming kerosene.

Paterson, N. J., which has a large concentration of Muslims, also increased police details. Paterson is the home of Talmadge Hayer, 22, arrested as a suspected member of the three-to-five member team which killed Malcolm.

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UPI-155
(MALCOLM X)

NEW YORK--POLICE INDICATED TODAY THEY HAVE PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE FIVE-MAN ASSASSIN TEAM THAT MURDERED NEGRO EXTREMIST MALCOLM X IN FRONT OF 400 WITNESSES SETTING THE STAGE FOR A POSSIBLE VENDETTA BETWEEN HIS RENEGADE FOLLOWERS AND THE BLACK MUSLIM CULT.

ONE OF THE SUSPECTED ASSASSINS WAS SHOT AND CAPTURED AT THE SCENE OF THE SLAYING. POLICE PRESSED TO FIND THE OTHER FOUR BEFORE NEGRO COMMUNITIES FROM COAST-TO-COAST EXPLODE INTO MORE VIOLENCE.

OMINOUSLY ABSENT FROM THEIR FAMILIAR HAUNTS IN NEW YORK'S HARLEM WERE MALCOLM'S TOP LIEUTENANTS AND HIS TRUSTED BODYGUARDS, SOME OF WHOM PERSONALLY VOWED TO AVENGE HIS DEATH.

THERE WERE REPORTS THAT "HUNDREDS" OF THE BLACK NATIONALIST EXTREMISTS WERE CONVERGING ON CHICAGO TO INFILTRATE THE BLACK MUSLIM CONVENTION THAT GETS UNDERWAY FRIDAY. LEON AMEER, HEIR-APPARENT TO MALCOLM'S ORGANIZATION, SAID HE WOULD BE SURPRISED IF MUSLIM LEADER ELIJAH MUHAMMAD LIVED OUT THE MONTH.

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Malcolm X Slaying Called Tragedy for All

ACOLITTLE

The assassination of Malcolm X in New York Sunday was a "great tragedy" for all free-thinking Americans, according to Roy E. Wilkins, a Negro civil rights leader.

Speaking last night to about 500 Georgetown University students, Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) said that, although most Negroes disagree with the philosophy of the Black Nationalist leader, "assassination was not the answer."

Wilkins said he did not consider Malcolm X a friend of the civil rights movement but respected his right as an American to express his own philosophy as to the future of the Negro race.

"The Black Muslim organization turns its back on the American way of life . . . they are not tied to the American dream of freedom and equality," Wilkins said. "But when Malcolm X broke away from the Muslims and headed the Black Nationalists, he began to learn something about white people.

"We will never know if this changed his way of thinking and if he eventually would have come into the civil rights camp," Wilkins said.

When asked by a reporter later if he thought the assassination would start a bloody feud between the two Negro extermist groups, Wilkins said no.

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WF-161 (MALCOLM X) Little

WASHINGTON--CARL T. ROWAN, HEAD OF THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, SAID TODAY THAT THERE HAVE BEEN "A HOST OF AFRICAN REACTIONS" TO THE SSLAYING OF MALCOLM X THAT HAVE BEEN BASED ON "MISINFORMATION AND MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED."

AS ONE EXAMPLE, HE CITED THE COMMENT OF THE DAILY GRAPHIC, ACCRA, CAPITAL OF GHANA. THE PAPER SAID "THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X WILL GO DOWN IN HISTORY BOOKS AS THE GREATEST BLOW THE AMERICAN INTEGRATIONIST MOVEMENT HAS SUFFERED SINCE THE SSHOCKING ASSASSINATIONS OF (MEDGAR) EVERS AND JOHN F. KENNEDY.""

ROWAN DECLARED THAT "THIS WILL COME AS RATHER STARTLING NEWS TO THOSE NEGRO LEADERS WHO KNOW THAT MALCOLM X AND HIS FOLLOWERS PREACHED NOT INTEGRATION, BUT BLACK SUPREMACY AND THE SEPARATION OF THE NEGROES."

THE USIA DIRECTOR, A NEGRO HIMSELF, DISCUSSED THE EFFORTS OF HIS AGENCY TO PRESENT THE FACTS SURROUNDING SUNDAY'S KILLING OF HE 39-YEAR-OLD MILITANT BLACK NATIONALIST. HE SPOKE BEFORE THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION HERE.

ROWAN SAID "WHEN FIRST I HEARD OF MALCOLM X'S DEATH, I KNEW THAT THERE WAS REAL DANGER OF IT BEING GROSSLY MISCONSTRUED IN COUNTRIES WHERE THERE WAS A LACK OF INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT ACTUALLY HAD TAKEN PLACE, WHAT MALCOLM X WAS, WHAT HE STOOD FOR, OR WHAT WAS BEING ESPOUSED BY THOSE NEGROES.
WITH WHOM MALCOLM X WAS IN CONFLICT.

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"THUS I ASKED MY COLLEAGUES IN THE AGENCY TO DO AN EXTRA-ZEALOUS JOB OF GETTING OUT THE FACTS, OF INFORMING THE WORLD IN ORDER THAT WE MIGHT MINIMIZE DAMAGING REACTIONS BASED ON EMOTION, PREJUDICE AND MISINFORMATION."

HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH A ZEALOUS JOB WAS DONE "IT HAS NOT BEEN ENOUGH TO PREVENT A HOST OF AFRICAN REACTIONS BASED ON MISINFORMATION AND MISREPRESENTATIONS OF ISSUES INVOLVED.

"MIND YOU," HE SAID, "HERE WAS A NEGRO WHO PREACHED SEGREGATION AND RACE HATRED, KILLED BY ANOTHER NEGRO, PRESUMABLY FROM ANOTHER ORGANIZATION THAT PREACHES SEGREGATION AND RACE HATRED--AND NEITHER OF THEM REPRESENTATIVE OF MORE THAN A TINY MINORITY OF THE NEGRO POPULATION OF AMERICA."

HE QUOTED THE DAILY TIMES OF LAGOS, NIGERIA, AS SAYING "MALCOLM X HAS FOUGHT AND DIED FOR WHAT HE BELIEVED TO BE RIGHT. HE WILL HAVE A PLACE IN THE PALACE OF THE MARTYRED."
THE GHANAIAN TIMES DESCRIBED HIM

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THE GHANAIAN TIMES DESCRIBED HIM AS "THE MILITANT AND MOST POPULAR OF AFRO-AMERICAN ANTI-SEGREGATIONIST LEADERS."

OUTSIDE OF AFRICA, IN PAKISTAN, THE KARACHI NEWSPAPER HURRIYET CALLED MALCOLM X "A GREAT NEGRO LEADER" AND THE PAKISTAN TIMES SAID "HIS DEATH IS A DEFINITE SETBACK TO THE NEGRO MOVEMENT FOR EMANCIPATION."

ROWAN ADDED: "ALL THIS ABOUT AN EX-CONVICT, EX-DOPE PEDDLER, WHO BECAME A RACIAL FANATIC.

"I CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT WE AMERICANS KNOW LESS ABOUT WHAT GOES ON IN THE MINDS OF OTHER PEOPLE THAN WE THOUGHT, OR THE NEED TO INFORM IS EVEN GREATER THAN WE IN USIA THOUGHT IT TO BE."

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MALCOLM'S SLAYER IS HUNTED

By Maurice C. Carroll
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

The man who heads the massive investigation into the murder of Malcolm X said yesterday police were "on the right track" toward solving the case.

Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle said there was "no break imminent" but he added, "I hope to have a break in the very near future."

There were rumors that police knew the names of five men who murdered the dissident Black Muslim leader at a Harlem meeting Sunday. Inspector Coyle would not comment on the stories.

There were rumors that pictures had been taken outside the meeting, pictures perhaps of the assassins. Inspector Coyle again declined comment.

A brief anxious flurry began in Chicago when a truck drove up with a large crate addressed to Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad. The driver said it was a grandfather's clock. The police bomb squad investigated. They found the crate contained a grandfather's clock.

In New York it was announced that Muslim rites would be held for Malcolm X at 9:30 a. m. Saturday in the Faith Temple Church of Christ, 1764 Amsterdam Ave., conducted by the pastor, Bishop Alvin A. Childs, and there was soon another of the threats that have come to seem inevitable in the angry days ~~since the~~ murder. Someone telephoned the pastor's wife and said, "If Malcolm's funeral is held there we will bomb the place."

Herald Tribune photo by NAT FEIN

EMBITTERED MOURNER leaves funeral home where Malcolm X was on view in Harlem yesterday.

Police were stationed to forestall escalation of the violence in the world of Negro fringe groups that began with the murder and was followed by the burning of Black Muslim Mosque No. 7 at 102 W. 116th St., set afire Tuesday in apparent reprisal.

Fearful that the next blow might be struck against Malcolm's mourners, police posted a heavy guard around the Unity Funeral Home, 2352 Eighth Ave., where his body lay on public view beneath a glass shield in a bronze coffin.

Sharpshooters were stationed on rooftops, plainclothes lawmen mingled with the crowd, barricades were set up across the street as well as in front of the two-story building. Walkie-talkie communication linked the security forces.

This was the most obvious police concentration in a Harlem area that was flooded with police, and will remain so at least until the funeral on Saturday.

The mourners who filed past the casket in a second-floor room were silent. The body was clad in a charcoal gray suit, white shirt, red tinted brown tie. White cotton gloves covered the hands. The dark-rimmed glasses that Malcolm had worn in recent years were absent.

The first of the day's bomb

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threats there came from a male telephone caller at 1:05 p. m. The mourners were cleared out briefly for a search.

In Chicago, too, headquarters of the Black Muslim organization from which Malcolm split early last year, there were extraordinary police precaustions. The mansion of Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad was watched. Police searched the Coliseum, where some 6,000 Muslims are to gather for a week end convention at which Elijah Muhammad is to speak twice.

Telephone callers warned that bombs had been planted there and one said 100 men were headed to Chicago to avenge Malcolm's murder by killing Elijah. "We have arrived. Muhammad will have a lively convention," one caller threatened.

Wherever the secretive Muslim sect had sites across the nation police were alert to halt a spread of the violence that started last Sunday when Malcolm rose to address some 400 persons in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, and was murdered by a shotgun and pistol fusillade.

Early Tuesday in apparent retaliation for the murder, the main Muslim mosque in Harlem, the mosque that Malcolm had headed when he was Elijah Muhammad's top assistant, before their split, was fire-bombed into rubble by someone who appeared to know his business.

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Herald Tribune photo by NAT FEIN

WATCHFUL POLICEMAN stands outside the Unity Funeral Home, where the body of Malcolm X lies, on guard. against violence as mourners file past near Eighth Ave. and 126th St.

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U.S. Probers Report No Red Links Or World Politics in Malcolm Case

LITTLE

Communists are not involved in the Malcolm X case nor is there any evidence that the murder of the Negro nationalist has international complications, Federal investigators said yesterday.

An official spokesman denied the contention of James Farmer, national director of CORE, that the murder of Malcolm in Harlem last Sunday was a "political killing with international complications." Farmer had said he was asking President Johnson to launch a Federal investigation of the killing.

The Federal spokesman also said there is no evidence at all to substantiate the following widely circulated reports:

• That Communists were behind the killing and subsequent burning of the Harlem mosque of the Black Muslims, from which Malcolm had defected.

• That an extremist group called the Revolutionary Action Movement instigated the murder and arson to focus world attention on American Negroes.

• That Robert F. Williams, an American Negro who went to Cuba and Communist China and recently was reported in Canada, was directing extremist tactics in Negro communities in America.

The spokesman said the FBI had turned all its information over to the New York police in the investigation of the Malcolm case. It is known that the FBI has voluminous information about the Black Muslims and the rival organization that was headed by Malcolm, as well as about other, smaller extremist groups.

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Comment:

Lesson Cited in Malcolm X Violence

LITTLE

By VIRGINIA PREWETT

NEW YORK — Afro-Cubans with a ringside seat at the U. S. Negro movement's civil war warn white Americans not to take too much comfort because the black extremists are fighting each other.

"This is just a dress rehearsal — good practice for your black terrorists," says an anti-Castro Afro-Cuban exile. "Once they decide the battle for control of the black extremists' multi-million dollar racket, they'll be ready for the real action."

These experienced observers are also convinced there are many more terrorist cells in the U. S. similar to the mixed group arrested recently by the New York City police for plotting to blow up the Statue of Liberty.

BACK IN 1960

"All this began in the autumn of 1960 when Fidel Castro came to the UN and took up residence in Harlem," say the exiles. "Today there is a terrorist network made up of the wild hotheads of several organizations — the Fair Play for Cuba group, especially in Canada, the American black extremists and those students who visited Cuba."

This network has an underground railroad in and out of the U. S. via Canada to Cuba and communist centers of Europe and Asia. It has "safe houses" along the way like the official spy organizations, and training camps with equipment worthy of James Bond.

The Afro-Cubans close to the situation comment bitterly on the U. S. press treatment of the situation. Reports that Malcolm X was gunned down because he was not violent enough to suit Castro's American Negro handy-man, Robert Williams, draw wry laughs.

"Malcolm X called for an American Mau-Mau and he never recanted," says a dark-skinned Cuban. "He was getting to be too much of a world figure. He'd soon have had all the extremist black mafia's racket in his control. He had to die."

These savvy veterans of the world's ideological struggle deplore the way the New York press treats the situation.

MALCOLM X

"Since Malcolm X got killed," commented one, "New York's press and radio have brought on a very different picture of him from the one they had built up before.

"Imagine how the black people feel to see Malcolm X, the hate leader, described as 'winsome' in the press, a cheerful, joke-cracking fellow who probably didn't believe in violence after all. We get the idea that he was really cheerful, loyal and true — just another American Boy Scout, and the highly respected friend of some of your leading commentators."

The Afro-Cubans whose lives have been crushed in the big machine on which Malcolm was beginning to be a big wheel see American whites as living in a dream, with reality coming thru only as kind of TV drama.

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Malcolm Image Hit by Rowan [redacted]

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By the Associated Pre[redacted]

Carl Rowan, U.S. Information Agency director, says some African newspapers are portraying Malcolm X as a martyred integrationist hero instead of as "an ex-convict, ex-dope peddler, who became a racial fanatic."

Said Rowan, a Negro, "Mind you: Here was a Negro who preached segregation and race hatred, killed by another Negro, presumably from another organization that preaches segregation and race hatred—and neither of them representative of more than a tiny minority of the Negro population of America."

Rowan told a Foreign Service Association meeting yesterday that the Malcolm X case is an example of why the information agency is needed.

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UFI-127 (MALCOM X) Little

WASHINGTON--PRESIDENT KWAME NKRUMAH OF GHANA HAS TOLD THE WIDOW OF MALCOLM X THAT THE WORK OF THE SLAIN BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER "IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM SHALL NOT BE IN VAIN."

THE NKRUMAH MESSAGE, RELEASED TODAY BY THE GHANAIAN EMBASSY, EXPRESSED "PROFOUND SHOCK" AND "DEEPEST CONDOLENCES" AND SAID:

"YOUR HUSBAND LEFT A LIFE OF DEDICATION FOR HUMAN EQUALITY AND DIGNITY SO THAT THE AFRO-AMERICAN AND PEOPLE OF COLOR EVERYWHERE MAY LIVE AS FREE MEN."

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Misshapen Flowers

By Whitney M. Young Jr.

MALCOLM X, the man, is dead.

But he is survived by his Harlem, the ghetto which created him and shaped him. The fact that he has been murdered solves nothing. It will not make life easier in America for anyone — white or black.

Others preaching the identical or similar doctrines are certain to rise out of the poverty and misery that is Harlem, that is Atlanta, that is Chicago, that is Houston. Somewhere, at this very moment, in a dozen angry minds, the idea of becoming the next Malcolm X is taking form.

Who it will be, and where it will be, I leave to historians to record. Take 15,000,000 seeds, cultivate them with the calloused hand of indifference, nurture them with despair, water them with injustice, and another misshapen human flower is certain to bloom.

I have never been concerned about Malcolm X in particular as much as the frustration, hopelessness, bitterness and despair which he exemplified.

He belonged to the past. His dream was for a separate black state, for two nations within one — an issue which was resolved at Appomattox Courthouse a century ago.

As such, like the Back-to-Africa Movement sponsored by whites in the 1850's, or of Marcus Garvey's in the '30's, his "answer" came a century late. America's Negro citizens, the first of whom arrived here as slaves the year before the Mayflower, are here to stay and to claim their twin birthright — liberty and freedom from the country to which they have given so much in blood, sweat and tears. To do otherwise would be to make a hollow empty mockery of all their forefathers fought and sometimes died for.

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In central Harlem, where Black Nationalism is probably strongest, 232,000 persons, nearly all of them Negro, are packed into 3 and one-half of New York City's 319 square miles.

The population density is more than 100 persons per acre; narcotics addiction is nearly 8 times as high as the rate for the entire city; murders occur 6 times as frequently; and 40 per cent of the people are housed in tenements built before 1900.

The median family income is only $3480 a year, compared to $5103 for the city. Training opportunities are few. Family instability is high. Half the children under 18 years of age do not live with both parents; by the time a child has reached the eighth grade his scholastic level lags about 2 and one-half years behind the city average.

These figures must cry out to America. The nation must reorient itself not to punishment for crimes committed, but to ways of crime prevention.

In the broader sense, Malcolm X is our victim. We are as guilty and responsible for his death as we are for the death of a president. It will not do to condemn the violence which killed him, or the violence he espoused, until we have wiped out the misery and ignorance which produces violence.

Malcolm X is dead. But he is survived by his Harlem, the same today as yesterday, the way white America created it.

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Harlem Stores Threatened: Close Down for Malcolm

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By Albin Krebs
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

A militant Negro group yesterday threatened Harlem merchants with boycotts unless they close their businessess at 3 p. m. today and remain closed over the week end "in respect for" slain Black Nationalist Malcolm X.

Muslim funeral services for Malcolm will be held at 9:30 a. m. tomorrow in the Church of God in Christ, a one-story structure at the northeast corner of Amsterdam Ave. and 147th St. that was converted from a movie theater 15 years ago.

The body of the one-time member of the Black Muslim sect remained in Unity Funeral Home, in a glass-shielded bronze casket, and by late afternoon yesterday, more than 2,000 persons had viewed it. Heavy morning rains did not deter the mourners.

The funeral home received another anonymous bomb threat. "You had better get that body out of there by tomorrow or we'll blow up the place," said a telephone caller.

Police continued a heavy guard around the funeral home, at 2352 Eighth Ave., and around the Church of God in Christ, also the subject of bomb threats yesterday.

Bishop Alvin A. Childs, pastor of the church, which is Pentecostal, said he offered use of the worship house "as a humanitarian gesture." As a result, he said, there had been anomymous bomb threats against him, his family and his home, as well as the church.

Thousands of handbills were distributed in Harlem yesterday threatening reprisals against merchants who failed to bolt their doors beginnig at 3 p. m. today.

Police said some store owners had received oral warnings that "if you don't close down by 3 p. m. you won't be in business at 3:30." There were also reports some merchants had been approached for involuntary "donations" of cash and marchandise for the family of the 39-year-old Malcolm, shot down by five gunmen in the Audubon Ballroom last Sunday.

The mimeographed handbills were put out over the signature of something called the Federation for Independent Political Action, 139 W. 125th St. Jesse Gray, the Harlem rent strike leader, makes his headquarters at that address and he was an organizer of the FIPA.

The handbill warned that stores that do not close will be "showing contempt for our community and especially our bereavement over our beloved Malcolm." X01 ITTL E

The handbill said the stores along 125th St. "river to river" should close from 3 p. m. today and not reopen until Monday "in respect for Malcolm and

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in observance of what he meant to our community and all oppressed people."

A spokesman for the Uptown Chamber of Commerce said the Chamber has asked the police for protection for 125th St. merchants and were promised that 150 extra men would be assigned to the street beginning today.

A spot check of stores on the street, Harlem's main crosstown thoroughfare, revealed most chain stores planned to remain open. Several merchants said they "don't know" whether they will heed the handbill warning.

The police, hopeful Wednesday that a break would come soon in their search for the assassination team that cut Malcolm down, were having difficulty yesterday locating persons who witnessed the shooting. Police said they had even been unable to arrange an interview with Malcolm's wife, although they believe she may have important information.

Deputy Chief Inspector Thomas Pendergast, overseeing police details in Harlem, said "we have to be ready for anything. It will be like this unti after the funeral."

Malcolm's half-sister, Mrs. Ella May Collins, left her Boston home last night and was accompanied here for Malcolm's funeral by her son, Rodnell, 20.

She tolda Boston press conference that she will serve as "caretaker head" of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity until a successor can be chosen. "No one can fill Malcolm's shoes," she said.

Malcolm X was a top leader of the Black Muslims, headed by Elijah Muhammad, until his defection more than a year ago. His followers in the OAAU claim Muhammad's faithful killed Malcolm. Muhammad has denied it.

A national convention of 6,000 Black Muslims was to begin in Chicako today, with Muhammad scheduled to address at least two sessions in the Coliseum. A spokesman for him said yesterday "there's a conspiracy against the Black Muslim sect.

Police and the FBI in Chicago have received many anonymous tips that an attempt will be made on Muhammad's life during the convention. Yesterday they continued to check reports that at least 100 "Malcolm men" were on their way to Chicago to kill him.

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Herald Tribune photo by JOSEPH GAZDAK

A CONVERT, Tommy X of Yonkers, said he broke with Elijah Muhammad after Malcolm X was shot. Here he displays his feelings outside the funeral home.

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(MALCOLM) O LITTLE

NEW YORK--THE MORTAL REMAINS OF ASSASSINATED BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X WERE CONSIGNED TO EARTH TODAY IN A WEIRD MIXTURE OF QUIET ISLAMIC DIGNITY AND PARTING GESTURE OF HATE TOWARD THE WHITES BY SOME OF HIS FOLLOWERS.

AS MALCOLM WAS LOWERED INTO HIS GRAVE AT SUBURBAN FERNCLIFF CEMETERY, SOME OF HIS FOLLOWERS BANISHED THE WHITE GRAVE DIGGERS AND, TAKING SHOVELS IN HAND, TOSSED EARTH ATOP THE BURNISHED COPPER CASKET.

"WE WON'T LET WHITE MEN BURY HIM," ONE OF THE FOLLOWERS SAID. "WE'LL BURY HIM FIRST, MAN."

MALCOLM, A NEGRO WHO LED A VIOLENT AND SEEDY LIFE TO BECOME A MILITANT HATER OF WHITE PERSONS, WOULD HAVE LIKED THE GESTURE.

2/27--MJ828PES

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5-7 [redacted]

100-399321-A-

NOT RECORDED
176 MAR 5 1965

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

56 MAR 8 1965

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. HQ 100-399321-A

Section 4

February 2, 1965---

125 Pages

HARLEM IS QUIET AS CROWDS WATCH MALCOLM X RITES

Murdered Leader of Cult Is Eulogized as Believer in Brotherhood of Man

POLICE GUARD IS HEAVY

600 Pack Church—Throngs Outside Hear the Moslem Service Broadcast

Title

By MARTIN ARNOLD

Malcolm X, a black nationalist who had told Negroes they must meet violence with violence, went to his grave yesterday eulogized as a man who died believing in the brotherhood of man.

Several thousand people jammed the sidewalks in the bitter cold and about 600 packed the Christian church where the Moslem services were held.

Hundreds of policemen stood guard during the services. There had been instances and threats of violence after Malcolm was murdered last Sunday, but there was no violence at the services in Harlem or at the graveside in Hartsdale.

Ossie Davis, the Negro actor and playwright, who delivered the eulogy, said: "Malcolm was our manhood, our living black manhood. In honoring him we honor the best in ourselves."

Crowds Line Sidewalk

The funeral service took place at Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, at 147th Street and Amsterdam Avenue.

Mourners and the curious lined the sidewalks on both sides of Amsterdam Avenue behind police barricades to watch as the procession of friends and relatives [illegible] into the church. Hundreds [illegible] against the window panes of the red brick and wooden tenements across the street, or stood shivering on their fire-escapes.

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The [illegible] all over—on the [illegible]et corners on Amsterdam Avenue, which had been blocked off for traffic from 145th to 149th Streets, and on the rooftops.

The service was scheduled to start at 9:30 A.M., but lines began forming on the east side of Amsterdam Avenue three hours earlier as many tried to assure themselves seats inside.

One, John Davis, a 46-year-old laborer wearing a leopard skin pillbox hat, said: "I knew him as a wonderful man, a great man, a prince of peace, a nobleman. I just want to be here."

There were about 15 white persons in the crowd, and several described themselves as admirers of the slain man.

At 9:20 the doors of the church were opened, and the mourners filed past police guards and husky, dark-suited followers of Malcolm, 20 of whom served as ushers at the service. Large purses and handbags carried by women were searched by the police.

The body of Malcolm X had been taken to the church in a hearse at 1:35 A.M. yesterday—escorted by a dozen police cars—from the United Funeral Home at Eighth Avenue and 126th Street. A total of 22,000 persons had viewed it there since Tuesday.

The bronze coffin was wheeled into the converted movie theater and placed on a platform, draped in dark red velvet, in front of the altar. It was opened, and the first few mourners who got into the church later in the morning were able to view Malcolm's body in a white burial sheet, through a glass lid.

Symbols of Christianity

On the altar, even as the Moslem funeral service was taking place, there remained the bronze symbols of a Christian church, the tithe box, the candelabra, but they were hidden from the mourners by the coffin lid.

To the rear of the altar, 50 newspaper reporters and photographers and television cameramen were jammed beneath two side murals depicting scenes in the life of Christ. Many stood on chairs to get a better view of the service.

The church was lighted by eight ceiling fixtures, each one resembling a mosque, which had been there since it was a movie house.

Around the coffin stood eight uniformed policemen, and to the side were two uniformed policewomen. All were Negroes. Malcolm's widow, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, sat in the second row, a Negro police plainclothesman on either side of her.

A Design of Carnations

There was one floral tribute, carried in by the ushers, a 2 by 5 foot grouping of blood-red carnations, with the Star and Crescent of Islam embossed on it in white carnations.

It was from Mrs. Shabazz, and was addressed to El-Hajj Malik. El-Hajj is the prefix given to any believer who visits Mecca, and Malik was Malcolm's Islamic name.

Theree was little crying aloud and almost no sobbing throughout the services, which lasted slightly more than hour. Rather, the mourners seemed to be making a determined effort to show no emotion whatever—an effort *thatt was shattered occasionally* by applause during the eulogy and several short speeches.

The service was started by Mr. Davis and his wife, Ruby Dee, the actress, reading messages of condolence.

They came from the African-Pakistan-West Indian Society of the London School of Economics, the Freedom Fighters of Ohio, Inc., which called Malcolm the "most misinterpreted, misunderstood man in America;" the Michigan Committee for Freedom Now Party; the Los Angeles N.A.A.C.P. Youth Group; the government of Ghana, and the Pan-African Congress of Southern Africa, which haled Malcolm as "anti-imperialist, anti-colonist and anti-racist."

Speaker Is Applauded

Then Omar Osman, of the Islam Center of Switzerland and the United States, who had said he was one of Malcolm's teachers, told the mourners: "We knew brother Malcolm as a blood brother, particularly after his pilgrimage to Mecca last year."

"The highest thing that a Moslem can aspire to is t o die on the battlefield and not die at his bedside," he said to loud applause.

"Those who die on the battlefield are not dead, but are alive." There was more applause and shouts of "right," "right" from the mourners.

While the rite was proceeding inside, the crowd continued to grow outside. "I can't see any of this," said a woman in a black coat. She was standing on the west side of Amsterdam Avenue, Her view blocked by several large trucks from the National Broadcasting Company.

One car, parked in front of the truck, also belonged to a television network. Inside, were several steel helmets, an a Negro woman asked the driver, laughing, "You getting ready for next summer?"

A white girl in her mid-twenties, speaking with a British accent, said of Malcolm: "He was a fascinating man—a remarkably fascinating man. That's why I'm here."

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times 74
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date 2-28-65

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And Mrs. Lucille Levvy, a Negro, of 282 Lenox Avenue, said: "I'm paying my respects to the greatest black man in this century. He's a black man, don't say colored."

Next to her, standing in the cold, another Negro woman said: "Our heart is broken for the genius we loved. That man was a genius, a true genius. He died for what he believed in."

Called Uniting Force

Inside, Mr. Davis was starting his eulogy.

"Malcolm could unite many diverse elements. Those who disagreed with him the most nevertheless followed him," he said.

His voice cracking, Mr. Davis said, "Harlem has come to bid fond farewell to one of its brightest hopes, gone forever."

"Malcolm had stopped being a Negro years ago," Mr. Davis said. An observer could almost feel the audience draw itself in as if to shout before he added: "Malcolm was too big for that. Malcolm had become an Afro-American, and that's what he wanted all of us to be."

"A prince—our own black, shining prince who did not hesitate to die because he loved us so," Mr. Davis said.

At one point Mr. Davis said that an organization calling itself Concerned Mothers was raising money for Malcolm's widow and four children. "Those who want to continue what you so generously began," he said, should send contributions to the group at Post Office Box 1024, Church Street Station, New York City.

There were about 15 white mourners, although most of them were Negro women.

Among others attending the services were James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Bayard Rustin, who organized the civil rights march on Weshington in 1963; Wally Dukes, the basketball player; Dick Gregory, the Negro comedian who has been active in civil rights demonstrations, and James Foreman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Many of the mourners had opposed Malcolm.

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Malcolm's Funeral Is Heavily Guarded

A2

Little

NEW YORK, Feb. 27 (UPI) Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X was buried today with a heavy police guard on hand. He was mourned by hundreds of his followers who hailed him as their "prince."

Their was no violence either at the funeral in Harlem—televised live nationally by NBC network—or at the cemetery. Anonymous threats to "fire bomb" the corpse failed to materialize.

The Negro militant whose slaying last Sunday touched off warfare among his followers and the Black Muslims of Elijah Muhammad, was eulogized as a symbol of hope for America's frustrated Negro millions.

Hundreds of police guarded the Faith Temple, Church of Christ, where 600 persons heard Negro actor and playwright Ossie Davis praise Malcolm as "a prince, our own black, shiny prince who did not hesitate to die because he loved us so."

Several prominent civil rights leaders, earlier opponents of Malcolm when he was a lieutenant to hate-preaching Muhammad, showed up to pay their respects. They characterized him as a former racist who became convinced that men of all races could live together after making a trip to the Islamic shrine at Mecca last year.

Among them were James Farmer, director of the Congress of Racial Equality; John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Bayard Rustin, who helped organize the civil rights march in Washington; and comedian Dick Gregory, long associated with the civil rights movement in the South.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald A2
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
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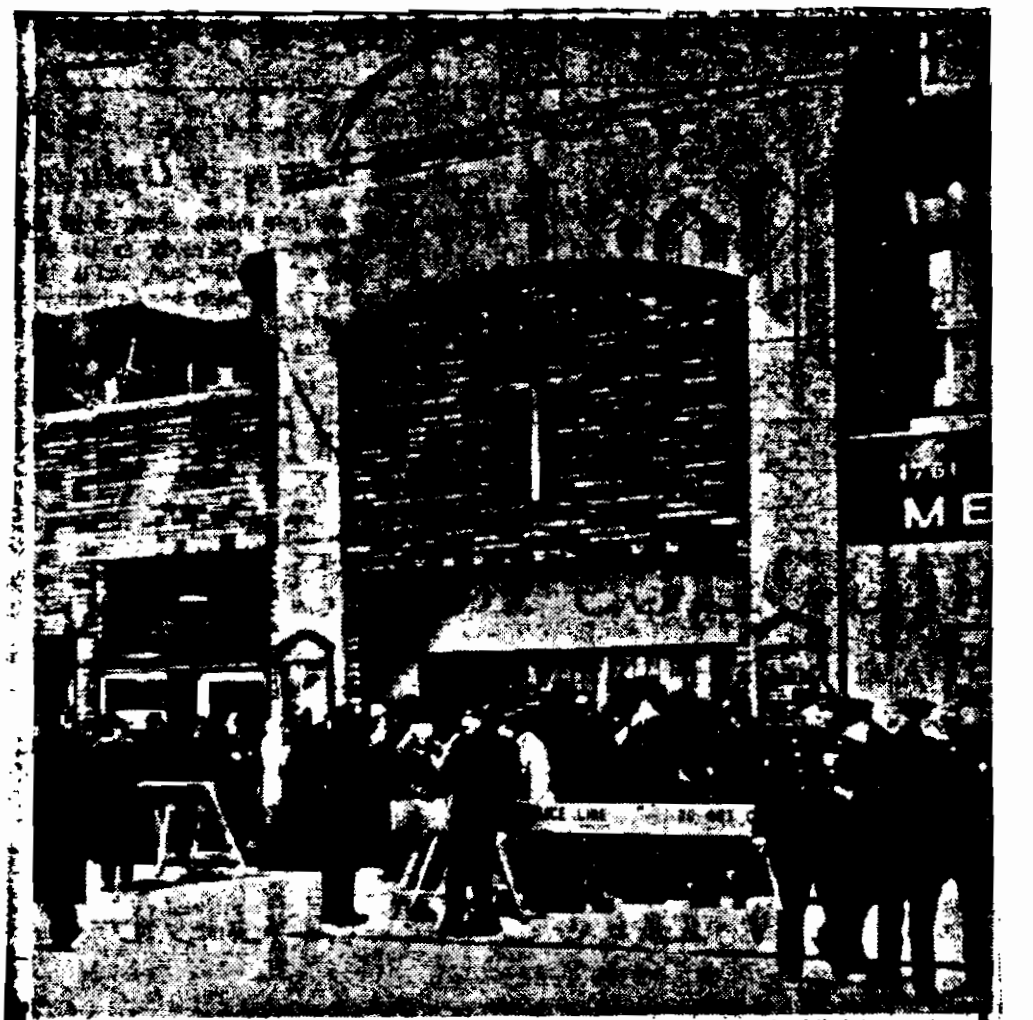

New York policemen stand in front of the barricades as mourners queue up for yesterday's funeral services in Harlem for Malcolm X, slain a week ago today.

2

Associated Press

Cassius Clay applauds the arrival of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad at sect's convention Friday.

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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

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

17 NEW YORK TIMES

MALCOLM X TERMED STIMULUS TO ACTION

Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, Manhattan's new Borough President, declared yesterday that Malcolm X's death offered New Yorkers "a brand-new opportunity to move in now and lead the people that he attempted to lead into constructive channels of activity."

In broadcasts and interviews assessing the effects of the black nationalist leader's murder, just one week after the killing and the day after his funeral, Negro leaders expressed hope that the interest evoked would focus new attention to continuing Negro frustrations.

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, charged on radio station WHN that neither Mayor Wagner nor Governor Rockefeller had "done enough" for civil rights.

Bayard Rustin, major organizer of the 1963 civil-rights March on Washington, contended that a decade after the United States Supreme Court outlawed segregated schools, "there are more Negro school children in segregated classes than before," that Negro youths had triple the unemployment rate of whites, that slums had more people, more rats and more violations. Mr. Rustin appeared with Mrs. Motley on WABC-TV.

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Author:
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM X LITTLE

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X Being Investigated

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176 MAR 10 1965

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0-19 (Rev. 12-14-64)

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3 Quizzed on Malcolm

NEW YORK, March 2 (UPI) — Police early today charged two former Black Muslims and a third man with illegal possession of a double barrelled sawed-off shotgun. They questioned them about their affiliations with slain Negro extremist leader Malcolm X.

Arrested were John 57X Grey, 29, Cyril 23X James, 18, and Willie Hilton, 18, all Harlem residents.

Police said Messrs. Grey and James admitted being former members of the firebombed Black Muslim headquarters Mosque Seven in Harlem. They said Mr. Grey admitted allegiance to Malcolm, but Mr. James did not.

Mr. Hilton, police said, admitted being an admirer of Malcolm but denied membership in either the Black Muslims of Malcolm's rival group, the Organization for Afro-American Unity.

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B. APPROX. 1936

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
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The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date MAR 2 1965

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176 MAR 9 1965

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Little

Widow of Malcolm X Speaks With Police About His Slaying

Little

By PETER KIHSS

MRS MALCOLM X. Little

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, met yesterday with detectives investigating the militant black nationalist leader. The meeting was at an unannounced place away from any police office, according to her lawyer, Oliver Sutton.

"She will cooperate fully in giving any information she has," Mr. Sutton said before the meeting. "It is my understanding that she was not herself deeply involved in his movement, but was a typical Muslim housewife without great awareness of her husband's activity. However, she is anxious that the true assassin of her huband be known."

Three fund-raising efforts are going on meanwhile for the widow and her four daughters. Assemblyman Percy Sutton, a Harlem Democrat and Oliver Sutton's brother, said a Malcolm X Family Fund had been set up at the Freedom National Bank, 271 West 125th Street. He called it a long-range effort to support the family until the children have "gained maturity" and to provide them with orthodox Islamic teaching.

A Committee of Concerned Mothers has been formed by Mrs. Sidney Poitier, Ruby Dee, Abby Lincoln and Mrs. Michael Olatunji to receive contributions here at Box 1024, Church Street Station, or Mrs. Poitier's home in Pleasantville, N. Y.

Assemblyman Sutton said the immediate aim was to buy a home for the family. He said the fund had already received $1,100, delivered by station WMCA after a radio announcement.

Harlem Protestant leaders have sponsored an Educational Fund for the Children of Malcolm X. Its account is also at the Freedom National Bank. The Rev. W. Sterling Cary, of Grace Congregational Church, said that the 250 member churches in the Harlem-Upper Manhattan Church Association had been asked to appeal to their congregations for support.

Although Malcolm professed the Muslim faith, Mr. Cary said, the Protestant leaders' effort was justified by his "emphasis on what constitutes manhood," including "the importance of self-defense by Negroes, a pride in their racial heritage and responsibility for self-help.

Mr. Cary held "all of us are responsible for his death inasmuch as we are all involved in perpetuating this kind of culture" in which Malcolm offered solutions unacceptable to many.

Assemblyman Sutton, a Protestant layman, noted yesterday that he had represented Malcolm and his family only in private affairs and never represented his Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Police here and in Chicago continued guarding headquarters of both Malcolm's movement and Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, the Black Muslims from whom Malcolm broke off a year ago.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had urged both Muslim groups to meet with him "at the peace table" in an expression of concern over threats of further violence. Dr. King, a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, made his proposal Sunday in preaching to more than 2,000 persons at Victory Baptist Church in Los Angeles.

In Chicago, Donald R. Gray, 19 years old, was placed under Boys Court supervision for six months. He had been accused of attempting to pick a fight Sunday night with heavyweight champion Cassius Clay.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Mirror
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times pg 19
The Worker
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The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date 3-2-65

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176 MAR 26 1965

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

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Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

O
LITTLE

Widow of Malcolm X Speaks With Police About His Slaying

By PETER KIHSS

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Assemblyman Sutton, a Protestant layman, noted yesterday that he had represented Malcolm and his family only in private affairs and never represented his Organization of Afro-American Unity.

The police officers in charge of the investigation of Malcolm's slaying Feb. 21, Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle and Inspector Thomas Renaghan, questioned three men last night at the Bathgate Avenue station house in the Bronx. Detectives seized the three in a basement apartment at 597 East 164th Street where an empty 12-gauge double-barreled shotgun was found.

After being questioned for nearly four hours, the three were booked early today and charged with violation of the weapons law.

They were identified as Willie Hilton, 18 years old, of 65 West 127th Street; Cyril 2X James, 18, of 14 East 118th Street, and John X57 Grey, 29, of 2300 Fifth Avenue. The police said that Mr. James and Mr. Grey are former Black Muslims and that Mr. Grey had been a close associate of Malcolm.

Police here and in Chicago continued guarding headquarters of both Malcolm's movement and Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, the Black Muslims from whom Malcolm broke off a year ago.

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

19 NEW YORK TIMES

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Edition: LATE CITY
Author: PETER KIHSS
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
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Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

XX Being Investigated

100-399321-A

70 MAR 10 1965

0-20 (Rev. 12-14-64)

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UPI-146 (MALCOLM X) OLITTLE

NEW YORK--POLICE SEIZED A THIRD NEGRO SUSPECT TODAY IN THE SLAYING OF EXTREME BLACK NATONALIST MALCOLM X.

THE SUSPECT IDENTIFIED HIMSELF AS THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, A NAME WHICH INDICATES MEMBERSHIP IN THE BLACK MUSLIM SECT. JOHNSON, A RESIDENT OF THE BRONX, WAS CHARGED WITH HOMICIDE.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Muslims Deny Role in Slaying; 3rd Negro Held

NEW YORK (AP)—The Black Muslims have denied anew any role in the murder of Malcolm X in the wake of the arrest here of a third Negro accused of the assassination.

Police said the latest defendant, Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of the Bronx, is a strong-arm member of the Black Muslims. He was charged Wednesday with homicide.

Johnson is the second Black Muslim to be accused in the assassination of Malcolm X, 39, the Black Nationalist leader who bolted from the Black Muslims last year and formed his own sect.

Also charged was Norman 3X Butler, 26, described by police as a Black Muslim "enforcer."

The first man charged, Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N.J., has refused to say whether he had any Black Muslim connections.

In Chicago, only a few hours after Johnson's arrest, the eldest son of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad reiterated denial of any Black Muslim blame for the assassination. He said he had never heard of Johnson.

B. APPROX. 1943

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B. APPROX. 1929

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star A14 FINAL
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New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
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3d Man Jailed In the Slaying Of Malcolm X

3

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By EDWARD DILLON and SIDNEY KLINE

A husky, thin-mustached Black Muslim already under indictment in the shooting of a defector from the movement was arrested late yesterday in the slaying of black nationalist leader Malcolm X. OL ITTLE

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With his arrest, police sources said they had the three men who pumped 13 slugs into Malcolm X from two pistols and a shotgun on Feb. 21 as he addressed a rally of his followers at the Audubon Ballroom.

The newest prisoner was Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of 932 Bronx Park South, Bronx, married, a father and a jobless painter.

Said Assistant District Attorney Herbert J. Stern at the W. 100th St. station: "I have ordered him booked for the homicide of Malcolm X, which he perpetrated with others."

"Not for Nothing"

And from Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle, head of the murder probe, came this comment: "We didn't book him for nothing."

Johnson — tall, personable, dressed neatly in a checked suit, white shirt, black tie and black shoes—was calm during the brief proceedings.

"Do you use drugs?" demanded desk Lt. Ludwig Mache. "No sir," Johnson replied steadily.

He had been interrogated earlier by Assistant District Attorney Stern in the presence of defense counsel Charles Beavers.

Johnson was put behind bars

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File

11-399321

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News 2
New York Post
The New York Times
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date

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(NEWS foto by Leonard Detrick)
Thomas 15X Johnson at police station yesterday.

pending arraignment today in Manhattan Criminal Court.

Coyle disclosed that Johnson was taken into custody at his home.

"What was his reaction?" a newsman asked.

"He was surprised," said Coyle, smiling.

When arrested on another charge two months ago, Johnson said he lived on Bryant Ave. in the Bronx.

Already held without bail were Norman 3X Butler, 26, an enforcer and a member of the Fruit of Islam, the elite bodyguard of Elijah Muhammed, the Chicago-based prophet of the movement, and Talmadge Hayer, 22.

Counsel Protests Delay

Hayer was shot in the leg by a bodyguard of Malcolm X as he fled the ballroom, and is in the Bellevue Hospital prison ward. Butler, held without bail, went before Criminal Court Judge Reuben Levy yesterday for pleading, but the case was put over until tomorrow at Stern's request.

Joseph B. Williams, counsel to Butler, protested heatedly at the delay and later went before Supreme Court Justice John A. Mullen. Mullen agreed to hear argument this morning on a petition for a writ of habeas corpus. Williams had claimed that Butler had been held too long without bail or hearing.

Charges against Butler and Johnson made them co-defendants in crimes of violence for the second time in less than two months.

On Jan. 6, Benjamin 13X Brown, 31, of 635 Castle Hill Ave., Bronx, a guard at Rikers Island who had left Fruits of Islam Mosque 7 in Harlem to open his own mosque in a store at 1473 Boston Road, Bronx, was shot in the shoulder as he talked with friends outside the mosque.

Had Been Warned

He had been warned by former associates in the Harlem mosque not to go off on his own, but had done so anyhow.

Brown told authorities after the attack upon him that he had pulled away from the Harlem group because they were "inclined to violence" and he, personally, was a man of peace.

Much of his recruiting was among young Negro prisoners on Rikers Island.

Had Been Out on Bail

Butler and Johnson were arrested and indicted on felonious assault charges in the shooting of Brown and were free in bail when Malcolm X was gunned down. Butler and Johnson, in fact, were scheduled to plead to the felonious assault charge yesterday in Bronx Supreme Court, but that proceeding was adjourned until March because of the more serious charges stemming from the killing of Malcolm X.

THE NEWS established yesterday that Butler, because of the Brown assault, faced possible eviction from his home at 661 Rosedale Ave., Bronx, in Soundview Houses, a City Housing Authority development.

File Sent to CHA

Some days ago, Leon Malinowitz, 43, manager of the development, advised Butler that his file had been sent to CHA offices at 250 Broadway for examination.

Last Friday, Malinowitz received an anonymous phone threat that he would be killed because of the pending housing proceedings against Butler. Malinowitz advised police of the Benedict Ave., Bronx, station of the threat and he since has been under police guard. He was too upset to report for work this week and remained in seclusion at his own home.

A CHA spokesman said that housing authority proceedings against Butler would be held in abeyance until court charges against him were resolved.

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REC-111

THIRD MAN SEIZED IN MALCOLM CASE

New Suspect in Killing Also Faces an Assault Charge

By PETER KIHSS

A third Negro was arrested yesterday on charges of taking part in the murder of Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader, during a rally on Feb. 21.

The new defendant identified himself as Thomas 15X Johnson of 932 Bronx Park South, the Bronx. He had been indicted last month for first-degree assault in the shooting of a Black Muslim defector in a case in which his co-defendant was Norman 3X Butler. Butler is also a suspect in the killing of Malcolm X.

Cary Thomas Jr., a Negro in his early 20s, was held in $50,000 bail as a material witness in the slaying at the request of a grand jury that has started an inquiry. Assistant District Attorney Robert W. McKeever told Supreme Court Justice Abraham J. Gellinoff that he believed Thomas had been present during the killing and had "vital information concerning the identity of the perpetrators."

The new developments came after Butler's lawyer, Joseph B. Williams, obtained a writ of habeas corpus from Supreme Court Justice John A. Mullen for a hearing at 11 A.M. today on why Butler, held without bail, should not be freed.

In his petition, Mr. Williams asserted Butler had been detained "on a short affidavit made by a police officer based wholly on hearsay" for "almost seven days, which is greatly in excess of 48 hours permitted by law."

The New York Times

SEIZED FOR MURDER: Thomas 15X Johnson after his arrest yesterday in the shooting of Malcolm X.

Charges Called Hearsay

He noted that earlier yesterday he had asked Judge Reuben Levy in Criminal Court for an immediate hearing for Butler but Judge Levy granted a delay until tomorrow at the request of Assistant District Attorney Herbert J. Stern.

In Criminal Court, Mr. Stern had sought a delay until March 12, the date Judge Levy had set for hearing a felonious assault charge against Reuben Francis, Malcolm's bodyguard. Francis is charged with shooting and wounding Thomas Hagan, alias Talmadge Hayer, the first Negro accused of Malcolm's murder.

Francis's lawyer, Nathan H. Mitchell, had also sought an immediate hearing, charging the prosecution was "on a fishing expedition" and had "nothing substantial in the way of evidence" against his client. Francis is held in $10,000 bail.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Gandy

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

1h NEW YORK TIMES

[redacted]

Date: 3/4/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: PETER KIHSS
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-C
or
Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

[X] Being Investigated

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3d Suspect in Malcolm X Slaying: Police 'Didn't Book Him for Nothing'

By Newton H. Fulbright
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

A third suspect, a 30-year-old unemployed Negro house painter, was booked by police yesterday on charges o homicide in the slaying last month of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

The suspect, picked up after he had made an appearance in Bronx Criminal Court on an assault charge, was identified as Thomas Johnson 30, of 932 Bronx Park South.

Booked by Lt. Ludvik Macho at the W. 100th St. station, the suspect identified himself as Thomas 15 X.

A tall, slender man with a slight mustache, the suspect spoke without emotion, giving his address and answering that he was not a user of drugs. He declined to make any of the three free telephone calls he was advised he could make, and was returned to a station house cell to await arraignment this mornin gin Criminal Court.

Assistant District Attorney Herbert J. Stern, who interviewed Johnson in the presence of the suspect's attorney, Charles Beavers, would say merely:

"I have ordered him booked for the homicide of Malcolm X which he perpetrated with others."

Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle said, "We didn't book him for nothing."

Beyond that, the authorities refused to say how Johnson was involved in the slaying of the controversial 39-year-old Negro leader, a defector from the Chicago-based Muslim sect headed by Elijah Muhammad.

Muhammad has denied any complicity in the Feb. 21 shooting of Malcolm X, gunned down as he arose to address a rally of his followers in the Audubon Ballroom on the upper West Side.

Immediately after the assassination, Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N.J., was arrested and charged with homicide. He was wounded in the leg by a bullet fired by one of Malcolm's bodyguards and remains in the prison ward at Bellevue Hospital.

The second suspect arrested was Norman 3X Butler, who has been described by police as a Black Muslim "enforcer."

Johnson and Butler were arrested after the shooting last Jan. 6 of Benjamin Brown, 31, a Negro corrections officer employed by the Department of Correction. Mr. Brown had broken with the Black Muslims and set up his own mosque. Struck in the shoulder, he is recovering.

Johnson and Butler were scheduled to appear in Bronx

Associated Press

Thomas 15X Johnson at his booking yesterday

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
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New York Post
The New York Times
The Baltimore Sun
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The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
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Criminal court to plead to an indictment charging them with felonious assault in the attack on the corrections officer. Their appearance was adjourned by Bronx Supreme Court Jistice William Lyman when he learned that Butler was appearing at the same time in Manhattan Supreme Court on homicide charges.

Johnson apparently went home because later Inspector Coyle told reporters Johnson was taken into custody at his home, 612 Bronx Park South.

"As a matter of fact," the Inspector said, "we didn't know it was his home. Our detectives had been tailing him and when his wife came out they took him."

At the time Johnson was arrested for shooting the corrections officer, he gave his address at 1041 Bryant Ave., the Bronx.

When Malcolm X was slain, police suspected five persons might be involved in the assassination.

In another development, Assistant District Attorney Robert W. McKeever asked Supreme Court Justice Abraham N. Gellinoff to hold Cary Thomas jr., a Negro in his early 30s, as a material witness in the assassination. Bail was set at $650,000. Mr. McKeever said Thomas had "vital information concerning the identity of the perpetrators." He said Thomas "was actually present in the hall."

Butler won a round in another development when Supreme Court Justice John A. Mullen signed a writ of habeas corpus calling on the District Attorney to show cause at 11 a. m. today why the suspect should not be freed. Butler, through his attorney, John B. Williams, argued that he was held on "hearsay evidence" in connection with Malcolm X's slaying.

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Killer Accused, Muslim Overlords Here Named

I Knew Him...

By WILLIAM McFADDEN
Journal-American Staff Writer

"Norman 3X is capable of shooting Malcolm X—or of doing anything else."

That was the reaction of Benjamin Brown, 31-year-old correction officer, today as he learned of the arrest of Norman 3X Butler as a suspect in the murder last Sunday of Black Nationalist leader, Malcolm X.

ASSAULTED BY TRIO

Mr. Brown has a personal reason to believe that Norman 3X believes and practices a code of violence.

He was attacked last Jan. 6 as a defector from the Black Muslims, shot in the left shoulder and still is not back at his job on Riker's Island.

Norman 3X is one of three men charged with felonious assault in that case.

CRITICIZED MALCOLM

Asked if he ever heard Norman 3X talk harshly of Malcolm X, Mr. Brown said:

"Most people talked harshly about Malcolm X. He and I both did."

Mr. Brown added cryptically:

"Now this is beginning to fall into place. The pieces are beginning to come into light."

But he would not explain that further.

BELLIGERENT TYPE

He did say, however, that he had known Norman 3X for a year, while they both were members of Fruit of Islam Mosque No. 7, the Black Muslim hall which was fire-bombed Monday.

"He was not a nice fellow to get along with," Mr. Brown said.

"He's the belligerent type. He's the type which knows all the answers. He always had to have the last say.

"As far as I knew, he was a member of the inside group at the mosque. He got outside training and he was the instructor in the art of self-defense.

"I used to go there an average of once a week. He went there all the time.

"I got him a job once, in a factory. That was last Winter. He stayed one week. Then he told me he left because the work was too hard. He's been on relief since then, I think."

After the Jan. 6 attack, Mr. Brown was admited to Jacobi Hospital, Bronx, for treatment. He now is convalescing at his home, 635 Castle Hill ave., Bronx.

The assault case, he said, has not yet come to trial.

The Washington Post and Times Herald
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The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American ✓
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
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The National Observer
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Norman 3X Butler Stands Between Detectives As He's Booked

Journal-American Photo by Sheldon Gottesman

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The Accusation—and the 'Strongmen'

By DONALD R. FLYNN and GUS ENGELMAN
Journal-American Staff Writers

Norman 3X Butler, a Black Muslim "enforcer," was booked on a murder charge early today by police as one of the assassins of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X.

The 26-year-old Butler, of 661 Rosedale ave., Bronx, was charged at 4 a.m. today with "acting in concert" with 22-year-old Talmdage Hayer in the public murder of Malcolm X last Sunday in the Audubon Ballroom.

B. APPROX. 1943

Butler was identified by a Black Muslim defector, Leon 4X Ameer, as one of the six top enforcers for the Black Muslims in the Metropolitan Area, and a lieutenant of Capt. Joseph X, the leader of Harlem's Muhammed Mosque No. 7 at 102 W. 116th st.

"From this list of enforcers," Leon 4X predicted, police will most likely find the other three men they want in Malcolm's killing."

The arrest of Butler came only 36 hours after Mosque No. 7 was fire-bombed to rubble in an apparent stroke of retaliation by the followers of Malcolm X.

Picked Up at Home

Butler, who is unemployed and free on $10,000 bail in another shooting case, was picked up early today at his home and questioned at the Wadsworth ave. station from 1 a.m. until 4 a.m., when he was accused of murder.

"I have ordered him booked for the homicide of Malcolm X," said Asst. Dist. Atty. Herbert Stern at that time.

Mr. Stern and Asst. Chief Insp. Joseph L. Coyle, commander of Manhattan North Detectives, refused to allow Butler to be questioned by reporters.

"This is a very important arrest," Chief Coyle said. "The case is still under investigation. If our investi-

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gation discloses that any more people are involved, we will make every effort to apprehend them."

Witnesses to the slaying at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th st. and Broadway, said there were five men in on the murder, and so three are still at-large if that report is true.

Chief Coyle said Butler "seemed surprised" when picked up at his home. The arrest was "the result of intensive investigation and of questioning many witnesses," the Inspector said.

At Butler's home, his wife, Theresa, said, "Please—I'm too upset. I have no statement to make."

Butler was free in $10,000 bail on charges of felonious assault and Sullivan Law violation for the shooting of Correction Officer Benjamin Brown, 31, another Black Muslim defector.

Mr. Brown was shot in the right chest with a .22-caliber bullet at 11 p.m., Jan. 6, while walking on Boston rd., Bronx. Butler and two other men, both Black Muslims, were accused of the shooting.

Mr. Brown admitted that he had been a member of Black Muslim Mosque No. 7, and had tried to convert prisoners in his care on Rikers Island to the cult.

But he defected, like Malcolm X, and set up a mosque of his own at 1473 Boston rd., Bronx.

SHOT OVER PICTURE

He was shot, he said, both because he had defected and because he refused to take down a picture of the "prophet," Elijah Muhammad, the Chicago-based self ordained leader of the Black Muslims.

Arrested with Butler in that shooting was Thomas Johnson, 30, of 1041 Bryant ave., known as Thomas 15X in the Black Muslims. A third suspect, William Gaines, 27, of 158 N. Elliot pk., Brooklyn, known as Willie 8X, is still being sought.

The Black Muslim leader of Muhammad Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, Capt. Joseph X, has insisted that his followers had nothing to do with the murder of Malcolm X or of any other beatings of defectors.

BEATEN IN BOSTON

But defector Leon 4X, a top lieutenant in Mosque No. 7 when Malcolm X was in command, and afterward told The Journal-American early today that Butler is one of Capt. Joseph X's lieutenants.

"He is one of the main enforcers," said Leon 4X. "He is a lieutenant under Capt. Joseph X, leader of New York Mosque No. 7."

Leon 4X was a Black Muslim until only two months ago when he was viciously beaten by Black Muslims enforcers on Christmas Day in Boston, and decided to defect.

Leon 4X was sent by Malcolm X to form a Black Muslim mosque in New Haven when he was still in the fold, and:

"Norman 3X (Butler) was the one I assigned to take over the teaching of karate at Mosque No. 7 when I left for New Haven," he said. "He's very skilled in karate. I know—I taught him."

Leon 4X also said that Thomas 15X, one of the men accused of shooting officer Brown, is also a lieutenant under Capt. Joseph X.

Thomas 15X, Norman 3X and another Black Muslim "enforcer," Edward 15X, are all lieutenants under Capt. Joseph X, and together they command the Black Muslims in the Bronx, said Leon 4X.

Other "top lieutenants" are Clarence X in Brooklyn, the "top enforcer" and next in-line to Capt. Joseph X; Alvan X in Queens, Robert 19X in Manhattan, and Louis 11X in New Rochelle, he said.

All but Louis X are enforcers."

He also asked how Butler, who has no job and no money, could have gone free in $10,000 bail.

"Now where did he get that money?" Leon 4X asked. "The Black Muslims gave it to him. They have unlimited money."

Butler was jailed in the W. 54th st. station overnight, and was to be arraigned today in Criminal Court.

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REC 20

Suspects' Wives Yield & Talk to Mal X Jury

The wives of two Black Muslims accused of assassinating Malcolm X complied with a judge's order yesterday and testified briefly before a grand jury investigating the killing.

On Thursday, they refused to testify, claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment. Supreme Court Justice Abraham J. Gellinoff then ordered them to talk or have "severe consequences."

Told to Keep Available

The women were Mrs. Etta 2X Johnson, whose husband, Thomas 15X, was arrested Wednesday, and Mrs. Theresa 7X Butler, whose husband, Norman 3X, was seized Feb. 26.

The wives were told to keep themselves available for further jury appearances.

The case against the men was adjourned yesterday in Criminal Court until Monday. A third defendant, Talmadge Hayer, is in Bellevue Hospital's prison ward. He was shot during the slaying of Malcolm X.

MRS Thomas 15X Johnson

MRS Norman 3X Butler

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MALCOLM X. LITTLE

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
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WIVES OF SUSPECTS TESTIFY IN SLAYING

The wives of two suspects in the murder of Malcolm X bowed to the orders of Supreme Court Justice Abraham J. Gellinoff yesterday and testified before the grand jury.

On Thursday the two women, Mrs. Etta 2X Johnson and Mrs. Theresa 7X Butler, declined to answer all questions although they had been granted immunity from prosecution. The two invoked the confidentiality of communications between husbands and wives.

They were returned to the courtroom later, however, where Justice Gellinoff told them this referred only to certain private conversations and acts.

The justice directed the women to answer the questions of Assistant District Attorney Herbert Stern as to the times their husands left home and returned on Feb. 21, when Malcom X was fatally shot.

Earlier, the hearing for the two suspects, Thomas 15X Johnson, 30 years old, and Norman 3X Butler, 26, reputedly a muscleman for the Black Muslim sect with which Malcolm X had broken, was adjourned until Monday in Criminal Court.

A third suspect, Talmadge Hayer, 22, was shot during the assassination and is in the Bellevue Hospital prison ward.

Black Muslim guards told the police in Phoenix, Ariz., in another development yesterday, that two shots had been fired at the home of Elijah Muhammad, the sect's leader, who was in Chicago.

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10 NEW YORK TIMES

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Date: 3/6/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author:
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE, aka SM-NOI
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Mal's Widow Before Jury

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, widow of murdered black nationalist leader Malcolm X, appeared for 20 minutes yesterday before the New York County grand jury investigating the slaying.

She refused comment afterward, but an attorney accompanying her said she had been asked "only technical questions."

"She's very much upset," he added. "She's mostly concerned, as regards the future, about her four children, and she's expecting another. She is seeking a home and trying to plan for their education."

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MALCOLM X. LITTLE

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UPI-217 (MALCOLM X) LITTLE

NEW YORK--A NEW YORK COUNTY GRAND JURY TODAY INDICTED THREE MEN ON FIRST-DEGREE MURDER CHARGES IN THE FEB. 21 ASSASSINATION OF BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X. APPROX.

TWO OF THOSE INDICTED--NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 26, AND THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 30--HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED BY POLICE AS "ENFORCERS" FOR THE BLACK MUSLIM MOVEMENT, WHICH OUSTED MALCOLM BEFORE HE SET UP HIS OWN ORGANIZATION. APPROX.

THE THIRD PERSON NAMED IN THE INDICTMENT WAS TALMADGE HAYER, ALIAS THMAS HAGEN, 22. HAYER WAS WOUNDED AT THE ASSASSINATION SCENE, THE AUDUBON BALLROOM IN UPPER MANHATTAN, AND POLICE ATTRIBUTED THE SHOOTING TO ONE OF MALCOLM'S BODYGUARDS, REUBEN FRANCIS. THE BODYGUARD HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH FELONIOUS ASSAULT.

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UPI-33
(MUSLIMS)
NEW YORK--THREE NEGROES WERE INDICTED YESTERDAY BY A GRAND JURY FOR THE SLAYING OF BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X AND A FOURTH, MALCOLM'S BODYGUARD, FOR SHOOTING AND WOUNDING ONE OF THE ALLEGED ASSASSINS.
NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 26, AND THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 30--WHO HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED BY POLICE AS BLACK MUSLIM "ENFORCES"--AND TALMADGE HAYER, ALIAS THOMAS HAGEN, 22, WERE CHARGED WITH FIRST DEGREE MURDER FOR ALLEGEDLY KILLING MALCOM X. LITTLE
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Minneapolis, Bay Area Hold Memorial Meetings

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 27 — A memorial meeting for Malcolm X was held here last night, sponsored by the Friday Night Socialist Forum. Mike Garza reviewed the development of Malcolm X into one of the world's outstanding revolutionary leaders. The meeting was well attended in spite of the worst snowstorm of the year.

At the end of the meeting, the audience contributed more than $40 to Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabazz, and sent her a message of sympathy.

SAN FRANCISCO — The Militant Labor Forum held a memorial meeting for Malcolm X here March 5. A deeply moved audience of about 70 heard a tape-recording of a speech Malcolm X gave at the New York Militant Labor Forum last January.

At the conclusion of the tape, Asher Harer, chairman of the meeting, called for a minute of silence and the people present stood to honor the memory of Malcolm X. Clyde Carter and Aaron Chapman of the Freedom Now Party paid special tribute to Malcolm X. OLITTLE

Because of the interest in this program, the San Francisco Militant Labor Forum decided to play other tapes of Malcolm X the following two Friday evenings.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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3 Indicted Slaying of Malcolm X

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NEW YORK, March 11 (UPI) — A New York countty grand jury yesterday indicted three men of first-degree murder charges in the Feb. 21 assassination of black nationalst leader Malcolm X. CLIPPLE

Two of those indicted — Norman 8X Butler, 26, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30 — have been described by police as "enforcers" for the Black Muslim movement, which ousted Malcolm before he set up his own organization.

The third person named in the indictment was Talmadge Hayer, Alias Thomas Hagen, 22. Mr. Hayer was wounded at the assassination scene, the the Audubon ballroom in Upper Manhattan, and police attributed the shooting to one of Malcolm's bodyguards, Reuben Francis. The bodyguard has been charged with felonious assault.

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MALCOLM

By George Breitman

[The second of two installments of the text of a speech delivered at the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit on March 5, 1965.]

Next is the question of race. Here Malcolm made a very pronounced change in his thinking. Partly through the influence of Islam, a religion which views and treats all races alike, and partly through his contact with revolutionaries in many countries, he threw overboard the whole Black Muslim mythology about superior and inferior races and its doctrine about inherent evil and degeneracy in a white skin.

Repudiating racism in all forms, he resolved to judge men and movements on the basis of their deeds, not their color or race. Deeds, not words; and he was pretty shrewd about distinguishing between the two, as in the case of white liberals (or black liberals, for that matter). He developed an historical approach to racism. He knew American whites had been conditioned, miseducated and infected on race worse than most European whites, for example, and he remained more on guard with Americans. He distinguished in similar way between the older and younger white generations in America.

When Young Socialist Alliance leaders interviewed him and asked what he considered to be the cause of race prejudice, he didn't give anything resembling the Black Muslim position. "Ignorance and greed," he replied. A scientific socialist of any race might turn the three words around, saying "Greed and ignorance," and might expand on the theme at greater length, but would not say anything essentially different. "You can't have capitalism without racism," he said on an earlier occasion.

Malcolm had been abroad before his break with Muhammad, but only briefly, carrying out assignments for Muhammad, not on his own. But after the break in 1964 he traveled to and through Africa and the Mideast twice, spending almost half of his remaining life abroad — studying, searching, discussing, learning, seeking help and giving it. And when he returned he was not just a sympathizer of the colonial revolution, but a staunch internationalist, on the side of the oppressed and exploited masses of the world against their oppressors and exploiters, whose central fountainhead he recognized to be U.S. imperialism, the dominant force in what he called the international power structure. No one in the world denounced the U.S. role in the Congo more forcefully and effectively.

One purpose of his trips was, of course, to mobilize African support behind the project to put the U.S. government on trial in the United Nations for the continued oppression of American Negroes, with which he had limited success. But the State Department credited him, or rather blamed him, for a good part of the strong stand against U.S. imperialism taken by African nations in the UN at the time of the latest atrocities in the Congo. As he knew, the CIA and similar agencies take an interest in what the State Department doesn't like. Those who heard him in Detroit the week before his murder knew about his hope to unite the many millions of the oppressed in Latin America and the Caribbean together with their Afro-American brothers and sisters against their common exploiter.

So he was simultaneously broadening his horizons and zeroing in on American imperialism — this product of the segregated, locked-in ghetto who broke through and over the walls of national boundary and race to become an internationalist; this internationalist who admired John Killens' definition of a patriot: "Dignity was his country, Manhood was his government, and Freedom was his land."

In the area of political action Malcolm was also far ahead of the Black Muslims. That didn't take much doing, since they abstain from politics. He favored Negroes organizing politically and running and electing their own candidates, and driving out of office black stooges of the major parties. He participated in a Harlem conference on independent political action two months before his death.

But his position on politics was largely general. He said he found some good in what the Freedom Now Party was doing, and while he was in Africa last summer he briefly gave consideration to an offer that he run on the Michigan FNP ticket for the U.S. Senate; he decided instead to remain in Africa longer. However, he never affiliated with the FNP, for reasons not discussed publicly; maybe he thought the FNP was premature or launched without sufficient groundwork on too narrow a basis.

But while his thinking on politics was still in a process of development, and uncompleted, there was nothing general or tentative about his attitude to the capitalist parties and the two-party system. To him they were both enemies of the Negro people, currently as well as historically, and neither merited an iota of support from Negroes. He had nothing but contempt for the Communist Party's support of Johnson in 1964.

While he did not endorse Clifton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, he did attack both of DeBerry's major opponents; and in his own way made it easier for DeBerry to get a hearing from Harlem audiences, thus indicating a measure of sympathy. He said he would be willing under certain conditions to consider running as an independent candidate for mayor of New York against the Democratic and Republican candidates in 1965. In terms of the political spectrum he stood on the radical side, although he had not reached strong conclusions about how to organize independent black political power.

The speech Malcolm had started to make when he was shot down was to deal with the program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, and of the militant black movement generally. We know that he had been thinking about the question of "alliances," the question of the independent Negro movement's relations with other forces in this country, and that he had circulated among other OAAU leaders literature dealing with some aspects of this subject.

Even if we did not know that, it would be logical to assume that he would turn on this question, because an organization defines itself and clarifies its own program and perspectives without simultaneously defining its relations to its enemies and its friends, present or potential. Now we may never know where his thinking had led him on this point, and can only speculate. But even speculation can be oriented by some definite facts.

At his first press conference last March, Malcolm had this to say on the question of alliances:

Basis for Unity

"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 cannot think of uniting with others, until we have first united among ourselves."

The point I point out at that time, is not the statement of a man claiming that black and white working-class solidarity is unnecessary, or that it is impossible. On the contrary, it is the statement of a man explaining one of the conditions through which workers' solidarity may be achieved on a broad and durable basis. And if I may quote myself for one more sentence, I noted:

"Revolutionary socialists will certainly agree [with Malcolm] that a meaningful and mutually beneficial labor-Negro alliance will not be forged until the Negro people are organized independently and strongly enough, numerically and ideologically, to assure that their interests cannot be subordinated or sold out by the other partner or partners in any alliance."

The subject must have come up often during his subsequent travels abroad, where his ideas were strongly influenced during his last year. But he stuck to his position. When he spoke at a Militant Labor Forum panel in New York last May, he said:

"In my recent travels into the African countries and others, it was impressed upon me the importance of having a working unity among all peoples, black as well as white. But the only way this is going to be brought about is the Negroes have to be in unity first."

So far as I have been able to learn, that remained Malcolm's position to the end. He was not opposed to alliances with other forces, including labor, provided they were the right kinds of alliances and provided, the Negro part of the alliance was independently organized, so that it could guard against betrayal by being able to pull out of any alliance that went bad.

There is no doubt whatever in my mind that Malcolm would have favored an independent mass

X: THE MAN

black movement making alliances with a radicalized mass labor movement when conditions produced two such components for an alliance. I have no doubt about it because he was willing, even now, in the absence of two such mass movements, to collaborate with radical whites under certain conditions. A man willing to collaborate with numerically weak radical forces, as I will try to show Malcolm was, would have to be out of his mind not to collaborate with mass radical forces. And whatever the *N.Y. Times* and *Muhammad Speaks* say, Malcolm was not out of his mind.

Next let us consider briefly Malcolm's attitudes to capitalism and socialism. In the *Young Socialist* interview he stated:

"It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture . . . and can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less and less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely."

Marxists might question whether capitalism will collapse, or have to be collapsed, but who can question that in his last months Malcolm was taking an unequivocally anti-capitalist position?

Malcolm did not learn about socialism by reading Marx, but he managed to learn about it anyway. He learned about it from the colonial revolution, especially its pro-socialist contingent. He had discussions with Castro and Che Guevara and Algerian socialists and socialists in Ghana, Guinea, Zanzibar, and elsewhere, including the United States. When he was asked last May at the Militant Labor Forum what kind of political system he wanted, he said:

"I don't know. But I'm flexible. As was stated earlier, all of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning towards socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America and it's impossible for a white person today to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism. And if you find a person without racism and you happen to get that person into conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism."

DeBerry's View

Clifton DeBerry was sitting on the same platform, and took the floor to comment on when and where flexibility was correct: in tactics, yes, but not in relation to the principle that the capitalist system and capitalist parties are enemies of freedom, justice and equality. To which Malcolm replied: "And that's the most intelligent answer I've ever heard on that question."

So I think it fair to say that the legacy of Malcolm is not only plainly anti-capitalist but also pro-socialist. I do not say he was a Marxist — he wasn't — and we can only guess if in his further evolution he would have become one, as Castro did in his later development. But that clearly can be reckoned as a possibility.

A few words about Malcolm's relations with the revolutionary socialists, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance:

The record is plain about our attitude to Malcolm. We regarded him as one of the most gifted and important leaders of the struggle

GREETINGS. Malcolm X (left) and Clifton DeBerry exchange greetings at opening of Militant Labor Forum symposium last May on police-inspired Harlem "hate-gang" hoax. In center is Queatin Hand of Harlem Action Group.

while he was still a Black Muslim. When he started his own movement, we called it a momentous development that might turn the struggle onto the road to victory, and publicly pledged our aid in the job he was undertaking. For this we got abuse and condemnation from so-called radicals and liberals; our white members were called "white black nationalists" and other names because we supported Malcolm's movement. All this was long before he had said a single word favorable to socialism, and when the image of him in most so-called radical minds was of a man who would rather die than have anything to do with whites, even revolutionary whites.

On the other side was Malcolm's attitude to us. As a Black Muslim he used to buy *The Militant* when it was sold outside his rallies. He later said that even then he urged Negroes to read it. Less than a month after his break with Muhammad, he spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in New York, and publicly praised *The Militant* for telling the truth and wished it success. He spoke for the Militant Labor Forum another two times during the next nine months, after each of his trips abroad. He wasn't even scheduled to speak the second time: His secretary, James Shabazz, was to be part of a panel, but Malcolm phoned and asked if he would be acceptable in James Shabazz's place; and of course he was.

At most of the OAAU rallies he would put in a plug for *The Militant*, without any solicitation on our part. He smoothed the way for it to be sold at Harlem stands and shops. In January, when he gave his interview to the *Young Socialist*, he discussed with the YSA leaders the probability of his making a tour of the nation's campuses in collaboration with the YSA later this year. He would almost surely have spoken here at Debs Hall for the Friday Night Socialist Forum while making that tour. Black SWP and YSA members were welcome to join his organization; whites associated with *The Militant* were welcome to attend OAAU rallies.

So our relations were friendly and mutually helpful. On our part, because we believed that he and we were on the same side in the struggle, had the same enemies and were traveling in the same direction. In our 1963 convention resolution, the Socialist Workers Party had stated that black nationalism and revolutionary socialism "are not only compatible but complementary forces, that should be welded closer together in thought and action." We predicted that would happen, and so far as Malcolm and we were concerned, it was beginning to happen.

On his part, I think, collaboration was taking place because he felt that we, unlike the liberals, unlike the Communist Party, unlike the Socialist Party, unlike most white radicals, did not want to subordinate his movement or the Negro struggle generally to the government, to the Democratic Party, to the American labor bureaucrats, to the privileged bureaucrats in non-capitalist countries, or to anyone else; and that we did and do want the Negro movement to attain full independence of program and action and to develop uninterruptedly in an uncompromisingly militant direction along the lines that best suit its needs.

Once Malcolm was convinced of that, and of our sincerity, as evidenced by our readiness to stick by our principles, however unpopular they might be, there was no bar to our collaboration. I want to stress that he would have taken this attitude to any militant group, even non-socialist, provided it was, in its own way, independent of the government and opposed to racism.

Let us now conclude this discussion of Malcolm's ideas during the last year of his life by examining his positions on black nationalism and separatism. This is important because some political opponents of Malcolm already are circulating distorted stories about him, alleging that he was on the verge of quitting his movement, going over to his opponents, etc. And important also because there may be some ambiguity about his relation to black nationalism as a result of a statement in his interview in the current issue of *Young Socialist*.

Black nationalism and separatism are not the same thing, though unfortunately they are often confused. Separatism is a tendency favoring the withdrawal of Negroes into a separate black nation, either in America or in Africa. Black nationalism is a tendency for Negroes to unite as a group, as a people, in organizations that are Negro-led and Negro-controlled, and sometimes all-black, in order to fight for their freedom. Black nationalism, as it now exists, does not imply any position on the question of a separate nation in the future, for or against. So you can be a black nationalist without being a separatist, although all separatists are black nationalists.

You will find a much better and longer analysis of this greatly misunderstood distinction in the Socialist Workers Party's 1963 convention resolution, *Freedom Now: The New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation*, Pioneer Publishers.

AND HIS IDEAS

When Malcolm was a Black Muslim, he was of course a separatist. At his first press conference after leaving the Black Muslims last March, he said he was out to build a black nationalist movement, and the major stress was on black nationalism. But he also had a few words to say about separatism. He said he still thought separation was "the best solution"; previously he would have said the only solution. "But," he continued, "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*." (His emphasis.)

At the time I took this to be a declaration of his intention to build a black nationalist movement that would attempt to unite the Negro people in a fight for immediate needs, while at the same time continuing to hold up separation as a nation as an ultimate objective, and to make propaganda for it accordingly. But I was obviously wrong, because after that statement last March I cannot find any place where Malcolm advocated a separate nation. And on May 21, a few hours after returning from his first trip to Africa, when he was asked at a press conference if he thought Negroes should return to Africa, he said he thought they should stay and fight in the United States for what is rightfully theirs.

Perhaps he thought a separate nation, while desirable, was so far off there was no use talking about it. Perhaps he thought it was a divisive issue impeding black unity. Or perhaps he no longer thought it desirable. In any case, he stopped being a separatist at the time of his break with the Black Muslims, or soon after.

What about his position on black nationalism? Everyone called him a nationalist, friend and foe, and there was no question about it until a few weeks ago. Then he was asked, in the *Young Socialist* interview, "How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?"

Previous View

He began his answer by saying, "I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth." That is, he used to define it in the traditional way, as I tried to do a few minutes ago.

The second paragraph of Malcolm's reply, which you can read for yourselves in the *Young Socialist*, relates a discussion he had with a white Algerian revolutionary he met in Ghana last May who sought to convince Malcolm that his self-designation as a black nationalist tended to alienate people "who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary." His third and final paragraph was:

"So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country."

Please notice: He was reappraising his *definition* of black nationalism and wondering if it can be summed up as the solution; he had stopped using the term, but he had not yet been able to find another definition for the philosophy necessary for black liberation. Now let me offer what I think is the explanation for all this.

Malcolm had been a black nationalist — it was the starting point for all his thinking, the source of his strength and dynamism. And he remained a black nationalist to his last hour, however uncertain he was about what to *call* himself or the program he was trying to formulate. It would be a bad mistake to mix up what he was with what he thought might be a better name for what he was.

The most urgent need of the Negro people is still the mobilization and unification of the Negro masses into an independent movement to fight for their freedom. Black nationalism is still highly progressive because it contributes to that process and to the creation of that kind of movement.

But black nationalism is a means, not the end; it is a means, but not the only means; it is probably an indispensable means toward the solution but it is not the whole solution. It helps to build an independent movement, but it does not necessarily provide the program that will lead such a movement to victory.

Two Types

In a series of articles last summer, now being collected in a Pioneer Publishers pamphlet called *Marxism and the Negro Struggle*, I tried to clarify some questions about black nationalism by noting that there are at least two types of black nationalist.

One is the pure-and-simple black nationalist. He is concerned exclusively or primarily with the internal problems of the Negro community, with organizing it, helping it to control the economy of the community, the politics of the community, etc. He is not so concerned with the problems of the total American society or with the nature of the total society within which the Negro community exists. He has no theory or program for changing that society; for him that's the white man's problem.

Now Malcolm was not that kind of black nationalist, or if he was a year ago, he did not remain that. As he discussed with people in Africa, in the Near East, at the United Nations and in the United States, as he studied and thought and learned, he began to become a black nationalist plus. Plus what? I have already given you many quotations from his speeches and interviews showing that as he studied the economy, the nature of the political and social system of American capitalism, as he developed greater and keener understanding of how this system functions and how the ruling class rules and how racism is a component and instrument of that rule, he came more and more to the conclusion that not only must the Negro control his own community, but that radical changes have to be made in the society as a whole if the Negroes are to achieve their freedom.

Black nationalism, yes. But the solution cannot be summed up as only black nationalism. Needed is black nationalism plus fundamental social change; black nationalism plus the transformation of the entire society. Whatever difficulty Malcolm may have had in finding the right name, what he was becoming was black nationalist plus revolutionist. (The *Young Socialist* interview shows that he had great respect for that word.)

There are really only three ways in which it is possible to think of the Negro people getting freedom and equality.

One way (notice I said to th... about getting freedom) is thr... gradualism; peaceful refor... little bit now and a little ... ten years from now. N... dom Now, but Freed... which for purposes ... now alive, means Fre... This is the program ... Johnson, Reuther, R...

and Rustin. Malcolm, as we know, flatly rejected this approach.

The second way is through separation, through migration to Africa, or through obtaining part of what is now the United States. Malcolm, as I indicated, had turned away from this approach, whatever his reasons may have been for doing so.

The third way — and I repeat there are only these three ways, there are no other — is through the revolutionary reorganization of society, by basically changing the economy, political structure, laws and educational system, and by replacing the present capitalist ruling class with a new government instituted by the forces that are opposed to racism and determined to uproot it.

From the quotations I read you before about what Malcolm was saying about capitalism and socialism and racism, it is clear that Malcolm tended to favor this third approach, or at least had his eyes turned in that direction. He wasn't sure *if* it could be done, and he wasn't sure *how* it could be done, but he was thinking about it and how it fitted into the program and activity of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

This, I believe, correctly explains his uncertainty about what to call himself. He was a black nationalist plus, a black nationalist plus a social revolutionist, or in the process of becoming one.

Socialists should be the last to be surprised at such a development. We have for some time been stressing the tendency of nationalism to grow over into and become merged with socialism; we have seen just that transformation occur in Cuba with Castro and his movement, which began as nationalist. We have argued against many opponents that the logical outcome of black nationalism in a country like ours is to reach the most advanced, most radical social and political conclusions. That is why we have advocated and predicted that black nationalists and revolutionary socialists can, should and will find ways of working together.

Malcolm's uncertainty about the right name arises from the fact that he was doing something new — he was on the road to a synthesis of black nationalism and socialism that would be fitting for the American scene and acceptable to the masses in the black ghetto. He did not complete the synthesis before he was murdered. It remains for others to complete what he was beginning.

Now he is dead, taken from us at what might have been the most important and fruitful year of his life.

Let us not deceive ourselves. It was a stunning blow, as Frank Lovell said at last week's memorial meeting of the Afro-American Broadcasting Co., it was a stunning blow to the Negro people and to those white Americans who want to eradicate the system that breeds racism. Men like Malcolm do no appear often, or in great numbers. The enemies of human progress benefit from his death, the fighters for human progress are weakened and hurt by it.

But a stunning blow to the struggle does not destroy the struggle. Malcolm will not easily be replaced. But he will be replaced. The capitalist system breeds not only racism, but rebels against racism, especially among the youth. Malcolm cannot be replaced overnight, but meanwhile we all can and should strive harder, work harder, fight harder, unite more closely to try to fill the gap left by the death of this man we loved, and give help and encouragement to those destined to replace him.

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REPORT FROM ALGERIA

African Reactions to Malcolm X's

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By Henri Dumoulin

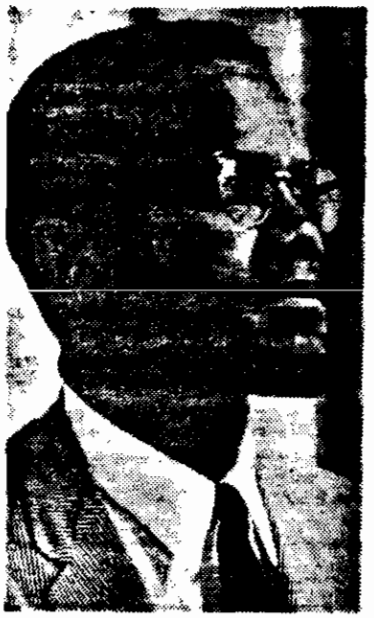
ALGIERS — In the course of his recent visits to a number of African capitals, the American Black nationalist leader, Malcolm X, gained much sympathy in militant African circles. Two weeks before his assassination, for example, in its issue of Feb. 13, 1965, the Algerian weekly *Révolution Africaine* devoted a double-page center spread to an article entitled "Roads to Liberty: Rev. Martin Luther King or Malcolm X." The article reads, in part:

"Parallel with the intensification of the pacifist struggle for civil rights in the South, a militant spirit has, for some time now, animated the struggle of the black communities in the ghettos of the North. The unemployed youth are demanding their rights to justice and to jobs. In Harlem, the tenants of the overcrowded slums are conducting rent strikes. The traditional integrationist leaders, regarded as too moderate, are less and less followed by black workers who swell the ranks of nationalist organizations . . . and state their intention of using violence, if necessary, to defend themselves against the violence of the racists. The idea of a sustained struggle against the oppression of the rich whites — who completely dominate the economic life of the black ghettos and exploit its inhabitants — is spreading fast.

"Uneasy in the face of this upsurge of militant feeling, New York's officialdom has imposed a virtual police reign of terror on Harlem, while the press whips up a campaign of racist hate . . .

"Fearing above all that the oppressed black masses will be won to revolutionary socialist ideas, the municipal authorities reinforce their oppressive measures."

And *Révolution Africaine* concluded its article as follows: "The black people of the United States are descendants of the slaves brought from Africa in chains and they are still, today, a colonized and super-exploited people within the very bosom of American society. Objectively, the struggle against discrimination and racism is a struggle against the entire structure — the economic and political organization — of the



Malcolm X

United States, and a struggle for a new social order.

"The struggle of American Negroes for equality and justice is thus part of the great world movement against imperialism and the exploitation of man by man. American Negroes have already begun to be aware of their kinship with all the world's oppressed and feel themselves more and more in solidarity with all peoples marching toward liberty and fulfillment of their potential as human beings."

In the light of such an article, one can imagine the feelings of the most clear-sighted and informed African militants at the news of the assassination of Malcolm X. They immediately recognized the hand of Yankee imperialism behind the hands of the assassins.

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Malcolm X

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The Secretary of the *Union Syndicale Pan-Africaine* [Pan-African Labor Union] declared that the brutal murder of Malcolm X would give impetus to the development of the Afro-American struggle.

Jeune Afrique (Young Africa), the weekly published in Tunis, carried an article by its New York correspondent, Simon Malley, which said:

"It was difficult on this Sunday night of the day in which Malcolm was struck down, this night of Feb. 21, to find a single Negro in the streets of Harlem for whom the assassination of the leader of the Organization of Afro-American Unity did not seem to be the result of a big conspiracy — a conspiracy to which neither the New York police nor the FBI were strangers.

"For over five hours I interviewed more than 50 Negroes in the black ghetto of New York, old and young, men and women. All agreed that, even taking into consideration the direct responsibility of the rival organization of Elijah Muhammad, the murder of Malcolm X took place in circumstances sufficiently strange to excite grave suspicions as to the role of the white law-enforcement authorities and security agents of the country."

The March 6 issue of *Révolution Africaine* again devoted a big article to the death of Malcolm X:

"Malcolm X was no more nor less than a fearless nationalist and revolutionist, spokesman of an oppressed people whom he wanted to lead on the difficult road of liberation.

"That is why the American imperialists saw in him the champion of Afro-American liberation and a particularly dangerous enemy.

"In his struggle against American racism, Malcolm X did not hesitate to internationalize the question and seek the support of all the forces in the world opposed to U.S. imperialism.

"This concept was of inestimable political and moral value for the struggle of the Negro people in the U.S., and it filled them with a new militancy, a new dynamic spirit.

"Another aspect of Malcolm X's political thought which made him particularly dangerous, in the eyes of the ruling circles of the U.S., was his categorical affirmation of the absolute right of Negroes to defend themselves against the violence and brutality from which they suffer daily

"A 'respectable' and purely non-violent struggle, such as that led by the Rev. Martin Luther King in the South, does not seriously disturb the 'stability' of American society.

"But proclaiming the right of self-defense against that society founded on violence and cemented by blood struck terror into the hearts of the defenders of the status que."

In recognizing the correctness of the advanced positions taken by Malcolm X, *Révolution Africaine* thus becomes the spokesman of the most politically-developed African militants in paying fitting homage to the great American black nationalist leader.

Services in Indonesia for Malcolm X

William Worthy reporting from Indonesia in the March 13 Baltimore Afro-American, says: "In response to an appeal by Indonesia's minister of religious affairs, this country's many mosques conducted on Friday special prayer services commemorating Malcolm X.

"This very weekend Malcolm had been expected to arrive here to attend the week-long Afro-Asian Islamic Conference which President Sukarno opened in Bandung Saturday morning.

"Malcolm's militancy and his identification with what Sukarno calls the new emerging forces had caught the imagination of this strongly anti-colonial Moslem nation.

"Since his death the press here has carried a running account of the . . . murder's repercussions in the colored and white communities."

Worthy also reports that in recent seizures of U.S.-owned companies, peasant unions cited Malcolm's murder as one of the reasons for the take-overs.

200 Demonstrate in London Over Murder of Malcolm X

Over 200 people took part in a demonstration in London protesting the assassination of Malcolm X. The demonstration was called by the Council of African Organizations.

"Malcolm X regarded the use of force in self-defense where violence is unleashed against the Negro's demands for freedom and for human rights as justifiable only because the hand that prevented them had been unamenable to negotiation and peaceful demands," said a statement issued by the Council. "He had little faith in those who, while breaking his head with a cudgel, exhorted him to be passive and love them. Malcom X aimed essentially at the forging of stronger links between Negroes in America, Africans and all oppressed peoples in Asia and Latin America, and that is precisely why he was murdered . . .

"The Council of African Organizations, representing over 40,000 youth and students in Britain, and the Union of African Students in Europe, are shocked and angered by this savage assassination by the agents of U.S imperialism of our nationalist leader and militant fighter for Afro-American freedom, human rights and dignity. We express solidarity with his aims and work, which no act of brutality can undermine or obliterate We are determined to continue his just struggle by which the rights of Afro-American people will be secured and human dignity established."

Slate New York Benefit For Malcolm X's Family

NEW YORK — The Students Against Social Injustice, a local youth organization, will hold a benefit folk-song concert with the proceeds going to the widow and children of Malcolm X.

The concert will be held on Saturday afternoon, April 10, 3 p.m., at Christ Church, 344 West 36th St. (Between Eighth and Ninth Avenues.) Contribution is $1.

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INTERVIEW WITH MALCOLM X

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The following interview was given by Malcolm X to YOUNG SOCIALIST editorial board members Jack Barnes and Barry Sheppard early this year.

• • •

What image of you has been projected by the press?

Well, the press has purposely and skillfully projected me in the image of a racist, a race supremacist, and an extremist.

What's wrong with this image? What do you really stand for?

First, I'm not a racist. I'm against every form of racism and segregation, every form of discrimination. I believe in human beings, and that all human beings should be respected as such, regardless of their color.

Why did you break with the Black Muslims?

I didn't break, there was a split. The split came about primarily because they put me out, and they put me out because of my uncompromising approach to problems I thought should be solved and the movement could solve.

I felt the movement was dragging its feet in many areas. It didn't involve itself in the civil or civic or political struggles our people were confronted by. All it did was stress the importance of moral reformation—don't drink, don't smoke, don't permit fornication and adultery. When I found that the hierarchy itself wasn't practicing what it preached, it was clear that this part of its program was bankrupt.

So the only way it could function and be meaningful in the community was to take part in the political and economic facets of the Negro struggle. And the organization wouldn't do that because the

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~~stand~~ it would have to take would have been too militant, uncompromising and activist, and the hierarchy had gotten conservative. It was motivated mainly by protecting its own self interests. I might also point out that although the Black Muslim movement professed to be a religious group, the religion they had adopted—Islam—didn't recognize them. So, religiously it was in a vacuum. And it didn't take part in politics, so it was not a political group. When you have an organization that's neither political nor religious and doesn't take part in the civil rights struggle, what can it call itself? It's in a vacuum. So, all of these factors led to my splitting from the organization.

What are the aims of your new organization?

There are two organizations—there's the Muslim Mosque, Inc., which is religious. It's aim is to create an atmosphere and facilities in which people who are interested in Islam can get a better understanding of Islam. The aim of the other organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, is to use whatever means necessary to bring about a society in which the 22 million Afro-Americans are recognized and respected as human beings.

How do you define black nationalism, with which you have been identified?

I used to define black nationalism as the idea that the black man should control the economy of his community, the politics of his community, and so forth.

But, when I was in Africa in May, in Ghana, I was speaking with the Algerian ambassador who is extremely militant and is a revolutionary in the true sense of the word (and has his credentials as such for having carried on a successful revo~~lution~~

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against oppression in his country). When I told him that my political, social and economic philosophy was black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, well, where did that leave him? Because he was white. He was an African, but he was Algerian, and to all appearances, he was a white man. And he said if I define my objective as the victory of black nationalism, where does that leave him? Where does that leave revolutionaries in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, Mauritania? So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary.

So, I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country.

Is it true, as is often said, that you favor violence?

I don't favor violence. If we could bring about recognition and respect of our people by peaceful means, well and good. Everybody would like to reach his objectives peacefully. But I'm also a realist. The only people in this country who are asked to be non-violent are black people. I've never heard anybody go to the Ku Klux Klan and teach them non-violence, or to the Birch society and other right-wing elements. Non-violence is only preached to black Americans and I don't go along with anyone who wants to teach our people non-violence until someone at the same time is teaching our enemy to be non-violent. I believe we should protect ourselves by any means necessary when we are attacked by racists.

What do you think is responsible for race prejudice in the U.S.?

Ignorance and greed. And a skillfully designed program of miseducation that goes right along with the American system of exploitation and oppression.

If the entire American population were properly educated—by properly educated, I mean given a true picture of the history and contributions of the black man—I think many whites would be less racist in their feelings. They would have more respect for the black man as a human being. Knowing what the black man's contributions to science and civilization have been in the past, the white man's feelings of superiority would be at least partially negated. Also, the feeling of inferiority that the black man has would be replaced by a bal-

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anced knowledge of himself. He'd feel more like a human being. He'd function more like a human being, in a society of human beings.

So it takes education to eliminate it. And just because you have colleges and universities, doesn't mean you have education. The colleges and universities in the American educational system are skillfully used to miseducate.

What were the highlights of your trip to Africa?

I visited Egypt, Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar (now Tanzania), Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Guinea and Algeria. During that trip I had audiences with President Nasser of Egypt, President Nyerere of Tanzania, President Jomo Kenyatta (who was then Prime Minister) of Kenya, Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda, President Azikiwe of Nigeria, President Nkrumah of Ghana, and President Sekou Toure of Guinea. I think the highlights were the audiences I had with those persons because it gave me a chance to sample their thinking. I was impressed by their analysis of the problem, and many of the suggestions they gave went a long way toward broadening my own outlook.

How much influence does revolutionary Africa have on the thinking of black people in this country?

All the influence in the world. You can't separate the militancy that's displayed on the African continent from the militancy that's displayed right here among American blacks. The positive image that is developing of Africans is also developing in the minds of black Americans, and, consequently they develop a more positive image of themselves. Then they take more positive steps—actions.

So you can't separate the African revolution from the mood of the black man in America. Neither could the colonization of Africa be separated from the menial position that the black man in this country was satisfied to stay in for so long. Since Africa has gotten its independence through revolution, you'll notice the stepped up cry against discrimination that has appeared in the black community.

How do you view the role of the U.S. in the Congo?

As criminal. Probably there is no better example of criminal activity against an oppressed people than the role the U.S. has been playing in the Congo, through her ties with Tshombe and the mercenaries. You can't overlook the fact that Tshombe gets his money from the U.S. The money he uses to hire these mercenaries—these paid killers imported from South Africa—comes from the United States. The pilots that fly these planes have been trained by the U.S. The bombs themselves that are

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~~blowing~~ apart the bodies of women and children come from the U.S. So I can only view the role of the United States in the Congo as a criminal role. And I think the seeds she is sowing in the Congo she will have to harvest. The chickens that she has turned loose over there have got to come home to roost.

What about the U.S. role in South Vietnam?

The same thing. It shows the real ignorance of those who control the American power structure. If France, with all types of heavy arms, as deeply entrenched as she was in what then was called Indochina, couldn't stay there, I don't see how anybody in their right mind can think the U.S. can get in there—it's impossible. So it shows her ignorance, her blindness, her lack of foresight and hindsight and her complete defeat in South Vietnam is only a matter of time.

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(Cont.)

How do you view the activity of white and black students who went to the South last summer and attempted to register black people to vote?

The attempt was good—I should say the objective to register black people in the South was good because the only real power a poor man in this country has is the power of the ballot. But I don't believe sending them in and telling them to be nonviolent was intelligent. I go along with the effort toward registration but I think they should be permitted to use whatever means at their disposal to defend themselves from the attacks of the Klan, the White Citizens Council and other groups.

What do you think of the murder of the three civil rights workers and what's happened to their killers?

It shows that the society we live in is not actually what it tries to represent itself as to the rest of the world. This was murder and the federal government is helpless because the case involves Negroes. Even the whites involved, were involved in helping Negroes. And concerning anything in this society involved in helping Negroes, the federal government shows an inability to function. But it can function in South Vietnam, in the Congo, in Berlin and in other places where it has no business. But it can't function in Mississippi.

In a recent speech you mentioned that you met John Lewis of SNCC in Africa. Do you feel that the younger and more militant leaders in the South are broadening their views on the whole general struggle?

Sure. When I was in the Black Muslim movement I spoke on many white campuses and black campuses. I knew back in 1961 and '62 that the younger generation was much different from the

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older, and that many students were more sincere in their analysis of the problem and their desire to see the problem solved. In foreign countries the students have helped bring about revolution—it was the students who brought about the revolution in the Sudan, who swept Syngman Rhee out of office in Korea, swept Menderes out in Turkey. The students didn't think in terms of the odds against them, and they couldn't be bought out.

In America students have been noted for involving themselves in panty raids, goldfish swallowing, seeing how many can get in a telephone booth—not for their revolutionary political ideas or their desire to change unjust conditions. But some students are becoming more like their brothers around the world. However, the students have been deceived somewhat in what's known as the civil rights struggle (which was never designed to solve the problem). The students were manuevered in the direction of thinking the problem was already analyzed, so they didn't try to analyze it for themselves.

In my thinking, if the students in this country forgot the analysis that has been presented to them, and they went into a huddle and began to research this problem of racism for themselves, independent of politicians and independent of all the foundations (which are a part of the power structure), and did it themselves, then some of their findings would be shocking, but they would see that they would never be able to bring about a solution to racism in this country as long as they're relying on the government to do it. The federal government itself is just as racist as the government in Mississippi, and is more guilty of perpetuating the racist system. At the federal level they are more shrewd, more skillful at doing it, just like the FBI is more skillful than the state police and the state police are more skillful than the local police. The same with politicians. The politician at the federal level is usually more skilled than the politician at the local level, and when he wants to practice racism, he's more skilled in the practice of it than those who practice it at the local level.

The Black Ghetto

— By Robert Vernon — 35 cents

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What is your opinion of the Democratic party?

The Democratic party is responsible for the racism that exists in this country, along with the Republican party. The leading racists in this country are Democrats. Goldwater isn't the leading racist—he's a racist but not the leading racist. The racists who have influence in Washington, D.C. are Democrats. If you check, whenever any kind of legislation is suggested to mitigate the injustices that Negroes suffer in this country, you will find that the people who line up against it are members of Lyndon B. Johnson's party. The Dixiecrats are Democrats. The Dixiecrats are only a subdivision of the Democratic party, and the same man over the Democrats is over the Dixiecrats.

What contribution can youth, especially students, who are disgusted with racism in this society, make to the black struggle for freedom?

Whites who are sincere don't accomplish anything by joining Negro organizations and making them integrated. Whites who are sincere should organize among themselves and figure out some strategy to break down the prejudice that exists in white communities. This is where they can function more intelligently and more effectively, in the white community itself, and this has never been done.

INTERVIEW WITH MALCOLM X

(Cont.)

What part in the world revolution are youth playing, and what lessons may this have for American youth?

If you've studied the captives being caught by the American soldiers in South Vietnam, you'll find that these guerrillas are young people. Some of them are just children and some haven't yet reached their teens. Most are teenagers. It is the teenagers abroad, all over the world, who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression and exploitation. In the Congo, the refugees point out that many of the Congolese revolutionaries are children. In fact, when they shoot captive revolutionaries, they shoot all the way down to seven years old—that's been reported in the press. Because the revolutionaries are children, young people. In these countries, the young people are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist. And here in this country, it has been my own observation that when you get into a conversation on racism and discrimination and segregation, you will find young people more incensed over it—they feel more filled with an urge to eliminate it.

I think young people here can find a powerful example in the young *Simbas* in the Congo and the young fighters in South Vietnam.

Another point—as the dark-skinned nations of this earth become independent, as they develop and ~~become~~ stronger, that means that time is ~~on the~~ side

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of the An. can Negro. At this point the America Negro is still hospitable and friendly and forgiving. But if he is continually tricked and deceived and so on, and if there is still no solution to his problems, he will become completely disillusioned, disenchanted and disassociate himself from the interest of America and its society. Many have done that already.

What is your opinion of the world-wide struggle now going on between capitalism and socialism?

It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, then capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely.

What is the outlook for the Negro struggle in 1965?

Bloody. It was bloody in 1963, it was bloody in 1964, and all of the causes that created this bloodshed still remain. The March on Washington was designed to serve as a vent or valve for the frustration that produced this explosive atmosphere. In 1964 they used the Civil Rights bill as a valve. What can they use in 1965? There is no trick that the politicians can use to contain the explosiveness that exists right here in Harlem. And look at New York Police Commissioner Murphy. He's coming out in headlines trying to make it a crime now to even predict that there's going to be trouble. This shows the caliber of American thinking. There's going to be an explosion, but don't talk about it. All the ingredients that produce explosions exist, but don't talk about it, he says. That's like saying 700 million Chinese don't exist. This is the same approach. The American has become so guilt ridden and filled with fear that instead of facing the reality of any situation he pretends the situation doesn't exist. You know, in this country it's almost a crime to say there's a place called China—unless you mean that little island called Formosa. By the same token, it's almost a crime to say that people in Harlem are going to explode because the social dynamite that existed last year is still here. So I think 1965 will be most explosive—more explosive than it was in '64 and '63. There's nothing they can do to contain it. The Negro leaders have lost their control over the people. So that when the people begin to explode—and their explosion is justified, not unjustified—the Negro leaders can't contain it.

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Rally Told of $6 Million Try To Soften Malcolm on Rights

Malcolm X was offered $6 million after defecting from the Black Muslims last year "to play the civil rights game according to the rules," an admirer of the slain Black Nationalist charged.

The offer, said writer Sylvester Leaks, was made by several persons "of the white power structure" at a church on Riverside Dr. Malcolm refused, he said.

Leaks disclosed the alleged offer before 1500 persons last night at a memorial rally for Malcolm in the Rockland Palace, 155th St. and Eighth Ave. Malcolm was assassinated Feb. 21 in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, less than a mile away.

The three-hour tribute was organized by a group headed by Leaks, who described himself as a writer and an "admirer of Malcolm but not a member of anything."

The program marked the first public appearance of Malcolm's wife, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, since the murder. Mrs. Shabazz, who is expecting her fifth child in the fall, did not mention her husband but thanked the crowd for attending "on behalf of my four babies and myself."

Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader, called Malcolm his teacher. "He taught me to be mean and black and hate the white man," Gray declared.

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'The light still shines...'

MEMORIAL FOR MALCOLM X

May 19, 1925, Malcolm X first saw the light of day. Sunday, Feb. 21, 1965 his light, which had shone so brightly, was snuffed out by an assassin's bullets. On May 19, 1965, forty years after his birth, black people in Harlem's Rockland Palace proclaimed that the light still shines and that from

Mrs. Ella Collins at Memorial

now on this day will be the one on which black Americans will honor their departed hero.

Singer-actor Jimmy Randolph, star of Ballad for Bimshire and Carmen Jones sang "I Believe" and mistress of ceremonies, Selma Sparks commented, "Someone did come to show the way and though he is no longer with us, this light still shines for us to follow—to freedom."

James Shabazz, Malcolm's secretary and minister of Muslim Mosque, Inc., delivered a rousing tribute. Shabazz told how, when the Louisiana White Citizens Council placed a $10,000 reward on Malcolm's head, dead or alive, last year, he had still gone to this southern citadel of racism because, "My people need me.

"Brother Malcolm did something for us which we cannot do for him," said Shabazz. He died for his people.

Louise Jeffers and the O.A.A.U. Singers received great applause for their rendition of "Doing the Mau Mau."

"To really show them what you mean do the Mau Mau like in Kenya. Then the man will understand you and you'll break the chains that bind you..."

Sidi Ali, secretary of the New York Chapter of the Pan African Students Organization, introduced a number of African guests. Victor Gbeho, first secretary of the permanent mission of Ghana to the U.N. read condolences full of sincere admiration for Malcolm from President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and the Ghanaian people.

Afterwards, Sidi Ali read a poem made up of some of the phrases from the eulogy delivered by Ossie Davis at Malcolm's funeral. "To our own Shining Prince." He also commented on the very important role women had played in African struggles and paid tribute to Malcolm's sister and her leadership as a woman.

Leontyne Watts, billed as the "Penthouse Primitive" singer, delivered an exciting rendition of the song about the African God, Babalu.

Mrs. Ella Collins, Malcolm's sister and president of the O.A.A.U. which Malcolm founded, closed the first half of the evening program with a pledge to continue the work which her brother had started in the spirit of his plans.

Mrs. Collins revealed that an international center will be built in Malcolm's honor where African diplomats may come and African students may reside. There will also be a school in which Afro-American children can learn their heritage.

ARTIST'S TRIBUTE

LeRoi Jones, poet-playwright, author of The Slave/The Toilet and the Dutchman and one of the founders of the Black Arts Theatre School, spoke briefly in memory of Malcolm and then read an original poem dedicated to Malcolm.

There were more entertainers and speakers, including Mrs. Mae Mallory, one of the Monroe Defendants who has been reindicted by the state of North Carolina for her alleged involvement in the incident which sent into Cuban exile one of the most militant southern black leaders, Robert Williams. Mary Kochiyama, a dedicated woman in the freedom fight also spoke.

There was African music by Nadi Qamar and entertainment by Dolores Taylor, singer, Kenny Durham, trumpeter and Juanita Boyd, singer and others.

The most lasting and meaningful monument to Malcolm will be the fighting for, and the achievement of, black freedom, "by any means necessary."

—Sparks

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Jazz Festival Benefit for Mrs. Malcolm X

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By Mylas Martin
Herald Tribune Staff

Malcolm X, the fiery Black Muslim leader, is dead, but his memory is not.

Yesterday, Mrs. Sidney Poitier, wife of the movie actor, threw open the doors of her 18-room English manor house in Pleasantville, N. Y., to see her neighbors in the wealthy Bear Ridge Road district for a jazz benefit whose proceeds were to go to Malcolm's widow.

Her white neighbors, among them corporation executives, clergymen and college students, joined 1,000 other guests, most of whom were from Harlem, in paying tabs ranging from $10 to $50 for chicken, cold cuts, soft drinks and hard wooden seats.

Performers, who sang and played on a huge special stage erected outdoors in a natural amphitheatre, included the trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie, the drummer Max Roach, the singer Abbe Lincoln, the Billy Taylor Trio and the singer Valerie Carr. Lena Horne, the singer, and Ahmad Jamal, the pianist, also scheduled to appear, could not attend but sent their telegramed regrets.

Upstairs, reclining on a sun-porch on the east wing, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's 30-year-old widow, surveyed the scene below her and exclaimed:

"It's wonderful. Oh my goodness, I was so excited when I got up this morning. I couldn't eat."

Mrs. Poitier, ~~who is~~ separated from the actor, is president of a 16-woman group formed, they say, the instant, Feb. 21. Shocked by the murder, their first concern was for the financial future of Mrs. Shabazz, her four daughters, ranging in age from 1 to 6 years, and the baby she expected in October.

"Our express purpose in giving this festival is to care for them, buy them a home," said one of the group, who call themselves the Concerned Mothers Mutual Benefit Committee. All are Negro.

Besides Mrs. Poitier, a pretty, brown-haired mother of four girls, members include the folksinger Odetta, Mrs.

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Malcolm Little

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New York Herald Tribune ✓
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
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The Wall Street Journal
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Brock Peters, wife of the Negro actor; Mrs. Betty Frank Lomax, former wife of the Negro writer Louis Lomax; Miss Lincoln; the novelist Paule Marshall, and a Manhattan lawyer, Florynce R. Kennedy.

The group has established an ofice at 8 E. 48th St., to receive public contributions to help Malcolm's widow. The members said they had sold "over 1,000 tickets" to yesterday's fete, and had received quite unexpected help.

"Large companies like Schenley's and Bambergers Department Stores joined smaller business groups and Harlem peopgle in donating equipment and refreshments for our festival," said a committee member.

"We have almost no overhead. And to make sure Mrs. Shabazz gets all the receipts," she added, "we've temporarily made her treasurer."

Mrs. Marshall, whose books "Brown Girl, Brownstones," and "Soul Clap Hands and Sing" were published by Random House and Atheneum, emphasized that "we are strictly non-political."

But Mrs. Lomax snapped: "We'd like to see the white American public show some of the compassion for Mrs. Shabazz that they showed in donating $60,000 to Lee Harvey Oswald's widow.

"I personally don't consider Malcolm guilty of anything wrong. But nobody, even his detractors, ca nequate him with Oswald. Yet Marina Oswald is cared for."

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Meeting in Harlem Honors Malcolm X

REC-100

NEW YORK — Civil rights militants Fannie Lou Hamer of Mississippi and Gloria Richardson Dandridge, formerly of Cambridge, Md., were among the featured speakers at the memorial meeting for Malcolm X held at the Rockland Palace Ballroom here May 26. Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabazz, who is expecting Malcolm's fifth child this summer, was present and greeted the audience of some 500 persons.

Fannie Lou Hamer said Malcolm was "one of the greatest men I ever met because he was one of the only men I ever met who had the guts to tell the truth." Gloria Richardson Dandridge, who led the famous Cambridge Nonviolent Action movement until she married and moved to New York last year, said that unlike those people who disliked some sides of Malcolm "my admiration was for the whole man." She liked the direction in which Malcolm was moving, she said, and for "White America with its elaborate myths it was a more dangerous Malcolm who was developing." He was cut down, she said, when it only remained for him to "fashion the political weapon oriented toward the black people and necessary for our freedom."

Among the other speakers who appeared were Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray, comedian Godfrey Cambridge and actor-producer Ossie Davis. The meeting was chaired by writer Sylvester Leaks.

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The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
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New York Journal-American
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More Questions on Malcolm X's Murder

By George Breitman

DETROIT, July 18 — "Why don't you admit that the Black Muslims killed Malcolm X, instead of trying to cast suspicion on the police? Malcolm himself said the Black Muslims were trying to kill him, and he was going to reveal the names of the would-be assassins at the meeting on Feb. 21 where he was murdered."

The above is one response to my article in the July 12 Militant, where I took note of certain things printed in the New York newspapers after the assassination that raised questions about the conduct of the police.

The reason I don't "admit" the Black Muslims killed Malcolm is that I don't know that to be a fact. It may be so, but until it is proved it remains only a possibility — one among others. Even if Black Muslims or their agents were out to kill him, they may not have been the only ones.

What Malcolm thought about it is important, but not conclusive; he did not have all the facts either.

When his home was bombed on Feb. 14, a week before his assassination, he definitely accused the Black Muslims of the murder attempt. He believed it was a continuation of their bitter attacks and harassments.

Once he had made this accusation, it was a perfect setup for other forces to kill him and have it assumed that the Black Muslims were guilty. I do not say it happened that way; I say it could have happened that way if other forces were out to get him.

Second Thoughts

The police and the press publicized Malcolm's first opinion, but not his later doubts about that opinion. Yet it is a fact that in the last two or three days of his life Malcolm began to have second thoughts about the question. He told associates he was "not all that sure it's the Muslims" and that he was going to quit saying it was.

And in the last hour of his life, as he sat in the small anteroom of the Audubon Ballroom waiting for his turn to speak, he told members of his organization there that he was going to state that he had been hasty to accuse the Black Muslims of bombing his home, because things that had happened after the bombing had convinced him of the existence of a plot bigger and beyond the capabilities of the Black Muslims.

Again, he might have been right or he might have been wrong. The point is that he did not know for sure, and therefore his opinion one way or the other is not conclusive.

In my previous article I called attention to some things that the New York papers reported right after the assassination and then dropped like a hot potato: That the crowd had seized and was beating two men whom they accused of having killed Malcolm; that the police came and rescued these two men; that they later indicted one of them, Talmadge Hayer of Paterson, N. J., for the murder; but that they never have said anything about the second man, who has simply disappeared without explanation.

Trying to figure out why the police behaved so strangely in regard to this second man, I noted that they admitted "several" police agents were in the hall pretending to be ordinary members of the audience when the killing took place, and I speculated that the second man might have been one of these police agents. I said that this might account for the way the top police dealt with him, and then I asked again: *If he was a police agent, what was he doing that convinced a part of the audience that he was one of the killers?*

In the recent Statue of Liberty case in New York, it turned out that the chief initiator of whatever was plotted was an agent-

Malcolm X

provocateur planted there by the city police. When a Ku Klux Klan gang murdered Mrs. Viola Liuzzo in Alabama, it turned out that one member of the gang was an agent planted there by the FBI. It is well known, and Malcolm pointed this out several times, that the police and the FBI have infiltrated the Black Muslims.

These are reasons why I cannot rule out the possibility that a police agent might have been part of the murder gang, even encouraging the plot. It doesn't at all displease the police that Malcolm is dead and his movement beheaded, under circumstances that favor blaming the Black Muslims and possibly wiping out their movement, too.

If such speculation is without basis, if the police did not have an agent in the murder gang, if the police were in no way implicated in the murder, then they should easily be able to clear up the puzzling questions about the second man, whose identity and role they know.

While they are at it, perhaps they will clear up some other matters about their conduct.

Malcolm's body was hardly cold before top police officials began bombarding the public with statements about how often they had offered him protection. Every official had a different figure for the number of offers, but all of them said Malcolm refused protection.

Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, had another story. Ted Poston, writing in the Feb. 23 *New York Post*, told of her reaction, the night after the killing, as she was watching TV and heard Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm say, "Of course we offered Malcolm X police protection many times — as late as the day his house was bombed." "That's a lie," Mrs. Shabazz said.

Not Absolved

Either way, the police are not absolved of the responsibility for preventing murder. They are supposed to protect people, they are supposed to prevent murder, even of people who don't want special protection. And in this case they *knew*, more than a month before Feb. 21, that Malcolm's murder was being planned.

That isn't what I say — that's what they say. "According to the police spokesman, the department knew in mid-January that an attempt was to be made on Malcolm's life," the New York *Journal-American* reported on Feb. 23.

The police spokesman did not say *how* they knew. This would be interesting, but here let us confine ourselves to the question of what the police, knowing about the murder plot, did in and around the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21.

We already know that there were "several" undercover police agents in the audience. What about outside?

"According to police officials, a patrolman was stationed outside the ballroom," the New York *World-Telegram* reported Feb. 22.

A high police official, after confirming that police agents were planted inside the meeting, added, "And there were a couple of uniformed men outside," the *Herald Tribune* reported Feb. 23.

"Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm said yesterday [Feb. 22] that a special detail had been assigned outside the ballroom . . . Assistant Chief Inspector Harry Taylor, in charge of Manhattan North uniformed police said Sunday [Feb. 21] that two sergeants and 18 patrolmen had been stationed in the area," the *New York Times* reported on Feb. 23.

Which was it — "a" patrolman, "a couple" or a "special detail" of 20? Why such discrepancies about a relatively simple question? What does it denote — ineptness, indifference, or a sense of guilt?

Let us, for the moment, give the police department the benefit of the doubt and assume that they did assign 20 cops outside the Audubon. The sight of them might have had some effect on the killers. Where were the 20 cops between the time people began to arrive for the rally and the time of the killing? Many witnesses saw few or no cops as they reached the Audubon.

Mrs. Patricia M. Russell, a psychiatric social worker of New Rochelle, who wrote an eyewitness description of the murder in the Feb. 27 Baltimore *Afro-American*, said, "When we drove past the Audubon Ballroom . . there were two police cars and eight policemen — two in front and six standing across the street at various corners. We had to look for a parking space and did not get back to the ballroom for 10 minutes. The area in front of the ballroom was clear of policemen. There was not one officer in sight." This was 10 or 15 minutes before the murder.

Where was the special detail of 20 police at this time?

If it had depended on the cops alone, nobody would have been captured at the scene of the crime.

Police Do Nothing

The "several" police agents didn't do anything to catch the men who shot Malcolm down right in front of them.

Talmadge Hayer, the only person captured at the Audubon who was indicted by the police for the murder, would have got away if it had depended solely on the cops, inside or outside. Someone shot him in the leg as he fled, and the crowd chasing him caught him outside the ballroom. If it had not been for the shot and the crowd, Hayer would have got away before police showed up.

When the police finally did appear, Hayer was seized from the crowd by Sgt. Alvin Aronoff and Patrolman Louis Angelos. The Feb. 22 *Times* said they "were cruising in their patrol car on upper Broadway shortly after 3 P.M. when they heard shots in the Audubon Ballroom." The Feb. 22 *Daily News* said they "were driving by."

There was no claim by anybody that Aronoff and Angelos belonged to any special detail. They apparently were on regular cruising duty out of their precinct station, and happened to be passing by as Hayer and the people chasing him spilled out into the street.

It is not necessary for me to charge the police with ineptness or indifference — the facts speak for themselves. The question is *why* they acted this way. And related to that question are two others:

Did the killers act as boldly as they did because they had reason to believe that none of them would be caught by the police at the Audubon — which (leaving the second man aside) is exactly how it would have turned out if someone (not a cop) hadn't shot Hayer in the leg?

And if they had reason to believe this, what was that reason?

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Malcolm X's Murder And the N.Y. Police

By George Breitman

DETROIT, July 4 — Some mystifying questions about the assassination of Malcolm X arise if you carefully read the New York newspaper reports printed right after the assassination, as I have just done. Some of them concern the role of the police.

I should explain, at the beginning, that I have no fixed theory about the killing. I don't know if agents of the Black Muslims did it; or if agents of white racists did it; or if agents of the government or the police did it; or if agents of a combination of these forces, who all hated Malcolm, did it. I am, at this point, only asking some questions provoked by studying different editions of the six New York daily papers after the killing.

Certain things seem agreed upon by everybody:

The Organization of Afro-American Unity had scheduled a rally on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. This was one week after Malcolm's home was fire-bombed and he and his family narrowly escaped injury or death. People entering the rally were not searched. On the other hand, they were all scrutinized by OAAU aides as they entered the hall.

Malcolm had just begun to speak when two men began a scuffle deliberately designed to distract the attention of Malcolm's guards. Three men rushed toward Malcolm, opening fire and wounding him mortally; they then ran out of the ballroom, pursued by several of Malcolm's supporters.

Police said that one of the three, identified later as Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N.J., had received a bullet in the leg by the time he got to the exit of the building. The police also alleged that he had been wounded by Reuben Francis, a Malcolm guard.

Hayer was seized outside the building by the people pursuing him. So was another man. The people began to beat and kick

Malcolm X

Hayer and the second man. Police arrived and rescued the two being beaten, taking them away from the crowd.

The third man got away. He got away because the crowd did not catch him. Hayer and the second man also would have got away if the crowd hadn't caught and held them until the police showed up.

Now let us turn to the New York *Herald Tribune* dated Monday, Feb. 22. This is a morning paper, which means that the first edition of the paper dated Monday actually appeared Sunday evening, a few hours after the killing. The top headline in the first (city) edition reads: "Malcolm X Slain by Gunmen as 400 in Ballroom Watch." The subhead, over the lead article by Jimmy Breslin, reads: "Police Rescue Two Suspects."

Breslin's story in this edition reports that Hayer was "taken to

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
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...Questions About the Police and Malcolm X's Murder

(Continued from Page 1)

Bellevue Prison Ward and was sealed off by a dozen policemen. The other suspect was taken to the Wadsworth Avenue precinct, where the city's top policemen immediately converged and began one of the heaviest homicide investigations this city has ever seen."

Next we turn to a later (late city) edition of the same paper for the same day. The top headline is unchanged. But the subhead is different. This time it reads, "Police Rescue One Suspect."

The "second" suspect has dropped not only out of the headline, but out of Breslin's story too. Nothing about his being caught and beaten by the crowd, nothing about his being rescued by the police, nothing about his being taken to the Wadsworth station, nothing about the city's top police converging on that station.

Suspect Vanishes

Not only does he disappear from Breslin's story in the late city edition, but he disappears from the *Herald Tribune* altogether from that date to this.

Perhaps the whole thing never happened? Perhaps Breslin, in the heat of the moment, had in his first story reported a mere rumor as a fact, and, being unable to verify it, decided not to repeat it in later editions?

But there are three morning papers in New York, and in their first editions they *all* said it happened.

For example, let us examine the first (city) edition of the *New York Times* for Feb. 22. The subhead is very clear: "Police Hold Two for Questioning."

From the *Times'* city edition, we even learn the name of the cop who captured the "second" man. It is Patrolman Thomas Hoy, who is quoted as saying he had "grabbed a suspect" being chased by some people.

But when we turn to the late city edition of the same *Times*, printed only a few hours later, we find that its subhead too has changed. It now reads: "One Is Held in Killing."

But the story hasn't yet been changed altogether. Patrolman Hoy still remains in the late city story, and so does the "second" man who has dropped out of the subhead. In fact, the story has more about Hoy than it had in the city edition.

This time the *Times* reports: "'As I brought him to the front of the ballroom, the crowd began beating me and the suspect,' Patrolman Hoy said. He said he put this man — not otherwise identified later for newsmen — into a police car to be taken to the Wadsworth Avenue station."

Then Hoy's captive disappears from the *Times* as completely and as permanently as he did from the *Herald Tribune*, and from all the other daily papers.

But there cannot be any doubt in the mind of anyone reading the accounts I have cited that a second man was captured and taken away by the police.

Who was he?

Why did the press lose interest

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
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PAGE 3

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MALCOLM X'S MURDER AND THE NY POLICE

CONTINUED

in him so suddenly, at a time that it was filling its pages with all kinds of material about the murder, including the silliest trivialities and wildest rumors? Was it because the police "advised" them to?

Why did Patrolman Hoy deem the "second" man to be a suspect? What was he doing at the time Hoy grabbed him?

Why did the crowd deem him to be a suspect? What had they seen him doing before Hoy grabbed him?

Why did the city's "top policemen" surround him with a wall of silence that has not been pierced for 4½ months?

If they decided he was innocent, why didn't they say so publicly? That is the usual practice.

Why didn't they at least announce his name? That is also usually done.

Who Was He?

What did the "second" man know about the murder plot and the identity of the killers?

It is extremely difficult to figure out why the police (and the press) behaved in this way. It leads to another question:

Could the "second" man have been a police agent?

Fantastic? Only if you don't know anything about the police, FBI, CIA, etc.

It is standard procedure for them to infiltrate radical, black nationalist and just militant organizations. Sometimes, as the recent "Statue of Liberty" case showed, these police agents worm their way into positions where they can carry out provocations or cause other damage, in addition to merely "reporting" what happens inside the organizations infiltrated.

We do not have to speculate about whether or not the police infiltrated the Organization of Afro-American Unity and whether or not such police agents were present at the Audubon Ballroom at the time of the assassination. The answer is yes, without any speculation.

A "high police official" said, as reported in the *Herald Tribune* Feb. 23, that "several" members of the highly secretive Bureau of Special Services (BOSS) were present in the audience at the time of the killing. (BOSS is the police agency involved in the Statue of Liberty provocation.) After talking to this high police official, *Herald Tribune* staff member Milton Lewis wrote:

"It is no secret that BOSS police — who never wear uniforms — have credentials to cover almost any situation, so that if they were required to have a card or emblem of the Black Nationalist sect it is a safe bet that they had them."

So perhaps the "second" man was a police agent, and perhaps the strange behavior of the top police results from their desire to protect one of their own "several" men present at the Audubon.

But in that case, the question must be asked again, and such questions will keep on being asked until the whole story is told: Why was the crowd convinced that the "second" man was one of the killers?

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
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Report October Trial Set In Killing of Malcolm X

By Ed Smith

NEW YORK — The trial date in the Malcolm X murder case has been set for late October, according to an article by Abel Silver in the Sept. 22 *New York Post*. Silver apparently was given this information while questioning the New York District Attorney's office about the unusual delay in bringing the three murder suspects indicted last March to trial.

Indicative of the lurid treatment the press will probably give this trial, after eight months of conspicuous silence concerning police investigation of Malcolm's killers, Silver's article begins, "A police guard will be thrown around witnesses called to testify at the trial [because] authorities fear that threats may be made against some of the witnesses."

Suspect

Silver states that one of the suspects, Thomas Hagan (alias Talmadge Hayer), "was shot and wounded by Malcolm's outraged bodyguard and had to be rescued from lynching by police assigned to the hall." There are two pieces of misinformation in this sentence.

The first is that no one to this day, including the police, has identified the person who shot Thayer; the second is that Thayer was not arrested by police assigned to the hall, but was held by people from the audience in the hall until police arrived later (and, incidentally, Thayer would not have been arrested if he was not held by the crowd).

The other two suspects, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson, were arrested Feb. 26, five days after the assassination, and March 3, respectively. They are charged with assaulting Malcolm X with weapons, which could only mean that they were in the Audubon Ballroom when the assassination occurred.

Malcolm X

This allegation is noteworthy because both Butler and Johnson were well-known and leading figures in the New York mosque of the Black Muslims, and they would have been well-known to Malcolm's assistants who closely scrutinized the audience before the Feb. 21 murder.

In January, Butler and Johnson and a third man were arrested after an argument with an ex-Muslim, Benjamin Brown, that ended in the shooting of Brown. Butler and Johnson were out on bail on first degree assault charges in that case at the time of the Malcolm killing.

All of the events surrounding the murder of the black nationalist leader are shrouded in mystery and confusion. The role of the police has been highly suspect. The press has been conspicuously lacking in curiosity about the progress of the case. It remains to be seen what the police will come up with at the trial this fall.

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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X. Grove Press, 1965, xvi + 455 pp., $7.50.

Malcolm X worked on this book because he hoped "that if I honestly and fully tell my life's account, read objectively it might prove to be a testimony of some social value." That hope is fulfilled; his autobiography is a valuable document helping to explain the development of a remarkable man who had a strong influence on black and white thought in our time.

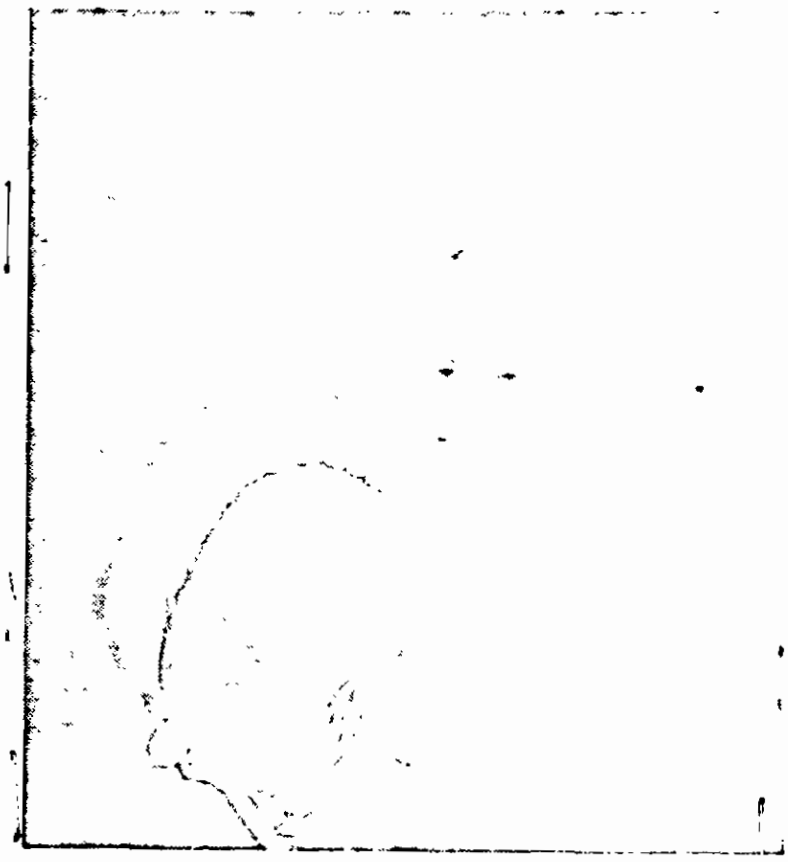
The publishers say it is "a classic of American testimony, fit to stand beside Frederick Douglass, James Weldon Johnson, Richard Wright, James Baldwin, and the others who have explained what it is to be a black man in white America." This is true, although its literary quality does not compare with that of the writers cited.

Malcolm was not a writer; he "told" this book to Alex Haley. Because Haley did not sympathize with his views, Malcolm stipulated that nothing be in it that he had not said and that nothing be left out of it that he wanted in it. The actual writing and arrangement were done by Haley. As Malcolm had predicted, he did not live to see the full and final version; he was assassinated on the weekend that he was supposed to visit Haley's home for a last reading of the manuscript.

There is another factor that keeps this from being the "definitive" book on Malcolm. And that is the fact that it was completed during a period of great and rapid change in his life and outlook, and does not adequately reflect ideas and positions he arrived at in his final months.

Original Purpose

Originally, it was to be the story of Malcolm the Black Muslim; the first dedication was to Elijah Muhammad and the royalties were to go to his organization. It was begun early in 1963, a full year before Malcolm's break with the Black Muslims in March, 1964, and most of the material was set down in print before the break. If it had been published then, it would still have been a fascinating narrative, but along strictly "orthodox" Black Muslim lines.



The late Malcolm X and daughter Ilyasah

Malcolm later wanted to make changes in this part of the book (not in its account of what had happened, but in the opinions and judgments expressed there). However, he let Haley talk him out of making such changes. This was unfortunate, because the book attributes to Malcolm formulations and even concepts that he no longer held at the time of his death. In his epilogue, Haley himself brings up to date Malcolm's changed views on intermarriage; but a gap remains in the book on other, more basic questions.

After the split with Muhammad, three or four chapters were added on but only the report of the split and Malcolm's first trip to Mecca and Africa in the spring of 1964 can be regarded as in any way satisfactory. His second and longer trip to Africa in the summer is barely mentioned, and there is very little about the crucial last three months after his return to the U.S. — which was the period when his ideas were developing most rapidly (on black nationalism, socialism, etc.).

Until a study of this period in Malcolm's life is published, the new Merit Publishers' book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, and especially its last eight chapters, containing speeches and statements from December, 1964, to February, 1965, are indispensable for understanding the revolutionary direction of Malcolm's thought which the

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THE AUTO-BIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X

CONT.

autobiography presents only in part and in some parts unclearly or ambiguously.

The first half of the autobiography deals with Malcolm until the age of 27 — his birth in Nebraska, his childhood in Michigan, his adolescence in Boston, his drift into hustling, narcotics and crime in Harlem, his arrest for robbery before he was 21, his 6½ years in prison and his introduction to the doctrines of Elijah Muhammad. It explains convincingly why this shrewd young man, who had not believed in anything but how to make a fast buck, was so powerfully attracted to the Black Muslims and why he became Muhammad's most dedicated and unquestioning disciple.

Tireless Work

The second half includes Malcolm's picture of the Black Muslims and his tireless work in helping to build it from a small sect into an influential national organization (1952-64), and some of the events in the brief 50 weeks remaining of his life after he left the Black Muslims. The conception of Malcolm held by the masses in the black ghetto — of an uncompromising and incorruptible militant — is fully confirmed in these chapters; and with it is evidence of Malcolm's capacity for continued intellectual growth. Some readers may also be surprised by Malcolm's sense of humor, his modesty, his respect and hunger for education, and his class-consciousness (in relation to the Negro middle class).

Along the way, Malcolm expresses opinions on a wide variety of subjects, most connected with race relations, but not all. Some of these are acute, and others are *nothing* but prejudices (for example, his unenlightened attitude toward women, which stemmed partly from his experiences as a hustler and was reinforced by Black Muslim doctrine on relations between women and men). His predictions that he would die violently, that he would be killed *before this book was published*, and that the press would then identify him with hate and irresponsibility, proved to be all too correct.

In addition to the autobiography, the book contains an introduction by *New York Times* reporter M.S. Handler (marred by the utterly wrong statement that at the end of his life Malcolm "no longer inveighed against the United States"); a brief after-word by actor-playwright Ossie Davis, explaining why he gave the eulogy at Malcolm's funeral; and a 74-page epilogue by Alex Haley.

The epilogue is quite good where Haley is reporting things he personally witnessed and experienced — how the book was written, the tension under which Malcolm lived, how hard he worked, how he felt most at ease among the masses on the streets of Harlem, how aware he was of a tendency to shut his mind to problems he couldn't solve, etc. It is not so good where Haley touches on things like the organizational problems facing Malcolm and his co-workers, which Malcolm never discussed with him.

Haley carries the story up to Malcolm's assassination and funeral, but this is for the most part a routine summary of the newspaper articles of that time, which were more concerned with sensationalizing the developments than with digging into them. One exception is Haley's report that Malcolm told him, on the phone the day before the assassination:

"The more I keep thinking about this thing, the things that have been happening lately [attempts on his life], I'm not all that sure it's the Muslims. I know what they can do, and what they can't and they can't do some of the stuff recently going on. Now, I'm going to tell you, the more I keep thinking about what happened to me in France, I think I'm going to quit saying it's the Muslims." The next day, an hour before his death, he said the same thing to associates in the anteroom to the Audubon Ballroom.

— George Breitman

Twin Girls Are Born To Malcolm X's Widow

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the 30-year-old widow of Malcolm X, gave birth to two girls on Oct. 7 in Brookdale Hospital, Brooklyn.

Both girls will be named after her late husband, the *Amsterdam News* of Oct. 9 reported. One of the girls will be called Maliki, after Malcolm X's Muslim first name, Malik. The twins are not identical.

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
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Malcolm X Speaks

With one exception, the new book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, consists of speeches and statements made between March, 1964, when Malcolm left the Black Muslims, and February, 1965, when he was assassinated. The exception is the first speech in the book, "Message to the Grass Roots," which was given to a militant conference in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963. This was one of Malcolm's last speeches as a Black Muslim, but in it he was already beginning to express ideas (on black nationalism, separation and revolution) that had a different emphasis from the orthodox Black Muslim line. Later, after leaving the Black Muslims, Malcolm developed ideas different, on some points, than the ones expressed in this speech.

Excerpted from the book, Malcolm X Speaks, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Price $5.95. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

Installment 1

MESSAGE TO THE GRASS ROOTS

We want to have just an off-the-cuff chat between you and me, us. We want to talk right down to earth in a language that everybody here can easily understand. We all agree tonight, all of the speakers have agreed, that America has a very serious problem. Not only does America have a very serious problem, but our people have a very serious problem. America's problem is us. We're her problem. The only reason she has a problem is she doesn't want us here.

And every time you look at yourself, be you black, brown, red or yellow, a so-called Negro, you represent a person who poses such a serious problem for America because you're not wanted. Once you face this as a fact, then you can start plotting a course that will make you appear intelligent, instead of unintelligent.

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Malcolm X

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
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New York Herald Tribune
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MALCOLM X SPEAKS

CONTINUED

Forget Differences

What you and I need to do is learn to forget our differences. When we come together, we don't come together as Baptists or Methodists. You don't catch hell because you're a Baptist, and you don't catch hell because you're a Methodist. You don't catch hell because you're a Methodist or Baptist, you don't catch hell because you're a Democrat or a Republican, you don't catch hell because you're a Mason or an Elk, and you sure don't catch hell because you're an American; because if you were an American, you wouldn't catch hell. You catch hell because you're a black man. You catch hell, all of us catch hell, for the same reason.

So we're all black people, so-called Negroes, second-class citizens, ex-slaves. You're nothing but an ex-slave. You don't like to be told that. But what else are you? You are ex-slaves. You didn't come here on the Mayflower. You came here on a slave ship. In chains, like a horse, or a cow, or a chicken. And you were brought here by the people who came here on the Mayflower, you were brought here by the so-called Pilgrims, or Founding Fathers. They were the ones who brought you here.

We have a common enemy. We have this in common: We have a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common discriminator. But once we all realize that we have a common enemy, then we unite — on the basis of what we have in common. And what we have foremost in common is that enemy — the white man. He's an enemy to all of us. I know some of you all think that some of them aren't enemies. Time will tell.

In Bandung back in, I think, 1954, was the first unity meeting in centuries of black people. And once you study what happened at the Bandung conference, and the results of the Bandung conference, it actually serves as a model for the same procedure you and I can use to get our problems solved. At Bandung all the nations came together, the dark nations from Africa and Asia.

Some of them were Buddhists, some of them were Muslims, some of them were Christians, some were Confucianists, some were atheists. Despite their religious differences, they came together. Some were communists, some were socialists, some were capitalists — despite their economic and political differences, they came together. All of them were black, brown, red or yellow.

The number-one thing that was not allowed to attend the Bandung conference was the white man. He couldn't come. Once they excluded the white man, they found that they could get together. Once they kept him out, everybody else fell right in and fell in line. This is the thing that you and I have to understand. And these people who came together didn't have nuclear weapons, they didn't have jet planes, they didn't have all of the heavy armaments that the white man has. But they had unity . . .

They realized all over the world where the dark man was being oppressed, he was being oppressed by the white man; where the dark man was being exploited, he was being exploited by the white man. So they got together on this basis — that they had a common enemy.

And when you and I here in Detroit and in Michigan and in America who have been awakened today look around us, we too realize here in America we all have a common enemy, whether he's in Georgia or Michigan, whether he's in California or New York. He's the same man — blue eyes and blond hair and pale skin — the same man. So what we have to do is what they did. They agreed to stop quarreling among themselves. Any little spat that they had, they'd settle it among themselves, go into a huddle — don't let the enemy know that you've got a disagreement.

Instead of airing our differences in public, we have to realize we're all the same family. And when you have a family squabble, you don't get out on the sidewalk. If you do, everybody calls you uncouth, unrefined, uncivilized, savage. If you don't make it at home, you settle it at home; you get in the closet, argue it out behind closed doors, and then when you come out on the street, you pose a common front, a united front. And this is what we need to do in the community, and in the city, and in the state. We need to stop airing our differences in front of the white man, put the white man out of our meetings, and then sit down and talk shop with each other. That's what we've got to do.

Next week: What is a Revolution?

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The following is the next installment of the speech made by Malcolm X in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963:

Installment 2

WHAT IS A REVOLUTION?

I would like to make a few comments concerning the difference between the black revolution and the Negro revolution . . . First, what is a revolution? Sometimes I'm inclined to believe that many of our people are using this word "revolution" loosely, without taking careful consideration of what this word actually means, and what its historic characteristics are. When you study the historic nature of revolutions, the motive of a revolution, the objective of a revolution, the result of a revolution, and the methods used in a revolution, you may change words. You may devise another program, you may change your goal and you may change your mind.

Look at the American Revolution in 1776. That revolution was for what? For land. Why did they want land? Independence. How was it carried out? Bloodshed. Number one, it was based on land, the basis of independence. And the only way they could get it was bloodshed.

The French Revolution — what was it based on? The landless against the landlord. What was it for? Land. How did they get it? Bloodshed. Was no love lost, was no compromise, was no negotiation. I'm telling you — you don't know what a revolution is. Because when you find out what it is, you'll get back in the alley, you'll get out of the way.

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Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution — what was it based on? Land; the landless against the landlord. How did they bring it about? Bloodshed. You haven't got a revolution that doesn't involve bloodshed. And you're afraid to bleed. I said, *you're afraid to bleed.*

As long as the white man sent you to Korea, you bled. He sent you to Germany, you bled. He sent you to the South Pacific to fight the Japanese, you bled. You bleed for white people, but when it comes to seeing your own churches being bombed and little black girls murdered, you haven't got any blood. You bleed when the white man says bleed; you bite when the white man says bite; and you bark when the white man says bark. I hate to say this about us, but it's true. How are you going to be nonviolent in Mississippi, as violent as you were in Korea? How can you justify being nonviolent in Mississippi and Alabama, when your churches are being bombed, and your little girls are being murdered, and at the same time you are going to get violent with Hitler, and Tojo, and somebody else you don't even know?

If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of her. And if it is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.

The Chinese Revolution — they wanted land. They threw the British out, along with the Uncle Tom Chinese. Yes, they did. They set a good example. When I was in prison, I read an article — don't be shocked when I say that I was in prison. You're still in prison. That's what America means: prison. When I was in prison, I read

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an article in *Life* magazine showing a little Chinese girl, nine years old; her father was on his hands and knees and she was pulling the trigger because he was an Uncle Tom Chinaman.

When they had the revolution over there, they took a whole generation of Uncle Toms and just wiped them out. And within ten years that little girl became a full-grown woman. No more Toms in China. And today it's one of the toughest, roughest, most feared countries on this earth — by the white man. Because there are no Uncle Toms over there.

Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight.

There's been a revolution, a black revolution, going on in Africa. In Kenya, the Mau Mau were revolutionary; they were the ones who brought the word "Uhuru" to the fore. The Mau Mau, they were revolutionary, they believed in scorched earth, they knocked everything aside that got in their way, and their revolution also was based on land, a desire for land.

In Algeria, the northern part of Africa, a revolution took place. The Algerians were revolutionists, they wanted land. France offered to let them be integrated into France. They told France, to hell with France, they wanted some land, not some France. And they engaged in a bloody battle.

So I cite these various revolutions, brothers and sisters, to show you that you don't have a peaceful revolution. You don't have a turn-the-other-cheek revolution. There's no such thing as a nonviolent revolution. The only kind of revolution that is nonviolent is the Negro revolution. The only revolution in which the goal is loving your enemy is the Negro revolution. It's the only revolution in which the goal is a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated theater, a desegregated park, and a desegregated public toilet; you can sit down next to white folks — on the toilet.

That's no revolution. Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality.

The white man knows what a revolution is. He knows that the black revolution is world-wide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution — that's a revolution. They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia, revolution is in Africa, and the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America. How do you think he'll react to you when you learn what a real revolution is? You don't know what a revolution is. If you did, you wouldn't use that word.

Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, "I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me." No, you need a revolution. Who ever heard of a revolution where they lock arms, singing "We Shall Overcome"? You don't do that in a revolution. You don't do any singing, you're too busy swinging. It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These Negroes aren't asking for any nation — they're trying to crawl back on the plantation.

When you want a nation, that's called nationalism. When the white man became involved in a revolution in this country against England, what was it for? He wanted this land so he could set up another white nation. That's white nationalism. The French Revolution was white nationalism. The Russian Revolution too — yes, it was — white nationalism. You don't think so? Why do you think Khrushchev and Mao can't get their heads together? White nationalism. All the revolutions that are going on in Asia and Africa today are based on what? — black nationalism.

A revolutionary is a black nationalist. He wants a nation. I was reading some beautiful words by Rev. Cleage, pointing out why he couldn't get together with someone else in the city because all of them were afraid of being identified with black nationalism. If you're afraid of black nationalism, you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love black nationalism.

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MALCOLM X SPEAKS

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BACK MALCOLM X

The Malcolm X Inquiry Committee, formed "out of indignation at Malcolm's assassination going unnoticed in the current political campaign" sent letters to candidates demanding action to see that "...southern justice is not truly the law..."

A letter from the D.A.'s office said that the trial should start within six to eight weeks and Manhattan Borough President Constance Baker Motley "saw no need at apprehension about a trial delay of Malcolm X's 'alleged assassins.'"

PLP State Senatorial Candidate Bill Epton said he was in complete agreement with the Committee's concern over the trial delay and had cited the Malcolm X case in his election pamphlet and would do so in future literature.

In a recent advertisement in the Amsterdam News, sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Elect Bill Epton, a demand was made for a speedy trial for the assassins of militant fighter Malcolm X.

The Committee of Inquiry is collecting funds for a newspaper advertisement regarding their work. In their letter to the Harlem PLP leader they said, "As voting

MALCOLM X

citizens we find it difficult to choose among candidates who have not taken a stand on this issue."

Epton pointed out that he was the only candidate running for any office who has made this issue part of his campaign platform. A Committee answer has since thanked him for his "warm supporting letter."

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CHALLENGE
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Books of The Times

An Eloquent Testament

By ELIOT FREMONT-SMITH

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X. By Malcolm X, with Alex Haley. Introduction by M. S. Handler. Epilogue by Alex Haley. Illustrated. 455 pages. Grove. $7.50.

IT is probably fair to say that the majority of the public regards Malcolm X, who was shot down by gunmen at an afternoon rally last Feb. 21 in Harlem's Audubon Ballroom, as a violence-preaching "Black Muslim" racial agitator who reaped his own bloody death. Ironically, this is also the stated view of Elijah Muhammad, the self-proclaimed "Messenger of Allah" and leader of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) which, among other things, advocates racial segregation and black supremacy. "We didn't want to kill Malcolm!" Mr. Muhammad cried over the heads of his bodyguards (among them, Cassius Clay) at a Black Muslim convention in Chicago shortly after the murder. "His foolish teaching would bring him to his own end!" There is, however, another view of Malcolm X—one that is increasingly prevalent among civil rights advocates—that with his death American Negroes lost their most able, articulate and compelling spokesman.

The New York Times
Malcolm X

Both views represent parts of the truth. While he was a recruiter for Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X preached black superiority; and to the end he maintained that Negro violence was at least an appropriate response to white violence against Negroes. It is also true that in the last year of his life he radically modified certain of his ideas and began to take an active role in the securing of Negro rights within, not apart from, American society.

How important a spokesman he could have been for American Negroes had he lived remains in doubt. His advocacy of black supremacy came with his conversion to the Elijah Muhammad-centered cult of the Nation of Islam while in prison. His beginning advocacy of civil rights and racial equality came with a second conversion—to the Islamic religion.

It has been said, correctly I think, that "The Autobiography of Malcolm X" is a book about the nature of religious conversion, the sense of being born anew that certain people experience. Certainly, his account of this phenomenon that he underwent twice—the movement from utter despair to elation and the sense of mission—is one of the book's major fascinations.

But the book is more. It tells what happens to an intelligent Negro who discovers that he has, within American society, no future. And it shows in the most powerful and precise terms what this really means—the systematized destruction of Negro self-respect as an almost automatic function of white society.

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It takes quite a lot to destroy a man's self-respect, yet Malcolm X's early life does not seem unique. In 1929 (his last name then was Little; he was 4 years old) he watched his parents' home in Lansing, Mich., burn to the ground, set afire by hoodlums who didn't like "uppity" Negroes. His father, a Baptist minister and a follower of Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement, died mysteriously shortly afterward. In grade school Malcolm was a popular and brilliant student, but when he said he wanted to be a lawyer, he was told he should set his sights on carpentry. Later he pimped, pushed narcotics, became an addict, took up burglary and, at 20, was caught in Boston and sentenced to 10 years, a term that reflected not his legal crime, but the judge's disapproval of his having a white mistress.

It's not an unusual story, except that Malcolm was saved from its usual continuation; he was born anew. Through religious allegiance to Elijah Muhammad he gained a purpose that his country, a larger prison and its prevailing morality, had denied him.

As this extraordinary autobiography shows the source of Malcolm X's power was not alone in his intelligence, energy, electric personality or ability to grow and change, remarkable as these were. Its source was that he understood, perhaps more profoundly than any other Negro leader, the full, shocking extent of America's psychological destruction of its Negroes.

"The Autobiography of Malcolm X" is a brilliant, painful, important book. Alex Haley has made very readable the many hours of taped interviews, and his own epilogue, about working with Malcolm X, the assassination, his estimate of the man, is candid and perceptive. The book raises many difficult questions, and it is a testament parts of which many readers will not approve. But as a document for our time, its insights may be crucial; its relevance cannot be doubted.

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The following is the next installment of the speech made by Malcolm X in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963:

Installment 3

THE HOUSE NEGRO AND THE FIELD NEGRO

There were two kinds of slaves, the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negroes — they lived in the house with master, they dressed pretty good, they ate good because they ate his food — what he left. They lived in the attic or the basement, but still they lived near the master; and they loved the master more than the master loved himself. They would give their life to save the master's house — quicker than the master would. If the master said, "We got a good house here," the house Negro would say, "Yeah, we got a good house here." Whenever the master said "we," he said "we." That's how you can tell a house Negro.

If the master's house caught on fire, the house Negro would fight harder to put the blaze out than the master would. If the master got sick, the house Negro would say, "What's the matter, boss, we sick?" We sick! He identified himself with his master, more than his master identified with himself.

Crazy Idea?

And if you came to the house Negro and said, "Let's run away, let's escape, let's separate," the house Negro would look at you and say, "Man, you crazy. What you mean, separate? Where is there a better house than this? Where can I wear better clothes than this? Where can I eat better food than this?" That was that house Negro. In those days he was called a "house nigger." And that's what we call them today, because we've still got some house niggers running around here.

This modern house Negro loves his master. He wants to live near him. He'll pay three times as much as the house is worth just to live near his master, and then brag about "I'm the only Negro out here." "I'm the only one on my job." "I'm the only one in this school." You're nothing but a house Negro.

Excerpted from the book, Malcolm X Speaks, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Price $5.95. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

And if someone comes to you right now and says, "Let's separate," you say the same that the house Negro said on the plantation. "What you mean, separate? From America, this good white man? Where you going to get a better job than you got here?" I mean, this is what you say. "I ain't left nothing in Africa," that's what you say. Why, you left your mind in Africa.

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of residence. This enables the whites to control black labor as they want to, and they use the pass system and all other devices in order to control this labor, in order to direct it to places they want, at the gold mines, the white farms, and the industries, and in the quantities they want.

"So that you can say the whole of the black population is peasant, landless peasants it is true, but peasants. Those few who stay in towns have no right to be in towns. They are there only insofar as they are employed by whites in town.

"This means that the bulk of the population is the black landless peasants, and this is our starting point, that no meaningful movement or organization can be created without the peasantry. So we concentrated in building up organizations, and in politicizing the peasantry."

Tabata then discussed the Cape African Teacher's Association, an affiliate of the Unity Movement as an example of the type of organization which is presently

master got sick, the field Negro prayed that he'd die. If someone came to the field Negro and said, "Let's separate, let's run," he didn't say "Where we going?" He'd say, "Any place is better than here."

You've got field Negros in America today. I'm a field Negro. The masses are the field Negroes. When they see this man's house on fire, you don't hear the little Negroes talking about "*our* government is in trouble." They say, "*The* government is in trouble." Imagine a Negro: "*Our* government!" I even heard one say "*our* astronauts." They won't even let him near the plant — and "*our* astronauts!" "*Our* Navy" — that's a Negro that is out of his mind, a Negro that is out of his mind.

Just as the slavemaster of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep the field Negroes in check, the same old slavemaster today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, twentieth-century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, to keep us under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent.

Get Numb

That's Tom making you nonviolent. It's like when you go to the dentist, and the man's going to take your tooth. You're going to fight him when he starts pulling. So he squirts some stuff in your jaw called novocaine, to make you think they're not doing anything to you. So you sit there and because you've got all of that novocaine in your jaw, you suffer — peacefully. Blood running all down your jaw, and you don't know what's happening. Because someone has taught you to suffer — peacefully.

The white man does the same thing to you in the street, when he wants to put knots on your head and take advantage of you and not have to be afraid of your fighting back. To keep you from fighting back, he gets these old religious Uncle Toms to teach you and me, just like novocaine, to suffer peacefully. Don't stop suffering — just suffer peacefully. As Rev. Cleage pointed out, they say you should let your blood flow in the streets. This is a shame. You know he's a Christian preacher. If it's a shame to him, you know what it is to me.

There is nothing in our book, the Koran, that teaches us to suffer peacefully. Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery. That's a good religion. In fact, that's that old-time religion. That's the one that Ma and Pa used to talk about: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and a head for a head, and a life for a life. That's good religion. And nobody resents that kind of religion being taught but a wolf, who intends to make you his meal.

This is the way it is with the white man in America. He's a wolf — and you're sheep. Any time a shepherd, a pastor, teaches you and me not to run from the white man and, at the same time, teaches us not to fight the white man, he's a traitor to you and me. Don't lay down a life all by itself. No, preserve your life, it's the best thing you've got. And if you've got to give it up, let it be even-steven.

The slavemaster took Tom and dressed him well, fed him well and even gave him a little education — a *little* education; gave him a long coat and a top hat and made all the other slaves look up to him. Then he used Tom to control them. The same strategy that was used in those days is used today, by the same white man. He takes a Negro, a so-called Negro, and makes him prominent, builds him up, publicizes him, makes him a celebrity. And then he becomes a spokesman for Negroes — and a Negro leader.

Next week: The Negro leaders.

THE MILITANT PAGE 4
CONTINUED

MALCOLM X SPEAKS

0-19 (Rev. 12-14-64)

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~~3 to Go~~ on Trial Dec. 6 In Slaying of Malcolm X

32

The trial of three Negroes charged with first-degree murder in the slaying of Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader, has been set for Dec. 6, the District Attorney's office said yesterday.

The men charged with wilfully killing Malcolm "with a shotgun and pistols" are Thomas Hagan, 22 years old, also known as Thomas Hayer and Talmadge Hayer, of 347 Marshall Street, Paterson, N.J.; Norman 3X Butler, 26, of 661 Rosedale Avenue, the Bronx, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 29, of 932 Bronx Park South, thhe Bronx.

Judge Charles Marks will try the case in State Supreme Court.

Malcolm was shot last Feb. 21 as he started to address a rally of his Organization of Afro-American Unity in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street.

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The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
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The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
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MAKING HIS MARK

A strong diagnosis of America's racial sickness in one Negro's odyssey

By Bayard Rustin

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X. With the assistance of Alex Haley. Illustrated. Grove Press. 455 pp. $7.50.

This odyssey of an American Negro in search of his identity and place in society really begins before his birth 40 years ago in Omaha, Neb. He was born Malcolm Little, the son of an educated mulatto West Indian mother and a father who was a Baptist minister on Sundays and dedicated organizer for Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa movement the rest of the week.

The first incident Malcolm recounts, as if it were his welcome to white America, occurred just before he was born. A party of Ku Klux Klanners galloped up to his house, threatened his mother and left a warning for his father "to stop spreading trouble among the good" Negroes and get out of town. They galloped into the night after smashing all the windows. A few years later the Klan was to make good on its threat by burning down the Littles' Lansing, Mich., home because Malcolm's father refused to become an Uncle Tom. These were the first in a series of incidents of racial violence, characteristic of that period, that were to haunt the nights of Malcolm and his family and hang like a pall over the lives of Negroes in the North and South. Five of Reverend Little's six brothers died by violence—four at the hands of white men, one by lynching, and one shot down by Northern police officers. When Malcolm was six, his father was found cut in two by a trolley car with his head bashed in. Malcolm's father had committed "suicide," the authorities said. Early in his life Malcolm concluded "that I too would die by violence . . . I do not expect to live long enough to read this book."

Malcolm's early life in the Midwest was not wholly defined by race. Until he went to Boston when he was 14, after his mother suffered a mental breakdown from bringing up eight children alone, his friends were often white; there were few Negroes in the small Midwestern towns where he grew up. He recounts with pride how he was elected president of his eighth-grade class in an almost totally white school.

But the race problem was always there, although Malcolm, who was light-skinned, tried for a time to think of himself as white or just like anyone else. Even in his family life, color led to conflict that interfered with normal relationships. The Reverend Little was a fierce disciplinarian, but he never laid a hand on his light-skinned son because, unconsciously, according to Malcolm, he had developed respect for white skin. On the other hand, Malcolm's mother, whose father was a white man, was ashamed of this and favored Malcolm's darker brothers and sisters. Malcolm wrote that he spent his life trying to purge this tainted white blood of a rapist from his veins.

The Washington Post and Times Herald BOOK WEEK
The Washington Daily News
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New York Post
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The Wall Street Journal
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Race also set the limits on his youthful ambitions during what he describes as his "mascot years" in a detention home run by whites with mixed feelings of affection and superiority towards him. One of the top students in his school and a member of the debating club, Malcolm went to an English teacher he admired and told him of his ambition to become a lawyer. "Mr. Ostrowsky looked surprised and said, 'Malcolm, one of life's first needs is for us to be realistic . . . a lawyer, that's no realistic goal for a nigger . . . you're good with your hands . . . why don't you plan on carpentry?'" How many times has this scene been repeated in various forms in schoolrooms across the country? It was at this point, Malcolm writes, "that I began to change—inside. I drew away from white people."

Too many people want to believe that Malcolm "the angry black man sprang full grown from the bowels of the Harlem ghetto." These chapters on his childhood are essential reading for anyone who wants to understand the plight of American Negroes.

Malcolm Little was 14 when he took the Greyhound to Boston to live with his half-sister, Ella, who had fought her way into the Boston "black bourgeoisie." The "400," as they were called, lived on "the Hill," only one step removed socially, economically and geographically from the ghetto ("the Town"). Malcolm writes that "a big percentage of the Hill dwellers were in Ella's category—Southern strivers and scramblers and West Indian Negroes, whom both the New Englanders and Southerners called 'Black Jews.'" Ella owned some real estate and her own home, and like the first Jews who arrived in the New World, she was determined to shepherd new immigrants and teach them the strange ways of city life. There were deep bonds between Ella and her younger brother, and she tried to help him live a respectable life on the Hill.

But for Malcolm the 400 were only "a big-city version of those 'successful' Negro bootblacks and janitors back in Lansing . . . 8 out of 10 of the Hill Negroes of Roxbury . . . actually worked as menials and servants. . . . I don't know how many 40- and 50-year-old errand boys went down the Hill dressed as ambassadors in black suits and white collars to downtown jobs 'in government,' 'in finance,' or 'in law.'" Malcolm instead chose "the Town," where for the first time he felt he was part of a people.

Unlike the thousands of Negro migrants who poured into the Northern ghettos, Malcolm had a choice. But from the moment he made it, the options narrowed. He got a job at the Roseland Ballroom, where all the jazz greats played. His title was shoeshine boy but his real job was to hustle whiskey, prophylactics and women to Negroes and whites. He got his first conk and zoot suit and a new identity, "Red," and his secondary education began before he was 15. "I was . . . schooled well, by experts in such hustles as the numbers, pimping, con games of many kinds, peddling dope, and thievery of all sorts, including armed robbery."

It is significant that it was Malcolm's good qualities—his intelligence, integrity, and distaste for hypocrisy—as well as his sickness that made him choose crime rather than what passed in the Negro community for a respectable bourgeois life. Later he moved on to bigger things in Harlem, became "Detroit Red," went on dope and at one time carried three guns.

His description of the cutthroat competition between the hustlers and their fraternity is both frightening and moving. "As in the case of any jungle," he writes, "the hustler's every waking hour is lived with both the practical and the subconscious knowledge that if he ever relaxes, if he ever slows down, the other hungry, restless foxes, ferrets, wolves, and vultures out there with him won't hesitate to make him their prey." He summed up his morality at the time: "The only thing I considered wrong was what I got caught doing wrong . . . and everything I did was done by instinct to survive." As a "steerer" of uptown rich whites to Harlem "sex specialties," he recounts perversions with racial overtones, of white men begging to be beaten by black women or paying large amounts to witness interracial sex that make Genet's "The Balcony" seem inhibited by comparison.

"Detroit Red" was a limited success in his trade for four years. But even in this business, success was limited by race. The big operators, the successful, respectable, and safe executives of policy, dope, and prostitution rackets, were white and lived outside the ghetto.

Malcolm left Harlem to return to Boston, and a few months later was caught as the head of a burglary gang. In February, 1946, not quite 21, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison, though the average sentence for burglary was about two years—the price for his being caught with his white girl friend and her sister.

Most of the first year in prison, Malcolm writes, he spent in solitary confinement, cursing: "My favorite targets were the Bible and God." Malcolm got a new name from the other prisoners—"Satan"—and plenty of time to think. He went through what he described as a great spiritual crisis, and, as a result, he, the man who cursed God, bowed down and prayed to Allah. It will be difficult for those readers who have never been in prison to understand the psychological torment that prisoners experience, their feelings of isolation, their need to totally commit their minds to something outside of themselves. Men without any of the external economic symbols of status seek security in a religion, philosophy or ideology. Malcolm particularly, with his great feelings of rebelliousness, hatred and internal conflict, turned to books and ideas for relief. When his brothers and sisters wrote to him that they had become followers of Elijah Muhammad and sent him Elijah's teachings, Malcolm seized on the tracts. Stimulated, he read other books on religion and philosophy voraciously. In his spiritual and psychological crisis he underwent religious conversion.

He took on a new identity and became Malcolm X, a follower of Elijah Muhammad. Now he had a God to love and obey and a white devil responsible for his plight. Many Negro prisoners accepted the "Messenger," Elijah Muhammad, for similar reasons. Excluded from American society, they are drawn to another one, the Nation of Islam. (This analysis of why Malcolm joined the Muslims is mine, for although Malcolm writes about Muslim ideas, nowhere does he discuss the reasons for his conversion beyond a surface level.)

Out of prison, Malcolm, while remaining religious, arrived at a balanced view of the more fantastic elements of Elijah's teachings and a deeper understanding of one of the driving forces: "So many of the survivors whom I knew as tough hyenas and wolves of the streets in the old days now were so pitiful. They had known all the angles, but beneath that surface they were poor ignorant, untrained men; life had eased up on them and hyped them.... I was thankful to Allah that I had become a Muslim and escaped their fate."

Alex Haley, who assisted Malcolm with the book, rightly commends him for deciding not to rewrite the first parts of the book and make it a polemic against his old leader, although in the interim they had broken and now were in competition with each other. As a result, the book interestingly shows changes in Malcolm's thinking.

After seven years in prison, Detroit Red emerged as Malcolm X and was soon to be the brightest star of the Nation of Islam. But as in every conversion, the man himself was not entirely reborn. Malcolm brought with him his traits of the past—the shrewd and competitive instincts learned on the ghetto streets, combined now with the language and thoughts of the great philosophers of Western culture he applied from reading Hegel, Kant, and Nietzsche, and great Negro intellectuals like Du Bois. Remaining, too, with his burning ambition to succeed, was the rebellious anger of his youth for being denied a place in society commensurate with his abilities. But on the other side of the coin was a desire for fraternity, family and respectability.

Because of his ability, he was sent to New York, where he struck a responsive chord with a great many Harlem Negroes. The Nationalist sects provided an arena of struggle for power and status denied lower-class Negroes in the outside world.

But the same qualities that made him a successful ghetto organizer soon brought him into conflict with other Muslim leaders, especially Elijah's children and prospective heirs. They saw Malcolm as a threat to their domain and apparently were able to convince Elijah that there was a threat to himself as well. For although Malcolm always gave corollary credit to Elijah—and the limits set upon him by Elijah's demands made many underestimate the exceptional nature of his mind—he could not totally constrain his brilliance, pride or ambition. "Only by being two people could I have worked harder in the service of the Nation of Islam. I had every gratification that I wanted. I had helped bring about the progress and additional impact such that none could call us liars when we called Mr. Muhammad the most powerful black man in America."

As Malcolm's star rose higher in the western sky, Mr. Muhammad saw his eastern star setting and grew jealous. The conflict grew, although Malcolm made efforts toward conciliation. Finally, there was a total break that can be fatal to the erring Muslim who is cast away. Malcolm was aware of the dangers. "I hadn't hustled in the streets for nothing. I knew I was being set up . . . As any official in the Nation of Islam would instantly have known, any death-talk for me could have been approved of—if not actually initiated—by only one man." Later, just before his death, Malcolm said the attempt to murder him would come from a much greater source than the Muslims; he never revealed about whom he was talking.

Under a death sentence and without money or any substantial organization, Malcolm opted for action, although it was unclear whether he was running away from or toward something as he began another phase of his odyssey—a pilgrimage to Mecca where he became El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. Throughout his many conversions and transformations, he never was more American than during his trip to Mecca. Because his ankles were not flexible enough, he was unable to sit properly cross-legged on the traditional Muslim rug with the others, and at first he shrank from reaching into the common food pot. Like many American tourists, he projected desires for hospitality

and fraternity, frustrated at home, on the Muslims he met, most of whom he could not communicate with because of the language barrier. Back in America, he acknowledged that it would be a long time before the Negro was ready to make common struggle with the Africans and Arabs.

In Mecca, Malcolm also dramatically announced that he had changed his view on integration, because he had seen true brotherhood there between black and white Muslims. In reality he had begun changing his attitude on integration and the civil rights movement many months before as the divisions between him and Elijah Muhammad widened. Part-way through the book his attacks on the movement became muted, and in the epilogue Haley concludes that Malcolm "had a reluctant admiration for Dr. Martin Luther King."

The roots of Malcolm's ambivalence were much more profound than personal opportunism. In a touching confession of dilemma he told Haley, " 'the so-called moderate' civil rights organizations avoided him as 'too militant' and the 'so-called militants' avoided him as 'too moderate.' 'They won't let me turn the corner!' he once exclaimed. 'I'm caught in a trap!' " Malcolm was moving toward the mainstream of the civil rights movement when his life was cut short, but he still had quite a way to go. His anti-Semitic comments are a symptom of this malaise.

Had he been able to "turn the corner," he would have made an enormous contribution to the struggle for equal rights. As it was, his contribution was substantial. He brought hope and a measure of dignity to thousands of despairing ghetto Negroes. His "extremism" made the "mainstream" civil rights groups more respectable by comparison and helped them wrest substantial concessions from the power structure. Malcolm himself clearly understood the complicated role he played. At a Selma rally, while Dr. King was in jail, Malcolm said, "Whites better be glad Martin Luther King is rallying the people because other forces are waiting to take over if he fails." Of course, he never frightened the racists and the reactionaries as much as he made liberals feel uncomfortable, and moderates used his extremism as an excuse for inaction.

Behind the grim visage on television that upset so many white Americans there was a compassionate and often gentle man with a sense of humor. A testament to his personal honesty was that he died broke and money had to be raised for his funeral and family.

Upset by the comments in the African and Asian press criticizing the United States government for Malcolm's fate, Carl T. Rowan, Director of the United States Information Agency, held up some foreign papers and told a Washington audience, according to Alex Haley, ". . . 'All this about an ex-convict, ex-dope peddler, who became a racial fanatic." Yes, all this and more, before we can understand. Malcolm's autobiography, revealing little-known aspects of his life and character, makes that tortured journey more understandable.

One of the book's shortcomings is that M. S. Handler and Haley, in their sensitive and insightful supplementary comments, make no comprehensive estimate of Malcolm X as a political leader. His often conflicting roles in the civil rights movement are described rather than analyzed. Perhaps this couldn't be helped, for Haley writes that Malcolm wanted a chronicler, not an interpreter. Obviously, Malcolm was not ready to make a synthesis of his ideas and an evaluation of his political role.

Shortly after Malcolm's death Tom Kahn and I wrote in New America and Dissent: "Now that he is dead, we must resist the temptation to idealize Malcolm X, to elevate charisma to greatness. History's judgment of him will surely be ambiguous. His voice and words were cathartic, channeling into militant verbiage emotions that otherwise might have run a violently destructive course. But having described the evil, he had no program for attacking it. With rare skill and feeling he articulated angry subterranean moods more widespread than any of us like to admit. But having blown the trumpet, he could summon, even at the very end, only a handful of followers."

Of course we cannot judge political effectiveness by numbers alone, but we cannot ignore his inability to build a movement. As a spokesman for Negro anger and frustration, he left his mark on history, but as a militant political leader he failed—and the Negro community needed both. Till the end, his program was a maze of contradictions. He was a brilliant psychologist when it came to articulating the emotions and thoughts of ghetto Negroes, but he knew virtually nothing about economics, and more important, his program had no relevance to the needs of lower-class Negroes. His conception of the economic roots of the problem is reflected in such remarks as "it is because black men do not own and control their community retail establishments that they cannot stabilize their own communities." And he advocates, as a solution, that Negroes who buy so many cars and so much expensive whiskey should own automobile franchises and distilleries. Malcolm was urging Negroes to pool their resources into small business establishments at a time when small businesses were declining under the pressure of big business and when an unplanned technological revolution is creating massive unemployment for unskilled Negroes. Mal-

colm's solutions were in fact almost a mirror image of many proposals made by white economic moderates; those advocates of "self-help" without a massive program for jobs remind me of no one so much as those black nationalist sects and their "build it yourself" black economy without capital. In short, Malcolm's economic program was not radical. It was, in fact, petty bourgeois.

Malcolm got a wide hearing in the ghetto because large sections of the Negro working class were being driven into the "underclass" and made part of the rootless mass by the vicissitudes of the economy. He articulated the frustration and anger of these masses, and they admired his outspoken attack on the racists and white hypocrites. But while thousands came to his funeral (I was there, too, to pay my respects), few joined his organization. Nor should it be surprising that the Negro masses did not support his proposed alliance of black Americans, Africans, and Arabs, including such leaders as Prince Faisal. For what did a Harlem Negro, let alone an Arab Bedouin, have in common with a feudal prince like Faisal? And at home Malcolm maintained an uneasy coexistence with the Harlem political machine. Today Malcolm's organization, the OAAU, hardly exists. In addition, he never clearly understood that as progress was made toward social integration, the problem for America's Negroes would become just as much one of ~~class as~~ of race.

Malcolm was with the Negro masses, but he was not of them. His experience and ambitions separated him from working-class Negroes. But to say this is not enough. In a sense Malcolm's life was tragic on a heroic scale. He had choices but never took the easy or comfortable ones. If he had, he might today be, as he says, a successful lawyer, sipping cocktails with other members of the black bourgeoisie. He chose instead to join the Negro masses who never had this freedom of choice. And, before his death he was working toward a more creative approach to the problems of the ghetto. Perhaps he might have been successful in "turning this corner."

After reflecting on the old days at Mosque 7, shortly before he was killed, Malcolm told Haley, "That was a bad scene, brother. The sickness and madness of those days—I'm glad to be free of them. It's a time for martyrs now. And if I'm to be one, it will be in the cause of brotherhood."

Our journey through the madness of racism continues, and there is much we can learn about both the sickness and the cure from Malcolm X.

G-19 (Rev. 11-30-65)

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Jury Selection Is Lagging In Malcolm X Murder Case

Defense and prosecution lawyers failed yesterday to pick any more jurors in the case of three men accused of slaying Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader.

The lawyers questioned half a dozen prospects in an abbreviated session in Supreme Court. The court will convene for a full day today, beginning at 10:30 A.M.

The defendants are accused of the fatal shooting of Malcolm on Feb. 21, 1965, as he addressed a gathering in the Audubon Ballroom at 166th Street and Broadway.

The one juror chosen so far is George Carter, a Negro chemist. He was picked Wednesday.

The defendants, who are being tried for first-degree murder, are Norman 3X Butler, 26 years old, of 661 Rosedale Avenue, the Bronx; Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of 932 Bronx Park South, the Bronx, and Thomas Hagan, 22, of Paterson, N. J.

The Washington Post and Times Herald
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New York Herald Tribune
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New York Post
The New York Times C-15
The Baltimore Sun
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JAN 14 1966

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

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Malcolm X Trial Focuses On Religion

By LARRY VAN GELDER
Of the World-Telegram Staff

Religious belief loomed today as a crucial element in the trial of three men—two of them described by police as Black Muslim "enforcers"—for the murder of black nationalist leader Malcom X.

As examination of prospective jurors entered its third day in Criminal Court, both defense and prosecution were expected to pursue the line of questioning employed yesterday when no talesman were chosen.

Three of the five men and women examined were questioned about their belief in a Supreme Being, and two were dismissed when they told the court they did not believe in such a deity. A woman who did was questioned extensively about whether it would make a difference if a person affirmed to tell the truth rather than swearing it, and was also questioned about Islam.

3 Postponements

Charged with the assassination of Malcolm X last Feb. 21 before 400 persons gathered in the Audubon Ballroom at 166th St. off Broadway are:

Thomas Hagan, also known as Talmadge Hayer, 22, of 347 Marshall St., Paterson, N.J., and the two alleged "enforcers," Norman 3X Butler, 20, of 661 Rosedale Ave., and Thomas 15X Johnson, of 932 Bronx Park South, both the Bronx.

Their trial, originally expected to begin late last summer, was finally placed on the court calendar for December. But it was postponed because the court did not wish to inconvenience jurors at Christmas time. The start of the subway strike brought another postponement.

Hustler's Career

Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Neb., son of a West Indian mother and a father who was a Baptist Minister on Sunday and a back-to-africa movement organizer the rest of the week, was 39 years old when he was shot to death.

In prison for burglary at 21 after a career as a petty hustler, Malcolm seized on the teaching of Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader.

Following his release from prison, the eloquent Malcolm rose rapidly in the Muslim ranks, reaching such stature that he was regarded as a threat to Elijah's leadership. He was expelled from Muhammad's Nation of Islam after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, an event he described as a case of "chickens coming home to roost."

Mecca Pilgrimage

Many observers believed Elijah had used the Kennedy remarks as a pretext for ridding himself of a dangerous rival. Malcolm then made a

JAN 25 1966

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

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Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS
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Malcolm X
3 on trial in assassination

pilgrimage to Mecca, where he became El-Hajj Malik El Shabazz.

From the time of his split with Elijah, Malcolm was subjected to a series of threats on his life. He traveled with bodyguards, but he had concluded early in his life that he would die violently.

And on a Sunday last February, he did.

0-19 (Rev. 11-10-65)

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MALCOLM X FEARED DEATH FROM 2 SIDES

Malcolm X believed that both the white power structure and the Black Muslims wanted to see him dead, a witness said yesterday at the trial of the three men accused of murdering Malcolm.

The testimony, which supported the state's contention that the assailants were trigger men for the "black supremacy" Muslim cult, prompted demands for a mistrial by lawyers for the defendants. These were denied by Justice Charles Marks.

The statement was made under cross-examination by George Whitney, 33 years old, of 223 West 121st Street. Mr. Whitney stated earlier that he had left the Muslims, in which he bore the name of George 23X, with Malcolm, who set up the rival Muslim Mosque, Inc., and the organization of Afro-American unity.

In the afternoon, the prosecution added another piece to its mosaic of identifications of the three defendants — Thomas Hagan, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson.

A witness, Jasper Davis, stated that it was Butler, seated next to him at the Audubon Ballroom last Feb. 21 who jumped up and gave the signal for what Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody said was the re-arranged assassination plan.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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Drama, Emotion Accompany Malcolm X's Widow to Trial

By James W. Sullivan
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

For 13 emotion-laden minutes, Mrs. Betty Shabazz told a jury of nine men and three women yesterday what she knew of the murder of her husband, Malcolm X, in the Audubon Ballroom last Feb. 21.

Then, when attorneys for the three men accused of the shotgun-pistol assassination declined to cross-examine her, a court attendant led her toward the exit.

As she passed behind the table where the three clean-cut young Negro defendants had sat for nearly six weeks, she stopped and turned toward them.

"They killed my husband," she said in a low, quavering voice. "They killed him."

The attendant took her arm and led her toward the exit but she stopped again.

"They had no right to kill my husband," she said.

The dramatic incident brought an immediate warning from Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks that the jury should not consider statements made by the widow after she left the stand as part of the evidence in the case.

Betty Shebazz

Actually, she did not identify as her husband's killers Norman 3X Butler, 26; Thomas 15X Johnson, 30; or Thomas Hagan, 22, also known as Talmadge Mayer.

According to her testimony, the 30-year-old Mrs. Shabazz did not see Malcolm killed and was not immediately aware of the Black Nationalist leader's death.

Dressed in black, the attractive widow was brought to the stand at 12:20 p. m. by assistant District Attorney Vincent Dermody immediately after her arrival in the Criminal Courts Building.

Under questioning by Mr. Dermody, she said she had arrived at the ballroom with "my four babies" shortly before 3 p. m. Her daughters at that time were aged 6, 4, 2, and 6 months. Twin daughters were born seven months later.

She and the children were in a booth at the right of the stage and when she heard her husband give a Muslim greeting to the 400 persons in the audience, she said.

"A few minutes later I saw someone stand and shout in a loud and demanding voice, 'Take your hand out of my pocket.'"

She said her husband's bodyguards had moved from the stage toward the disturbance and she heard Malcolm say something to the effect that everything would be all right.

Then she heard shots fired, chairs falling and people shouting.

She pushed her crying babies babies under a bench to protect them. Then, ~~a loud gasp~~ caused her to look toward the stage.

"I didn't see my husband. I started running toward the stage. but they wouldn't let me down there."

Eventually, the bodyguards permitted her on the stage and she saw her husband's body.

After testifying that she accompanied the body to the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center and later formally identified it at the morgue, she left the stand.

Throughout her brief appearance on the stand, Mrs. Shabazz had glared at the three defendants. After she left the courtroom, William C. Chance, attorney for Butler, demanded a mistrial on the ground that, throughout her testimony, she was "staring intently and icily at the defendants." Justice Marks denied the motion.

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The prosecution contends that Nagan and Butler created the disturbance in the audience, that Johnson then fired a sawed-off shotgun into Malcolm X and fled while the other two pumped pistol bullets into him.

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Malcolm X's Widow Scores Suspects

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

In a voice of despair and steely hatred, the widow of Malcolm X yesterday denounced the three men who are on trial for his murder.

Then, leaving the witness stand in Supreme Court, she halted a few feet from the table at which they were seated and cried out, "They killed my husband!"

She tried to turn toward them, but two court attendants seized her by the arms and hurried her to the doorway. Even while they tugged at her, she exclaimed, "They killed him. They had no right to kill my husband."

The outburst followed less than 10 minutes of gentle questioning by Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody. She was not asked to identify the defendants as being in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th Street and Broadway, last Feb. 21, when the murder took place, and she was not subjected to cross-examination.

The six defense lawyers immediately rushed to the bench to protest and Justice Charles Marks, who is presiding, told the jury of nine men and three women:

"When the last witness left the witness stand she made some statements that may or may not have been audible to you. I direct you to disregard them."

When the afternoon session convened, William C. Chance, lawyer for Norman 3X Butler, one of the accused, formally moved for a mistrial on the further grounds that the widow, who calls herself Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the Moslem name that Malcolm assumed after his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1963, was "staring intently and icily at the defendants" throughout her testimony.

"I watched the defendant intently from a distance of two and a half feet," Justice Marks replied in denying the application, "and it was my observation that she looked straight ahead."

Mrs. Shabazz was composed during her long-awaited appearance in the trial, which goes into its sixth week today. A tall, well-spoken woman in her early thirties, she wore a simple black suit, black pumps, a black velvet hat and a pearl necklace.

She lives with her six young daughters—twins were born in October—in a house in Mount Vernon that was purchased with gifts of money after the murder.

Sitting with her hands folded in her lap and her back straight in the witness chair, she told the jury about removing her children's snow suits as her husband gave the Moslem salutation, "Salaam Aleikum," to the 400 persons in the audience at the ballroom.

"Then a lot of things were happening all at once," she said. "Chairs falling, people shouting. Then there was a succession of shots. . . . My babies started crying. They wanted to know if someone was going to kill us. . . . I was trying to quiet them. I pushed them under the bench and I covered the bench with my body."

"And what happened then?" asked Mr. Dermody.

"I heard a gasp," she said. "I looked up at the stage and I couldn't see my husband. I ran to the stage, but they wouldn't let me through. Then I saw him, sprawled on his back."

The prosecution contends that the murder was committed by Butler, Thomas 15X Johnson and Talmadge Hayer, who is also known as Thomas Hagan, all of whom are allegedly members of the Black Muslims, the organization that Malcolm broke with in the year before his death.

In the corridor outside the courtroom in the Criminal Courts Building, leaflets were being distributed announcing a "commemoration day solemn march" on Sunday in memory of Malcolm X. Among its sponsors were listed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, HARYOU-ACT, and many other civil rights and black nationalist groups.

The march will begin at 10 A.M. at Lennox Avenue and 110th Street and go from there to the ballroom.

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75 MARCH TO MARK MALCOLM'S DEATH

They Walk to Where He Was Slain a Year Ago Today

A "solemn march" in memory of Malcolm X drew 75 followers of the murdered black nationalist leader into the bitter cold, deserted streets of Harlem yesterday.

Organizers of the "commemoration day" had hoped to attract at least 500 paraders and had claimed the support of such civil rights groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress on Racial Equality and the Urban League.

As one bearded marcher explained, however, those who showed up were "just people, not groups."

Malcolm was shot on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, 1965, as he was preparing to address 400 followers in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street. Three men accused of the slaying are on trial in the Criminal Term of Supreme Court here.

Ballroom Boycotted

The marchers set off at 11:30 A.M. from Lenox Avenue and 110th Street, moving quietly three abreast behind a yellow-fringed red, yellow and green flag. A drummer wearing a black leather cap and high black boots beat a slow cadence. The marchers reached the Audubon Ballroom at 12:45.

Outside the dingy, two-story building the marchers huddled in the cold while Ahmadu Wachuku, one of the organizers, read a resolution asking the group to "strive until we are indisputably free of the white man's yoke."

He also declared a "permanent boycott against the Audubon Ballroom," whose management had refused the group's application to hire the hall.

The ballroom manager said later the hall had been rented to other groups for yesterday afternoon and evening. "We don't boycott anybody," he added.

The brief rally ended with a speech by Queen Mother Moore, an ample woman dressed in an orange turban and a flowing green-checked cape.

"Arise you mighty, captive, non-self-governing nation," she shouted, "because you can move mountains if you dare." She closed her speech with the cry of "Uhuru," the Swahili word for freedom, and many in the crowd answered with upraised fists.

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MALCOLM 2/16 NX

NEW YORK (UPI)--CARTRIDGES TAKEN FROM ONE OF THREE MEN CHARGED WITH MALCOLM X'S ASSASSINATION WERE LINKED WEDNESDAY WITH A .45 CALIBER WEAPON USED TO MURDER THE BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER.

DET. JOSEPH REISCH, A BALLISTICS EXPERT, SAID THAT EXTRACTOR MARKS FOUND ON .45 CALIBER CARTRIDGES TAKEN FROM THOMAS HAGAN, 22, OF 347 MARSHALL ST., PATERSON, N.J., MATCHED MARKINGS ON THE WEAPON USED TO GUN DOWN MALCOLM X LAST FEB. 21.

TESTIFYING AS THE 21ST PROSECUTION WITNESS IN THE FIRST DEGREE MURDER TRIAL WHICH IS INTO ITS SIXTH WEEK, REISCH SAID THAT A MICROSCOPIC EXAMINATION OF THE SHELL CASING OF THE CARTRIDGES TAKEN FROM HAGAN MATCHED THREE SHELLS FOUND IN THE UPPER MANHATTAN AUDUBON BALLROOM, 166TH ST. AND BROADWAY, WHERE MALCOLM WAS SLAIN.

REISCH SAID THE EXTRACTOR MARKS ON A GUN ARE "SIGNIFICANT AND PECULIAR TO THAT PARTICULAR WEAPON." HE SAID THE MARKINGS ARE SIMILAR TO AN INDIVIDUAL'S FINGERPRINTS.

POLICE CONFISCATED A CARTRIDGE CLIP CONTAINING FOUR .45 CALIBER BULLETS FROM HAGAN WHEN HE WAS ARRESTED MINUTES AFTER MALCOMB X'S ASSASSINATION. HAGAN WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED IN THE LEFT THIGH BY A MALCOLM X SECURITY GUARD AS HE ATTEMPTED TO FLEE THE BALLROOM. POLICE LATER HAD TO RESCUE HIM FROM AN IRATE MOB OF MALCOLM X FOLLOWERS.

A FINGERPRINT EXPERT TESTIFIED EARLIER THAT HAGAN'S THUMB PRINT MATCHED LATENT PRINTS TAKEN FROM A SMOKE BOMB THAT IGNITED IN THE BALLROOM MOMENTS BEFORE THE BEARDED, 39-YEAR-OLD MALCOLM X WAS KILLED.

THE OTHER TWO DEFENDANTS ARE THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 29, AND NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 26.

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MALCOLM 2/17 NX
ADV FOR AMS MON FEB 21
BY STANLEY S. SCOTT
UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

NEW YORK(UPI)--ONE YEAR AGO MONDAY A TERRIFYING VOLLEY OF GUNFIRE TORE OUT THE LIFE OF RACIST LEADER MALCOLM LITTLE, THE 39-YEAR-OLD BEARDED BLACK NATIONALIST KNOWN TO MILLIONS AS MALCOLM X.

IN A MANHATTAN COURTROOM, THREE ALLEGED ASSASSINS ARE ON TRIAL, CHARGED WITH FIRING 19 MISSILES INTO HIS BODY IN A "PRE-ARRANGED" PLOT AS ABOUT 400 SPECTATORS LOOKED ON FEB. 21, 1965.

THE SIX-WEEK-OLD FIRST DEGREE MURDER TRIAL IS MARKED BY A TIGHT SECURITY GUARD AND A METHODICAL SEARCH OF ALL SPECTATORS ENTERING THE 84-SEAT COURTROOM ON THE 13TH FLOOR OF THE CRIMINAL COURTS BUILDING.

MILD-MANNERED SUPREME COURT JUSTICE CHARLES MARKS AT THE OUTSET OF THE TRIAL, ORDERED THAT THREE GUARDS BE SEATED DIRECTLY BEHIND THE DEFENDANTS.

THE SECURITY MEASURES HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO GUARD AGAINST POSSIBLE RETALIATION BY MALCOLM X SYMPATHIZERS.

PROSECUTING ATTORNEY VINCENT J. DERMODY HAS CALLED MORE THAN 20 WITNESSES, INCLUDING SOME WHO HAVE TESTIFIED THEY SAW THE DEFENDANTS INSIDE THE UPPER MANHATTAN AUDUBON BALLROOM AT 166TH ST. AND BROADWAY, FIRING SHOTS INTO MALCOLM'S BODY. DERMODY HAS POINTED THE FINGER OF GUILT AT THE THREE ALLEGED BLACK MUSLIM FOLLOWERS.

IN ORDERING THE STRINGENT SECURITY MEASURES, MARKS POSSIBLY WAS ATTEMPTING TO AVOID A REPEAT OF A VIOLENT COURTROOM OUTBURST THAT OCCURRED IN CHICAGO IN 1935.

IN THAT INCIDENT SOME 200 BLACK MUSLIMS STORMED A COURTROOM WHILE ONE OF THEIR MEMBERS WAS ON TRIAL. BEFORE THE MELEE WAS OVER, ONE PATROLMAN WAS DEAD AND 11 HAD BEEN INJURED. TWO OF THE MUSLIMS WERE SHOT IN THE CLASH AND 40 WERE SENT TO PRISON.

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THE THREE NEATLY DRESSED DEFENDANTS HERE APPEAR CALM AND UNMOVED AS THE DAMAGING EVIDENCE CONTINUES TO PILE UP AGAINST THEM.

ONE OF THE THREE, NORMAN 3 X BUTLER, 26, OF NEW YORK, SPENDS HIS TIME IN COURT READING THE WORLD ALMANAC AND SKETCHING PICTURES OF HIS COURT-APPOINTED DEFENSE LAWYER.

THOMAS 15 X JOHNSON, 29, ALSO OF NEW YORK, HAS MAINTAINED A FACIAL MIXTURE OF SMILES AND DEEP SHOCK WHENEVER A WITNESS ADVANCES TO THE DEFENSE TABLE AND ACCUSES HIM OF FIRING TWO BLASTS FROM A SAWED-OFF SHOTGUN INTO MALCOLM'S CHEST. HE KEEPS A GUARDED SMILE FOR BLACK MUSLIM "BROTHERS" ATTENDING THE TRIAL.

THE THIRD DEFENDANT, 22-YEAR-OLD THOMAS HAGAN OF PATERSON N.J., SHIES AWAY FROM JOHNSON AND BUTLER, POSSIBLY FOR GOOD REASONS.

PETER L.F. SABBATINO, HAGAN'S DEFENSE LAWYER, CONTENDS THAT HIS CLIENT IS THE VICTIM OF "MOB IDENTIFICATION."

SABBATINO ASSAILS TESTIMONY THAT HAGAN WAS A MEMBER OF THE BLACK MUSSLEMS ALONG WITH BUTLER AND JOHNSON.

HE CHARGES THAT HAGAN WAS A VICTIM OF ERRONEOUS IDENTFICATION WHEN HE WAS SHOT IN THE LEFT THIGH BY A MALCOLM X SECURITY GUARD WHILE ATTEMPTING TO FLEE THE AUDUBON BALLROOM.

ONCE A PROTEGE OF SELF-STYLED PROPHET ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, MALCOLM BROKE AWAY FROM THE MUSLIM SECT MORE THAN A YEAR BEFORE HIS DEATH TO FORM HIS OWN SPLINTER GROUP, THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY.

MALCOLM DISCARDED ATHEISM AND ACCEPTED MUHAMMAD'S RACIST TEACHINGS WHILE SERVING A SENTENCE IN THE MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON AT CONCORD, MASS. HE ONCE SAID HE "KICKED" NARCOTICS ADDICTION WITHIN 24 HOURS AFTER ALIGNING WITH MUHAMMAD.

A WEEK BEFORE HIS DEATH MALCOLM'S NEW YORK, HOME, ONE OF THE RENT-FREE FRINGE BENEFITS HE ENJOYED WHILE IN THE GOOD GRACES OF MUHAMMAD, WAS ROCKED BY FIRE BOMBS IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS.

MALCOLM LATER HELD A NEWS CONFERENCE AND TOLD REPORTERS THAT BLACK MUSLIM FOLLOWERS WERE PLOTTING AGAINST HIS LIFE.

ASKED BY A REPORTER IF THE SO-CALLED "CONSIPRACY" COULD BE HALTED, MALCOLM RETORTED THAT MUHAMMAD COULD STOP THE PLOT BY "RAISING HIS HAND."

MALCOLM REPORTEDLY HAD PLANNED TO REVEAL AT THE FATAL RALLY THE NAMES OF THOSE WHOM HE SAID WERE TRYING TO KILL HIM. A RED NOTE BOOK PIERCED WITH THREE BULLET HOLES WAS TAKEN FROM HIS LEFT BREAST POCKET AFTER HIS DEATH. THE BOOK HAS BEEN OFFERED INTO EVIDENCE.

DERMODY HAS CHARGEDTHAT BUTLER AND HAGAN, ARMED WITH .9MM AND .45 AUTOMATIC WEAPONS, INFILTRATED THE RALLY AND CREATED A "DIVERSIONARY" COMMOTION MIDWAY IN THE BALLROOM TO ALLOW JOHNSON THE OPPORTUNITY TO SNEAK TO THE STAGE AND SHOOT MALCOLM WITH THE SHOTGUN.

DERMODY IS ATTEMPTING TO PROVE THAT HAGAN AND BUTLER FOLLOWED JOHNSON TO THE STAGE AND PUMPED SHOTS INTO MALCOLM'S PRONE BODY.

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Prosecution Ends Case In Malcolm X Murder

A public-relations man who was a free-lance radio reporter a year ago yesterday became the 24th and last prosecution witness against the three young men accused of the assassination of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X.

Charles Moore told a jury of nine men and three women of seeing a man firing "an automatic pistol" in the direction of the Audubon Ballroom stage where Malcolm was standing, of running to a telephone to call his radio station and then seeing the man shot in the leg as he ran from the scene.

Mr. Moore identified the man he saw as Talmadge Nayer or Thomas Hagan, 22, who is on trial for the murder with Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30.

Assistant District Attorney Vincent Dermody rested his case after the testimony. The defense will open on Monday, the first anniversary of Malcolm's death.

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Unanswered—Motive In Malcolm X Murder

By James W. Sullivan
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

The prosecution's case against three young men accused of the murder of Malcolm X ground to a close last week offering answers to all the questions except the big one: Who engineered the assassination of Black Nationalism's ablest leader?

Since that afternoon 364 days ago, when Malcolm's riddled body was wheeled out of the Audubon Ballroom and he was pronounced dead at Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center, the assumption has been that the killing was engineered by the Black Muslims.

There certainly had been bad blood between Malcolm and the Black Muslims. Elijah Muhammad suspended Malcolm, his most effective minister, in 1963 for remarks made after President Kennedy's assassination, and later expelled him. Malcolm resented that, and members of his political and religious organizations were in violent clashes with the Muslims at various times.

After the killing, various of Malcolm's followers talked of task forces heading for Chicago to take revenge on the elderly Elijah, but no attempt was ever made on his life.

The Muslims publicly denied any connection with the murder, but few officials gave them any support and the general public has considered them guilty of it.

However, at no time during the six weeks that Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody has presented his evidence in the court of Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks has he given any evidence of a motive for the murder.

MUSLIMS

Several witnesses identified as Muslims the three defendants, Norman 3X Butler, 26, Thomas 15X Johnson, 29, and Thomas Hagan or Talmadge Hayer, 22, but none claimed to know or even implied that their religious leaders might have sent them to kill Malcolm.

The only link between Malcolm's death and the Muslims was a tenuous one, from George 28X Whitney, former member of the Fruit of Islam, the elite Muslim security corps, and later bodyguard to Malcolm. Whitney said Malcolm had continuously expressed fears that he would be killed, "saying that the power structure and the Black Muslims were both interested in his death."

Attorneys demanded to know whether he said "white power structure" or "black power structure," but Whitney replied that he "just said power structure."

In Harlem, where rumors grow faster than grass does in more arable locations, the theory that the Black Muslims ordered Malcolm's execution is widely, but not unanimously, held. If you are an ultra-liberal, you can find support there for a theory that Malcolm was killed on orders of the United States government. If you are a conservative, some residents will agree with your theory that the killers were agents of the "Peking Reds."

Both the latter theories have their roots in Malcolm's international activities in the period before his death. He had made a pilgrimage to Mecca and a speaking tour in Europe and Africa and was friendly with representatives of Arab nations assigned to the United Nations.

THEORIES

The ultra-liberals saw in his death the Central Intelligence Agency's reaction to his plans for a united Arab and African people which would include Americans of African descent. The conservatives maintained that he had been supported by the Chinese-Cuban branch of the Communist party and that he was killed because he was moving away from the subversive racist line which he had been paid to preach.

This week, the jury of nine men and three women in Justice Marks' court probably will hear another theory—that Malcolm died as the result of a conspiracy by his bodyguards.

When a celebrity is killed at an appearance before several hundred persons, the person charged with the crime can expect a parade of eye-witnesses to accuse him. Butler, Johnson and Hayer have seen such a parade.

Except for official witnesses, nearly every one who has come to the witness stand has testified to some part of what happened in the ballroom that day.

Hayer and Butler have been identified as the men who created a disturbance in the audience. Johnson has been identified as the man who ran to the stage during the disturbance and fired a sawed-off shotgun into Malcolm. Hayer and Butler have been re-identified as the men who then ran to the stage and pumped pistol shots into the fallen Malcolm.

Under such circumstances, defense attorneys have cross-examined intensively, hoping to shake the eye-witnesses and, occasionally, having some success. Some of the questions have been classics, such as that asked by Butler's attorney, William Chance, of Cary 2X Thomas, one of Malcolm's bodyguards:

"Have you at any time denied to anybody that you killed Jesus Christ?"

Because Mr. Dermody objected and Justice Marks sustained him, the audience was never treated to an answer.

However, the trend of the questioning by Mr. Chance and Peter L. F. Sabbatino, attorney for Hayer, has indicated they will attempt to prove that Malcolm was the victim of a conspiracy by his own guards.

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As witnesses have admitted that they were part of the security guard at the meeting and, in some cases, were armed, the defense attorneys have hammered questions at them about their failure to protect Malcolm. Thomas, who said he was carrying a pistol, received question after question on cross-examination about why he failed to shoot. His only answer was that he was confused and the affair happened too quickly.

NO!

But Thomas, like the other bodyguards, reacted with an emphatic "No!" when the defense attorneys asked him if he had conspired in the assassination. That question was the only one of hundreds thrown at him which caused him to lean forward in the witness chair, grasp the microphone and bring his mouth up close to it before he answered.

The defense opens this week. Apparently, there will be few witnesses, but Mr. Sabbatino has said Hayer will take the stand, Mr. Chance has said Butler will take the stand and Attorney Joseph Pinckney has said Johnson will take the stand.

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Malcolm X: Recollections of a Visit

By Jack Barnes

Robert Penn Warren interviewed a man named Malcolm X in June 1964, and I helped to interview a man with the same name in January 1965. I phrase it that way because, after reading Warren's account, I almost wondered if we had interviewed the same man. Of course, the difference was really in the interviewers, in their attitudes and assumptions.

Warren was born and raised in the South and, as a young man, believed in segregation. He has spent much of his life in the North as a writer and teacher, and is now against segregation. Stirred by the Negro upsurge, he wanted to find out more about what Negroes think. So he set out to interview many of them for his book, *Who Speaks for the Negro?* (Random House, 1965).

His approach is that of a liberal. One of his favorite questions of the people he interviewed was did they think that it would have been a good idea to have compensated the Confederate slaveholders for the slaves emancipated; he seemed to hit it off best with those who said it would have been a good idea. He evidently was smart enough to omit this question with Malcolm, or at least he doesn't mention it.

Warren goes to the Hotel Theresa in Harlem for his interview with Malcolm. "I am admitted by a strong-looking young Negroman, dressed impeccably . . .; he is silent but watchful, smooth-faced, impassive, of ominous dignity." (Not being a poet, as is Warren, I find it hard to conceive a dignity that is "ominous.") Malcolm shakes Warren's hand, "with the slightest hint of a smile." Warren looks him over:

"The most striking thing, at first, about that face is a sort of stoniness, a rigidity, as though beyond all feeling. When the lips move to speak you experience a faint hint of surprise. When — as I discover later — he scores a point and the face suddenly breaks into his characteristic wide, leering, merciless smile, with the powerful even teeth gleaming beyond the very pale pink lips, the effect is, to say the least, startling. But beyond the horn-rimmed glasses always the eyes are watching, pale brown or hazel, some tint of yellow. You cannot well imagine them closed in sleep."

Felt Dismissed

"After the handshake, he turns to his aide . . . . I am, for the moment, dismissed, and wander across the room, inspecting it." ". . . as he stands there across the expanse of bare, ill-swept floor, conferring with the ominous attendant . . . I am watching him, and he knows I am watching him, but he gives no sign." Malcolm's failure to give a sign that he knows Warren is watching him is clearly as sinister as the "attendant" has now become.

"Finally" Malcolm beckons Warren into the tiny room used as his office. "Malcolm X tells me that he has only a few minutes, that he has found that you waste a lot of time with reporters and then you don't get much space." And so the interview begins.

It seemed somewhat different when Barry Sheppard and I interviewed Malcolm in the same office on Jan. 18, 1965, a month before his assassination. Our interview was taped for the *Young Socialist* (March-April, 1965; also in the pamphet, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, Young Socialist Pamphlet, 1965.)

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THE MILITANT
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The thing that struck us first was how tired Malcolm looked. (In the *Autobiography*, Alex Haley describes the 18-hour schedule he followed.) At one point toward the end of the interview, a yawn can be heard on the tape, followed by the apology, "Excuse my tired mind." We were a little uncomfortable at first, feeling that Malcolm might need rest more urgently than we needed an interview and, because this was the first time we had met, there was some over-politeness on both sides. Malcolm sent out for coffee for the three of us, making his familiar joke about his preference for light coffee, and after that the atmosphere warmed up.

After the formal interview, we offered to type it up and bring it back, edited to fit our space requirements, for his final check and corrections. We also asked him if he would like the Young Socialist Alliance to organize a national speaking tour of campuses for him later in the year. He expressed interest in this, but did not commit himself, saying he would discuss it the next time we got together.

Trap Fails

Let us return to poor Warren. He tries to catch Malcolm in a contradiction, but Malcolm deftly avoids the trap and makes his own point. Warren's reaction:

"I discovered that that pale, dull yellowish face that had seemed so veiled, so stony, as though beyond all feeling, had flashed into its merciless, leering life — the sudden wolfish grin, the pale pink lips drawn hard back to show the strong teeth, the unveiled glitter of the eyes beyond the lenses, giving the sense that the lenses were only part of a clever disguise; that the eyes needed no help, that they suddenly see everything."

Malcolm had ruined his eyes reading by poor light at night while he was in prison, and says in the *Autobiography* that he had astigmatism. Never mind the facts — Warren senses "that the lenses were only part of a clever disguise" (an elaborate scheme for fooling liberals somehow). Warren didn't really need to look into Malcolm's eyes — he came to the interview convinced that Malcolm was racist, demagogic and opportunist ("He may end at the barricades, or in Congress. Or he might even end on the board of a bank"), and that is what he went away with.

True to Form

Malcolm knew the white liberal type very well, and he must have had to grin ("leer") when he saw how closely Warren was conforming to the type. And when Warren asks Malcolm "if he believes in political assassination" (!), it is not hard to see why Malcolm might "turn the hard, impassive face and veiled eyes" upon Warren and say, "I wouldn't know anything about that."

I returned to Malcolm's office less than a week after our interview, bearing the edited transcript Barry had made from the tape. (If we had known this would be the last thing we would get from him, we of course would not have shortened the transcript, even slightly.) Malcolm was talking to a young man in his inner office. While I waited, for about 10 minutes, one of Malcolm's co-workers, the only other person in the outer office, dozed at a reception desk. A small stack of *Militants* lay on the desk with a couple of dimes on top.

As Malcolm read the transcript, he began to grin. When he came to the question about capitalism and the statement, "It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely," he said, "This is the farthest I've ever gone. They will go wild over this." I asked if he wanted to tone it down and, without hesitation, he answered no.

He said he felt the editing had sharpened up what he had originally said; that he had been tired when he gave the interview. He made very few changes and I said that would be the final copy, just as he had left it. He said, "Make any additional changes you want — it's fine. This is the kind of editing it's a pleasure to read."

Malcolm then began to talk about young revolutionaries he had met and been impressed by in Africa and Europe. He said he had a long list of them — he called them "contacts" — and would give me a copy so we could send them the issue of the *Young Socialist* that contained his interview. He also spoke about *The Militant*, and how often he had seen it abroad.

I told him I might be going to Algeria for the World Youth Festival (then scheduled for the spring of 1965) and might be able to meet some of his contacts there. He said, "Great, that would be a good experience; they have a hard time believing that revolutionists exist in the United States." We arranged that he would give me the list after the *Young Socialist* came off the press.

Campus Tour

I reminded him about our proposal for a national campus tour. This time he responded very favorably; he must have thought about it further and may have discussed it with some of his co-workers. He said he had learned from much experience of speaking on campus that students were in general the only whites that seemed to be open-minded. He said he was sure that the government would try to buy off the white students who were radical, that this was their main problem. He said they should "get in a closet" — away from the professors and the job offers from government and business — and think out their ideas more thoroughly and basically. They could travel the road before them in one of two ways, he said, "— as missionaries or as revolutionaries."

He asked a lot of questions about the Young Socialist Alliance — how many locals, where, what campuses? He wanted to know how long the tour would last; he said he could not make it until after his return from another trip abroad that he was committed to make, but that would be the best time. I said I was sure that on most campuses we would be able to get broader sponsorship than the YSA for his speeches, and he said he didn't care how broad or how narrow the sponsorship would be.

He asked me if I read French and then gave me a magazine from Paris with a story about his talk there in November 1964. He said he thought it was a communist magazine, and that "things are very different in Europe and Africa. There are communists and socialists all over, and no one makes a big deal out of it. They can't imagine how narrow-minded this country is."

View of Imperialism

Malcolm also spoke at some length about imperialism, along what Marxists might call Luxemburgian lines — how the West is in a real bind because the colonial revolution is cutting off places where imperialism can expand.

I felt completely at ease with Malcolm throughout this discussion, which lasted quite a while at his initiative. He grew quite excited at the thought of his African youth contacts getting the *Young Socialist* interview and at the possibility of my meeting them. I had no sense of "taking" his valuable time — he was giving it voluntarily, and not out of mere politeness.

It is inconceivable that he would be like that with a liberal. There would be no common points of departure, no common projects of any kind, for him to discuss with a liberal who felt, as Warren did, that he was accomplishing his mission when he got Malcolm to "admit" that he didn't "see in the American system the possibility of self-regeneration."

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(NEWS foto by Ed Clarity)
Marchers proceed along 125th St. in memorial to Malcolm X.

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A Year Later, Only 75 In Parade for Malcolm X

By WILLIAM RICE

Malcolm X, who, as fiery prime minister of the white-hating Black Muslims, drew throngs to Harlem street corners with his racist tirades, was almost alone in death yesterday.

Instead of the expected thousands, only 75 persons joined in a parade honoring the man who was born Malcolm Little and died in a rain of bullets under the name of El Hajki El Shabazz.

It was, as he said of the assassination of President Kennedy, a case of "chickens coming home to roost."

His Own Remark

It was that remark, many believe, that led to Malcolm's own assassination as he was about to address his following a year ago today in the Audubon Ballroom.

Elijah Muhammad, head of the Muslim group, suspended him for making it and, after a ban of several months, he formed his own black nationalist group.

Malcolm eventually modified his anti-white views and gained the hatred of the Black Muslims. Three men assertedly of that sect are on trial for his death in Supreme Court.

Memorial March

Leaders of yesterday's march, billed as "a solemn memorial march to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of El Haji Malik El Shabazz," had listed about 25 organizations in support of the procession. Among them, they said were the NAACP, CORE, the Urban League and Haryou-Act.

The march began at 110th St. and Lenox Ave. and, with several white-robed members of the Yoruba Temple, a voodoo sect, in the vanguard, continued through the streets of Harlem to the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th St., in Washington Heights.

After a brief rally outside the ballroom—to which they were denied entrance—the little group split up.

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Who Mourns Malcolm X?

Only a Handful in Harlem Parade Note Anniversary of His Death

By Rasa Gustaitis
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

What had been billed as a solemn march to commemorate the death of Malcolm X turned out to be a small and lonely procession yesterday.

A year ago, 22,000 mourners had walked past the bier of the militant Black Nationalist who had come to represent Negro anger and growing racial pride to many in this country and abroad. But yesterday, in the midst of the trial of his alleged killers, not even 100 friends and admirers came to honor his memory.

As they marched to the beat of an African drum, behind voodoo priests in white wind-whipped garments, the streets of Harlem were deserted and hardly anyone even parted a curtain to gaze out a window.

'WHO CARES'

"This is showing us who really cares about black," remarked Ahmadu Wachuku, one of the leaders of the commemoration. The march was "a joint endeavor of various splinter groups," he said.

Nobody has actively tried to take over the leadership of Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American UUity, and his followers have scattered since his death. Mrs. Ella Mae Collins, his sister, is officially his successor, but she spends much of her time in Boston and is rarely seen at the Hotel Theresa, where the group still has its headquarters.

Neither Mrs. Collins nor Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X who was also known as El Hajji Malik El Shabazz, were present yesterday. Mr. Wachuku said it had been "a trying week" for the widow.

Mrs. Shabazz had appeared in Supreme Court last week during the trial of the three men charged in the murder of her husband. She told how she shielded her children when a volley of shots hit Malcolm X on the stage of the Audubon Ballroom, before 300 spectators.

The prosecution has rested its case and the defense is to [illegible] today. Charged in the shooting are Thomas Hagan, also known as Talmadge Hayer, 22; Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, and Norman 3X Butler, 26.

Some of the shivering, bundled-up people who gathered in 13-degree weather on the corner of 110th St. and Lenox Avenue at 10 a. m. yesterday had learned about the march for "the Prince of our black captive non-selfgoverning people" from leaflets distributed outside the courtroom last week.

They waited until 11:30 a. m. when a line finally formed. Only 65 people were in it. There would have been 69, but four white sympathizers were told they could not take part.

"White people don't live in Harlem, they only own things in Harlem," explained Dan Watts, editor of Liberator magazine which co-sponsored the march.

"We were hoping white people wouldn't come," someone else said. "This is black."

Mr. Wachuku, wearing a red fez and carrying a carved stick, took the lead. The stick was a sawawisha, an African symbol for "the forces of equalization," that worked "by hand," Mr. Wachuku said.

Close behind him three marchers carried a red, yellow and green flag embroidered with an anhk, an ancient Egyptian symbol of "life and resurrection," according to a voodoo priest.

Then came Queen Mother Moore of the voodoo Temple Yoruba, who represented Yemoja, the goddess of motherhood. A large woman in black and white fur-trimmed cloak, red turban and red shoes, she said she was "everything my people are."

Behind her walked women in turbans and African haircuts, men with single earrings, a man in turban and djellabah, an African robe, and a string of others.

At 116th Street, seven other members from Temple Yoruba joined in. One beat a ceremonial drum, one carried a rifle, symbol of Ogun, the voodoo god of war. Baba Osergeman, the chief priest, carried a sword and an iru kere, an ox-tail stick symbolizing Obatala, the god of peace. Others held a white parasol with gold tassels.

Up Lenox Ave. they marched, past the Bethel Gospel, Pentacostal Assembly, Inc., Fritz's Bar and Grill, the Legal Aid Society, Dunbar Pawnbrokers, Glamor Pix Studios and the Truth Coffee Shop. Then along 145th Street to St. Nicholas Ave., up to 161st Street to Broadway and 166th Street, where the Audubon Ballroom, site of the murder, is. It was 1 p. m. when they arrived.

Mr. Wachuku said that a meeting inside had been planned but that the management had cancelled the group's reservation. He called for a boycott of the hall.

The brief ceremony outside took only five minutes. Queen Mother Moore held up a clenched fist and led a cry of "Uhuru!" (freedom). Moments later the street was empty again.

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POLICE GIVE TESTIMONY

Malcolm X Murder Trial

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK, Feb. 15 — A series of detectives and technical witnesses have testified during the past week in the trial of the three men accused of murdering Malcolm X. The most important piece of evidence to emerge from all this testimony is the identification of a fingerprint of Talmadge Hayer, also known as Thomas Hagan, one of the defendants, on a crude device set aflame in the Audubon Ballroom at the time of the shooting.

Roland B. Wallace, a 38-year-old member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, testified on Feb. 10 that he had just reentered the ballroom at the rear when shots rang out. Then his attention was attracted to a burning "smoke bomb." It was near a window at the rear on the right side facing the stage. Someone poured water on it and put it out.

Detective John J. Keeley testified that he found the wet device, a man's sock stuffed with matches and other material, later in the afternoon of Feb. 21, 1965 near where Wallace had seen it. He turned it over to Detective Edward Meagher who examined it for finger prints and other evidence.

Meagher took the witness stand next and said he found a usable fingerprint on a piece of unravelled film that was in the sock. He found no usable fingerprints on the shotgun or .45 caliber automatic that have been entered into evidence thus far in the trial.

Detective Robert Meyer testified on Feb. 11 that the finger print on the film and one taken from the left thumb of Hayer were "one and the same."

Dr. Milton Helpern, the city's chief medical examiner, took the stand the same day and described the results of the autopsy he had performed on the body of Malcolm X. The cause of death was multiple gunshot and bullet wounds in the chest, heart and aorta, he said. Malcolm X was hit by eight shotgun slugs and nine bullets from .45 caliber and 9 mm guns. The evidence indicated he was hit by the shotgun slugs while standing and by bullets from the other weapons while prone.

On Feb. 14 Detective James A. Scaringe, a ballistics expert, described a great many slugs and shells found at the scene of the assassination. Aside from the three types mentioned above, three .32 caliber bullets were found near the ballroom office door.

On the morning of Feb. 9 the second "secret" witness of the trial gave his testimony. The court was cleared of spectators and reporters before he appeared. Reportedly this witness is an FBI agent who was given the .45 caliber automatic that Hayer is alleged to have used by the first "secret" witness.

According to reliable sources the first "secret" witness testified on Feb. 3 that he picked up the .45 at the Audubon ballroom and turned it over to the FBI. He identified Norman (3X) Butler and at least one of the two other defendants.

Detective Ferdinand Cavallaro, who was originally in charge of the investigation, was questioned at length about a list of 119 names of the people questioned concerning the case when he testified on Feb. 9.

During his cross-examination by Hayer's attorney, Cavallaro mentioned that Reuben Francis, who was indicted for shooting Hayer but later disappeared, had been rearrested on Feb. 2, 1966 in Assistant District Attorney Dermody's office.

A spokesman for the district attorney's office said that Francis had been picked up by the FBI. He had forfeited $10,000 bail; and was now being held on $25,000 bail. A spokesman for the FBI denied any knowledge of Francis.

The number of spectators at the trial has dwindled over the weeks. Spectators are still being subjected to the practice of being frisked each time they enter the courtroom.

Slate N.Y. Memorial For Malcolm X

A memorial meeting for Malcolm X will be held on the first anniversary of his death, Monday evening, February 21, from 7 to 10 p.m. at P.S. 175, 178 W. 135th St. (between Seventh and Lenox Avenues) in New York City. The meeting will be under the auspices of the Malcolm X Memorial Committee, c/o Sylvester Leaks, 410 W. 110 St. The sponsors of the committee include such figures as James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, and John Lewis.

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75 MARCH TO MARK MALCOLM'S DEATH

They Walk to Where He Was Slain a Year Ago Today

A "solemn march" in memory of Malcolm X drew 75 followers of the murdered black nationalist leader into the bitter cold, deserted streets of Harlem yesterday.

Organizers of the "commemoration day" had hoped to attract at least 500 paraders and had claimed the support of such civil rights groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress on Racial Equality and the Urban League.

As one bearded marcher explained, however, those who showed up were "just people, not groups."

Malcolm was shot on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, 1965, as he was preparing to address 400 followers in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street. Three men accused of the slaying are on trial in the Criminal Term of Supreme Court here.

Ballroom Boycotted

The marchers set off at 11:30 A.M. from Lenox Avenue and 110th Street, moving quietly three abreast behind a yellow-fringed red, yellow and green flag. A drummer wearing a black leather cap and high black boots beat a slow cadence. The marchers reached the Audubon Ballroom at 12:45.

Outside the dingy, two-story building the marchers huddled in the cold while Ahmadu Wachuku, one of the organizers, read a resolution asking the group to "strive until we are indisputably free of the white man's yoke."

He also declared a "permanent boycott against the Audubon Ballroom," whose management had refused the group's application to hire the hall.

The ballroom manager said later the hall had been rented to other groups for yesterday afternoon and evening. "We don't boycott anybody," he added.

The brief rally ended with a speech by Queen Mother Moore, an ample woman dressed in an orange turban and a flowing green-checked cape.

"Arise you mighty, captive, non-self-governing nation," she shouted, "because you can move mountains if you dare." She closed her speech with the cry of "Uhuru," the Swahili word for freedom, and many in the crowd answered with upraised fists.

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Judgment of Gods

By Murray Kempton

THE widow of the man we called Malcolm X and the police called Malcolm Little and his family called Malik Shabazz was a witness last week at the trial of the three young men the state says murdered him.

She turned out to be a monument of august simplicity, one white strand of pearls on the neck, the rest all black.

Malcolm X lived in the most ragged social setting known to Americans; yet he willed himself to be a great foreign prince. How odd to be reminded that, no matter where they are born or how they live, kings end up marrying queens.

"Betty Shabazz," she said to the stenographer. "S, like Sam, h, a, b, like boy, a, b, a, z, like zebra, z." "Sam," "Boy," the little nicknames white people used to call Negroes before history made us self-conscious; there is irony in every word spoken by a queen in exile.

She had gone to the Audubon Ballroom, she told Assistant District Attorney Dermody, with "my four babies" last Feb. 21 to sit in a box at her husband's last meeting.

She had watched her husband come to the stage and "give the customary greeting" and then a man stood up on the left hand and said something "in a loud and demanding voice."

Her husband had said everything would be all right, and then there was a shot and chairs falling and people running.

"My babies started crying and I was trying to quiet them. They wanted to know if somebody wanted to kill us. I pushed them under a bench I covered the bench with my body. One of them cried out they couldn't breathe or see. I turned to help quiet them and then I looked toward the stage and I couldn't see my husband."

As a presence she was magnificent; as a witness, she was of very little use even a queen, with the charge of four little girls, can be asked to observe very little else.

From behind the district attorney her look seemed fixed, brooding, without anger or hatred. She was looking at the defendants; and one of their counsel who bore its frontal force talked about that look as tho it had been a flame.

It was the terrible force of the assumption without much chance of knowledge that these were the murderers of her husband. And these three young men sat looking straight ahead, under the shadow of a curse that might have been a thousand years old because it was that impersonal and devoid of any sign of recognition.

And then, departing, she stopped right by the defendants and raised her arm. Who knows the motives of queens? Some of us thought she was about to strike them, and some of us that she was only about to remonstrate with them.

A court attendant took her elbow. "Let go of my arm," she said. She had begun at last to cry. "They killed my husband." Her "they" sounded as if she were talking about everybody. And then she was gone, and Judge Marks instructed the jury to disregard her final scene.

You doubted that any juror could fit an event of this size into his judgment of a criminal case. What is relevant about the anger of the gods at the absurdity of everything?

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Wife Alibis Suspect In Malcolm Killing

The Malcolm X trial, in which three members of the Black Muslim movement are accused of assassinating the black nationalist leader, begins its eighth week on Monday.

Yesterday the wife of one of the defendants, Norman 3X Butler, testified that her husband was at home in their Bronx apartment on the day the shotgun slaying took place in a Harlem ballroom.

Mrs. Butler, mother of four children, said her husband arrived home around noon and remained at home for the rest of the day. Malcolm X, who defected from the Black Muslims to set up a rival group, was slain around 3 p.m.

When asked by prosecutor Vincent J. Dermody how she could be sure of the time of her husband's arrival, she said: "My husband is being tried for murder. That's why I remember the time that day."

Other witnesses have placed her husband at the scene of the killing.

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Black Muslims Today—The Legacy of Malcolm X

'Nation of Islam' Wanes in Harlem

Only a year ago the Black Muslims were in the headlines, a major concern of whites and many Negroes alike. What has happened to the "Nation of Islam?" What effect did the slaying of Malcolm X have on it? How does world heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali (Cassius Clay) figure in Black Muslim plans? For the answers, Leslie Whitten visited Black Muslim centers in key cities, talked to members of the sect and their opponents, had an exclusive interview with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Muslims. This is the first article of a series.

By LESLIE H. WHITTEN

Hearst Headline Service Exclusive to The Journal-American

"I REMEMBER MALCOLM."

You hear it that way every time you mention the Muslims in Harlem. The gangling, reddish-haired man with the thick glasses made necessary by too much prison reading is a folk hero there, even though he has only been dead a year.

Wrong-headed often, undisputably brilliant, he boomed a minor anti-white cult into national prominence, split with its leader two years ago and was murdered Feb. 21, 1965 while making a speech to his followers.

Now, his own group—the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)—has withered. The Nation of Islam—popularly called "Black Muslims"—has faded from the news. Its rate of increase has slumped.

But Malcolm X—born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Neb., in 1925—is still very much in the minds of those Negroes he entranced with his oratory and impressed with his courage.

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I remember Malcolm, too. Arguing civil rights with me shortly before the 1963 march on Washington, he waved a hand toward the Justice Department and said:

"The Negroes have been sugared to death by civil rights. When the sugar gets bitter in their mouths, they'll taste it our way."

Behind his articulate speech was a dash of contempt. It was there whenever I heard him talking to white men he didn't know. And because he was so intelligent, it hurt.

A FEW MONTHS after that interview, Malcolm, characteristically outspoken, called President Kennedy's death a case of "chickens coming home to roost." He was capable of even greater enormities.

Allegedly because of that statement, but more probably because he was gaining too much power in the family-bond Black Muslim movement, Elijah Muhammad, the sect's leader, silenced him.

His mosque was taken away and he began brooding over assassination. When it came in the crowded lecture hall, two men identified by police as Black Muslims were among those accused of killing him.

Malcolm's 38 years are chronicled superbly in "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," written with Alex Haley. It says everything that needs saying about why a poverty-stricken but super-bright Negro turns to the bizarre Muslim creed.

But this story is more about what Malcolm left behind, and in terms of material things, he didn't leave behind much.

Unlike many of the Muslim leaders, he never made any money from the religion he served and recruited for during almost a decade. Friends have started a fund to help his wife, Betty, keep the family together. And in terms of doctrine and organizations, Malcolm's legacy is equally bare.

AT THE HOTEL THERESA in Harlem, the OAAU, headed by Malcolm's half-sister in Boston, Ella Collins, maintains a meeting room upstairs. On the door are signs saying it can be rented for $1.25 an hour as a rehearsal hall. If it has 150 dedicated members, that would surprise Negro leaders. The Muslim Mosque Inc., which Malcolm founded to unify American Muslims—real Muslims—has collapsed.

On West 116th Street, Muhammed Mosque Number Seven, where he had so often praised Elijah, is a charred shell, with a clutter of newspapers and beer cans inside its jammed front door.

When Malcolm was murdered, someone set it afire and on the Winter day I visited it, the building was silent as Malcolm's own dead lips.

In Harlem and elsewhere, I spoke with men who had known Malcolm. They explained why he remains a symbol for the beaten-down Negro in many cities, despite, even because of, his violent, sardonical anti-white tirades.

AT NAACP HEADQUARTERS in Harlem, executive secretary Eric C. Swaby, who knew him as "Big Red" before Malcolm turned from crime to the Black Muslims, spoke feelingly:

"It's not at all that he was just bright, but he was honest. He said what Negroes have been wanting to say for years, but didn't have the guts. What he left behind was a force: his personality."

Black Muslims generally keep apart from Civil Rights demonstrations, but Swaby told how Malcolm had gone to the rally in Foley Square for four little Negro girls killed in an Alabama Sunday school bombing.

"He was beginning to change. His diagnosis was always letter perfect, but his cure wasn't right." Swaby's intent face broke up into a smile:

"I wouldn't have been surprised if in another year I could have gotten a membership (in the NAACP) out of him."

Another Harlem friend of Malcolm was Dr. Josef Ben-Johanan, a leader of the African Nationalists in America Inc.—one of the fast-spreading black nationalist groups. The Ethiopia-born Ben-Johanan said:

"To the black woman, he represented the husband that she wanted, but perhaps does not have—a man who could speak up for his race in the face of oppression by the whites."

Malcolm made a pilgrimage to Mecca to embrace traditional Moslem beliefs, and when he returned, said Ben-Johanan, "he was a different man. Since he has died, you cannot feel strength in the Muslims."

ALEXANDER J. ALLEN, now East Coast head of the Urban League, agreed that Malcolm's analysis—or much of it—was sound, "but his solutions for me made no sense. I think black chauvinism is just as bad as white chauvinism."

The ferocity of the criticism from his erstwhile colleagues in the Black Muslim movement is itself evidence of the power of Malcolm's image. Elijah Muhammad writes in his book, "Message to the Black Man:"

"This chief hypocrite took a group with him to build a 'mosque in opposition' to me and filled it with all types of wickedness and disbelievers like himself."

The Muslim paper, "Muhammad Speaks," which ironically was set up by Malcolm, follows this same

line with a story: "Malcolm's Doom Decreed by God, Not the Messenger (Elijah Muhammad)." Elijah, in commenting on Malcolm's death, said:

"I didn't harm Malcolm . . . his foolish teaching brought him to his own end."

BUT MALCOLM GAVE as good as he got.

"Religious fakery" was his description of Elijah's teachings after he broke with his aging master. Malcolm's way was strong words. He expressed pleasure publicly when an air crash in Paris killed many of Atlanta's most prominent citizens, for example.

In Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, New York—wherever I spoke with Negro—and white—leaders I heard, at worst, grudging respect for him. His name is remembered, his organizations are defunct.

A top law enforcement man who followed the career of Malcolm from his years in prison said frankly: "He was mean and he was smart. I'd like to have just talked to him one time man to man."

Malcolm was often wrong. His belief that King James wrote Shakespeare seems silly. His breathless praise of Ghana's dictator, Nkrumah, who has done his share of hunting down Negroes, is embarrassing.

The Malcolm I remember rings through in his autobiography:

"I'm telling it like it is! You never have to worry about me biting my tongue if something I know as truth is on my mind. Raw, naked truth exchanged between the black man and the white man is what a whole lot more of is needed in this country."

X IN STATE in an 8th ave. funeral parlor.
AP Photo

FAITHFUL FEW parade in Lenox ave. on annivversary of Malcolm X assassination. AP Photo

MALCOLM'S WIDOW, Betty Shabaz, in mourning.
Journal-American Photo

ANGRY MALCOLM preaches at the peak of his p ower: 'Listen to me, white man!'

Journal-American Photo by Seymour Kan

MUSLIM WOMEN in nun-like garb paid adoring attention to Malcolm in Harlem.

AP Photo

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UPI-151
(KALCOLM X)
NEW YORK--TALMADGE HAYER, 24, TOOK THE WITNESS STAND AT HIS FIRST DEGREE MURDER TRIAL IN MANHATTAN CRIMINAL COURT MONDAY AND CONFESSED HIS PART IN THE ASSASSINATION OF BLACK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X.
"I JUST WANT THE TRUTH TO BE KNOWN THAT I TOOK PART IN WHAT HAPPENED AT THE AUDUBON BALLROOM...BUTLER AND JOHNSON HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THIS CRIME," HAYER SAID WHEN HE TOOK THE STAND TO TESTIFY AT 3:40 P.M. IN THE SEVEN-WEEK OLD MURDER TRIAL. HAYER ALONG WITH THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 30, AND NORMAN 3X BUTLER, 27, WERE ACCUSED OF THE FEB. 21, 1965 SLAYING.
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Defendant at Trial Admits Role in Malcolm X Slaying

A-8

NEW YORK (AP)—In a dramatic courtroom confession, Talmadge Hayer said yesterday he was one of the assassins of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

He declared that his co-defendants—Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson — "had nothing to do with it."

Hayer, 24, testified that he had three accomplices, but he refused to name them. He said the killers were hired. But he refused to say who hired them or why, or how much money was involved.

Hayer, who made his confession during the defense presentation, faced continued cross-examination today.

Hayer said no one involved in the murder was connected with the Black Muslims.

TALMADGE HAYER

First-Degree Charge

The prosecution contends that all three defendants were active members of the sect, of which Malcolm once was a top leader. He broke with the Muslims and founded his own black nationalist movement in 1964.

Hayer, Butler, 26, and Johnson, 30, all Negroes, are on trial in State Supreme Court on first-degree murder charges.

They are accused of shooting Malcolm as he addressed 400 followers in a Manhattan ballroom Feb. 21, 1965. The prosecution charges that Johnson fired a shotgun blast into Malcolm's chest and that Hayer and Butler pumped pistol bullets into him as he lay prone on the stage.

Swore Innocence Earlier

Asst. Dist. Atty. Vincent J. Dermody indicated in cross-examination of Hayer that he considered his surprise testimony was a desperate attempt to save his co-defendants. The prosecution has produced more evidence against Hayer than against Butler or Johnson.

Hayer, who swore on the witness stand last Wednesday that he was innocent, returned to the stand after an out-of-court conference with his co-defendants.

He told Justice Charles Marks and the jury that he wanted to "tell the truth."

Hayer — who had said first that he had four accomplices and then said later there were three — testified that he fired a .45-caliber automatic at Malcolm "about four times" after he had been felled by the shotgun blast.

Hayer said the man who fired the shotgun was a "husky, dark-skinned Negro who wore a beard." Johnson is light-skinned, slender and clean-shaven.

Marked for Death

Hayer had been recalled to the witness stand by Butler's lawyer, William C. Chance.

Malcolm, who was the minister of the Black Muslims' Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, said many times after his break with the Muslims that he was marked for death by the black supremacy cult. Leaders of the Muslims denied it.

Hayer, whose home was in Paterson, N.J., was wounded in the left thigh by one of Malcolm's bodyguards in the turmoil that followed the assassination in the Audubon Ballroom the prosecution says.

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Insists Another 3 Helped Slay X

The 22-year-old defendant who stunned a Supre me Court jury Monday with his confession of killing Black Nationalist leader Macolm X, stuck stubbornly to his story yesterday despite a scathing cross-examination.

Talmadge Hayer insisted that he and three other men killed Malcolm as he was about to speak in the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965, but maintained that his two co-defendants were not among the assassins.

Won't Name Anyone

Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody, the prosecutor, suggested that Hayer had been ordered to confess the crime in order to clear his accused accomplices, Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30.

But Hayer wouldn't budge from Monday's confession, insisting that he and the other thlee men were hired to commit the crime, but refusing to identify his accomplices.

"How much money were you offered?" Dermody asked Hayer.

"I will not say," was the defendant's calm reply.

Moving closer to the witness stand, Dermody demanded, "Was it for 12 pieces of silver?"

Hayer's counsel, Peter L. F. Sabbatino, stood up and asked, "Is that the amount in the Bible?"

"Yes, exactly what Judas got," Dermody shouted, bringing a scattering of applause from the spectators.

Hayer answered, "No, sir," to the question, after the lawyers haggled over the number of silver pieces paid for the Biblical assassination.

Judas received 30 pieces of silver to betray Christ to the authorities.

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Seeks to Clear 2 Other Defendants

A-1

Man on Trial for Malcolm X Murder Tells Court He Took Part in Crime

NEW YORK, Feb. 28 (AP) Talmadge Hayer dramatically confessed in open courtroom today that he participated in the assassination of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X. He then sought to exonerate two other men on trial with him for the murder.

Hayer, 24, who last Wednesday swore under oath that he was innocent, told Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks and a jury that he now wanted to "tell the truth."

Hayer said he "did take part" in the assassination with others, but refused to name his confederates.

Hayer said he had spoken with his two codefendants, Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, during a luncheon recess today. The trial is in its seventh week.

He told the court and jury: "I told Butler and Johnson I know they did not have anything to do with this crime—that I did take part in it and that I know they weren't there. I wanted to tell the jury and the court the truth."

Hayer was called as a witness by William C. Chance, Butler's attorney, after conferences among the judge and attorneys.

Chance asked Hayer, "Were you alone in this involvement?"

"No, sir," Hayer answered.

"Do you know the names of the others who took part in the killing?" Chance asked.

Hayer said he knew the men but he would not name them. "I just want to testify that Butler and Johnson had nothing to do with this," he added. "I was there, I know what happened and I know the people who were there."

Under cross-examination later, Hayer said he was hired to kill Malcolm X. But he denied the person who hired him was connected with the Black Muslims, as the state contends.

Malcolm was shot down before a crowd of 400 in the Audubon Ballroom Feb. 21, 1965, as he prepared to address a gathering of Black Nationalists.

He had formed the Black Nationalist movement after becoming disenchanted with the Black Muslims and breaking away from them. Before his death, the separatist leader had accused the Muslims of plotting against his life.

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Defendant in Malcolm Murder: Was Home Feeding the Baby

Robert 15X Johnson denied under oath yesterday that he had ever been in the Audobon Ballroom, where Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X was assassinated Feb. 21, 1965.

Johnson, 30, one of three men accused of the shotgun-and-pistol murder, took the witness stand in his own defense on the first anniversary of his arrest for the murder. The case is being heard by a jury of nine men and three women in the court of Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks.

He testified that he remained in his Bronx apartment, clad in pajamas, until evening on the Sunday when he is alleged to have fired a shotgun into Malcolm. He said he spent the day feeding his three children and doing housework while his pregnant wife rested.

When his wife, Etta X, testified Wednesday, she said a woman neighbor had brought the news of the assassination to her and her husband shortly after 3:30 p.m.

However, the neighbor, Muriel X Long, testified yesterday that she couldn't have arrived before 5 p.m. because she had worked in Manhattan until 4:30 p.m.

Johnson will continue under cross-examination today.

The other two defendants, Talmage Hayer, 24, and Norman 3X Butler, 27, already have testified in their own defense. Hayer later returned to the stand to admit he participated in the murder and deny that the other two were involved.

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Malcolm Trial Nearing Jury

Asst. Dist. AAty. Vincent J. Darmody sums up for the prosecution today in the first degree murder trial of three men accused of slaying Malcolm X on Feb. 21, 1965.

The Black Nationalist leader was shot to death at a rally in Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom.

One of the three defendants, Talmadge Hayer, 24, had confessed in open court that he shot at Malcolm X with a 45-caliber pistol, but Butler, 27, were innocent.

However, when the defense summed up yesterday in Supreme Court, Hayer's attorney, Peter L. F. Sabbatino, spent three hours telling the jury of nine men and three women that his client was not guilty.

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DEFENSE SUMS UP IN MALCOLM CASE

Lawyers for Accused Ask Disregard of Muslim Ties

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

Lawyers for Thomas 15X Johnson and Norman 3X Butler yesterday asked a Supreme Court jury not to convict the two defendants of the murder of Malcolm X merely because of their membership in the Black Muslims.

Both William C. Chance, who summed up for Butler, and Charles T. Beavers, who spoke for Johnson, said that the prosecution had tried to put the Muslims and their beliefs on trial.

Peter L. F. Sabbatino, counsel for Talmadge Hayer, who confessed his complicity in the murder from the witness stand on Feb. 28 and tried to absolve his co-defendants, asked the jury, in the course of an impassioned two and a half hour summation, to disregard the confession.

"There was no reason for this lad to do what he did except a high sense of Christian charity," Mr. Sabbatino declared.

"The theory of the people's case that the motive for killing Malcolm X was because he left the Black Muslim movement is totally absurd," said Mr. Chance during his hour and 40 minute address.

Cites Malcolm's Suspension

Striding in front of the jury box, the jacket and vest of his black suit unbuttoned, Mr. Chance declared that Malcolm had already been punished by suspension from his ministerial duties in the cult in December, 1963, assertedly for expressing pleasure at the assassination of President Kennedy.

When Malcolm broke with the Muslims the following March, the attorney went on, his deep voice rising to a shout, it was a step he took "of his own free will."

Mr. Chance asked the jury to "exclude" the testimony of Cary Thomas, a key prosecution witness, because he "suffered from an impaired mentality." As he spoke he waved a grey-jacketed records folder from the Bellevue Hospital psychiatric division, where Thomas, who followed Malcolm out of the Muslims, was treated for the delusion that he killed Christ.

Mr. Chance also sought to cast doubt on the credibility of other prosecution witnesses, noting their criminal records in some instances, or their advanced age, poor vision or assertedly defective memory.

Religious Charter

In closing, he asked the panel of nine men and three women, to remember that the Muslims were chartered as a religious organization in New York State and that its members were entitled to the same consideration as Protestants, Catholics or Jews.

Mr. Beavers accused the prosecution of attempting to prejudice the jury against the defendants by injecting the name of Cassius Clay, the heavyweight champion, into the trial. Johnson denied on cross-examination on Friday that he had ever acted as a bodyguard for Clay, who took the name Mohammad Ali when he became a member of the Muslims.

Speaking for Hayer, Mr. Sabbatino developed the theory that dissident members of the organization of Afro-American Unity, which Malcolm established after his break with the Muslims, were responsible for his murder.

"And the arch-boss of this conspiracy," said the grey-haired, 74-year-old lawyer, in a voice that rattled the windows of the court room, "was Reuben Francis."

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MALCOLM SLAYING CALLED A 'LESSON'

Prosecutor Charges Killing Was Intended as Warning

By THOMAS BUCKLEY

Malcolm X was publicly assassinated as "an object lesson" to his followers, Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody declared yesterday.

The prosecutor, summing up in the eight-week trial of the three men accused of the killing, did not, however, attempt to link the murder directly to the national leadership of the Black Muslims.

"We never said we'd prove that Elijah Muhammad ordered this death," he declared "I have been accused of putting the Black Muslims on trial. I submit this is not a fact.

However," he continued, I submit that these three defendants are members of the Black Muslims and that these three defendants caused his death."

Malcolm broke with the Muslims, whose best known spokesman he had become, in March, 1964, and set up the rival Organization of Afro-American Unity and Muslim Mosque, Inc.

From that time until he was riddled in a pistol-and-shot-gun attack while addressing a meeting of 400 persons at the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965, he often stated as a certainty that the Muslims would murder him.

Brazenness of Killing Noted

Mr. Dermody contrasted the "brazenness" of the killing with the stealth with which crime is usually carried out — "secretly, quietly, in the dead of night."

"Why was it done in this way?" he asked the Supreme Court jury. "There must have been some reason."

Then, facing the panel of nine men and three women, and underlining his statement with downward thrusts of his right hand, the prosecutor declared:

"Is it abusing your common sense to say that it was an object lesson to Malcolm's followers, telling them that this is what can happen and will happen?"

Mr. Dermody, a member of the District Attorney's office for 25 years and a specialist in murder trials, described Hayer's admission on the witness stand last Monday that he had indeed taken part in the killing but that his co-defendants were innocent as a "futile, desperate gesture."

"He knew he was going down, buried under a mountain of evidence, and he tried at the last moment to do the noble thing," the prosecutor stated, the final phrase ringing with sardonic emphasis.

"Somewhere along the line," he went on, "it was decided, by whom I cannot say, that he was a dead duck and that he should take the fall."

Mr. Dermody, who spoke for 4 hours and 20 minutes, reviewed the testimony of the 26 witnesses presented by the state and 19 who appeared for the defendants.

Hayer, he noted, had been captured outside the ballroom with a bullet, assertedly fired by one of Malcolm's body guards, in his left thigh. There could be no dispute that he had attended the meeting.

But as to his contention that he had never been a member of the Muslims or, for that matter, ever been in a Muslim mosque, Mr. Dermody asked the jury to study carefully photographs taken, according to testimony, at Mosque No. 25 in Newark, showing Hayer taking part in a karate demonstration.

As to the alibis of Butler and Johnson, who were arrested on Feb. 25 and March 3, that they spent the afternoon of the murder with their families in their Bronx apartments, Mr. Dermody said: "Somebody is lying."

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Malcolm ~~Trial~~ 'Don't Believe Confession'

By James W. Sullivan
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

On Monday, Feb. 28, Talmadge Hayer, 24, took the witness stand in Supreme Court to tell a jury of nine men and three women that he fired bullets from a .45 caliber pistol into Malcolm X last year in the Audubon Ballroom.

Yesterday, seven days later, Peter L. F. Sabbatino, Hayer's attorney, spent three hours telling the same jury that his client was not guilty.

"Stay in this jury room until hell freezes over, rather than convict this boy, no matter what he says," Mr. Sabbatino commanded the jury in the course of his summation.

Mr. Sabbatino maintained that Malcolm was the victim of a vast conspiracy, which included many of those present for the rally at which he was assassinated on Feb. 21, 1965.

Among those he charged as being involved in the conspiracy were Malcolm's security guards, several prosecution witnesses and a part-time reporter for Radio Station WABC, who was covering the rally.

He indicated that the weight of "rigged evidence" had persuaded his client to confess and to attempt to absolve his two co-defendants Norman 3X Butler, 27, and Thomas 15X Johnson, both lieutenants in the Black Muslims' Mosque No. 7, of which Malcolm was minister before he was suspended in 1963.

Both Charles T. Beavers, attorney for Johnson, and William C. Chance, attorney for Butler, pointed out "inconsistencies" in the evidence and urged the jury to disregard implications that the Black Muslims were responsible for Malcolm's assassination.

Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody will give the state's summation today.

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3 Convicted in Slaying of Malcolm X

NEW YORK (AP) — After deliberating more than 20 hours, a Supreme Court jury has convicted three men of first-degree murder in the assassination of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

Only five silent spectators were seated in the heavily guarded courtroom when George Carter, the Negro foreman, read the verdict at 12:20 a.m. today.

The case had gone to the jury of three white women and nine men, including three Negroes, on Wednesday afternoon after an eight-week trial.

-AP

Norman 3X Butler Thomas 15X Johnson Talmadge Hayer

Highlighting those proceedings was the dramatic court room confession of Talmadge Hayer, 24, one of the convicted men. Reversing earlier testimony in which he had sworn he was innocent, Hayer admitted taking part in the killing.

But Hayer, of Paterson, N.J., indicted under the name Thomas Hagan, sought to exonerate the other two defendants, Norman 3X Butler, 27, and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, both of the Bronx.

He said he had been hired with four other men to kill Malcolm, but he refused to name his confederates, saying, "I just want to testify that Butler and Johnson had nothing to do with this."

Justice Charles Marks set April 14 for sentencing the three men to mandatory life imprisonment.

Malcolm was felled in a hail of shotgun and pistol fire on Feb. 21, 1965, as he appeared before 400 of his followers in a Manhattan ballroom.

The onetime chief lieutenant of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, he had been suspended for saying the assassination of President Kennedy was an example of "chickens coming home to roost."

After leaving the sect, Malcolm, 39, stated publicly that he had been marked for death by the Black Muslims, but Muhammad and others of the group's leaders disclaimed any link to the slaying.

Both Butler and Johnson testified that they were lieutenants in the "Fruit of Islam," the Black Muslim elite guard. At the time of Malcolm's killing, they were both out on bail for allegedly shooting another Muslim defector.

Each testified he was home at the time of the shooting.

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3 Found Guilty in Malcolm X Murder; Face Maximum of Life Imprisonment

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From News Dispatches

NEW YORK, March 11 (Friday)—All three defendants in the Malcolm X murder trial were convicted of murder in the first degree early today.

The verdict was returned at 12:30 a.m. by the panel of three white women and nine men, three of them Negroes.

Convicted were Talmadge Hayer, 24, also known as Thomas Hagan, of Paterson, N.J.; Norman 3X Butler, 27, of the Bronx; and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of the Bronx.

The jury received the case Wednesday afternoon at the end of an eight-week trial.

The verdict came some 14 hours after the jury had begun its second day of deliberations.

All three face a maximum sentence of life imprisonment. Judge Charles Marks set April 14 for sentencing.

The three were charged with acting in concert to execute Malcolm X, who bolted the Black Muslim sect to lead his own following of black nationalists.

Johnson and Butler are avowed Muslims but testified they were at home with their families on Feb. 21, 1965, when Malcolm X was gunned down in Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom. Hayer, in a surprise move in the eighth week of the nine-week trial, took the witness stand and said he and two other unidentified men were hired to assassinate Malcolm by persons he refused to name. He denied that either Johnson or Butler was a co-conspirator. A number of witnesses testified that all three were in the ballroom when Malcolm X was slain.

All three defendants sat impassively while the verdict was read by the jury foreman, George S. Carter.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald A-1
The Washington Daily News
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New York Daily News
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The New York Times
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100-399321-A

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UPI-103
(MUSLIMS)
NEW YORK--THREE REPUTED MEMBERS OF THE RACIST BLACK MUSLIM SECT WERE SENTENCED TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT TODAY FOR THE SLAYING OF BREAKAWAY BLECK NATIONALIST LEADER MALCOLM X.
JUSTICE CHARLES MARKS HANDED DOWN THE MANDATORY LIFE SENTENCES FOLLOWING AN EIGHT-WEEK TRIAL. NEW YORK STATE LAW WOULD NOT PERMIT THE DEATH SENTENCE IN THE CASE.
THE THREE, TALMADGE HAYER, 24, OF PATERSON, N.J., AND NOR AN 3X BUTLER, 26, AND THOMAS 15X JOHNSON, 30, BOTH OF THE BRONX, WERE CONVICTED OF FIRST DEGREE MURDER MARCH 11.
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Malcolm K. Little file 100-399321

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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Malcolm X Slayers Get Life; Court Is Barricaded

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By NORMA ABRAMS

In a heavily guarded, barricaded, 11th-floor courtroom of the Criminal Courts Building, the three assassins of Malcolm X impassively heard themselves mandatorily sentenced to life imprisonment yesterday for the slaying of the fiery Black Nationalist

Malcolm's widow, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, slipped into a rear seat of the spectators' benches as Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks passed sentence on Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of 932 Bronx Park South, Bronx.

Widow Smiles—No Comment

She arrived too late to hear sentence pronounced on the other two—Talmadge Hayer, 24, of 347 Marshall St., Paterson, N.J., and Norman 3X Butler, 27, of 661 Rosedale Ave., Bronx.

Mrs. Shabazz left hurriedly afterward, and with a smile, told a reporter, "I have no comment." Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Hayer were present when their husbands were sentenced, but showed no emotion.

The three were convicted of first degree murder March 11 after an eight-week trial. All spectators were searched before being admitted to the courtroom for the trial, a procedure which was repeated for the sentencing.

The prosecution charged that Johnson cut down Malcolm with two blasts from a double-barreled shotgun as the 39-year-old secessionist from the Black Muslim movement addressed 400 followers in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, on Feb. 21, 1965.

Open Fire with Pistols

Hayer and Butler then pumped pistol slugs into Malcolm as he slumped to the floor.

During the trial, Hayer, who at first swore he was blameless, returned to the witness stand and admitted his part in the killing but sought to exonerate Johnson and Butler.

The three could be eligible for parole after serving 26 years and eight months.

Justice Charles Marks
Sends killers to prison

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Malcolm K. LITTLE

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176 APR 19 1966

The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
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The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date

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3 GET LIFE TERMS IN MALCOLM CASE

Sentenced for 1965 Murder of Black Nationalist

By JACK ROTH

In a heavily guarded, locked courtroom that was opened only to permit the widow of Malcolm X to enter, the three men convicted of killing the black nationalist leader were sentenced to life in prison yesterday.

The terms were imposed on Talmadge Hayer, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson, all Negroes, by Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks. All were identified at their trial as Black Muslims.

Under the law a life sentence is tantamount to a sentence of 40 years to life, which means the defendants will become eligible for parole after serving 26 years and 8 months.

A jury of nine men and three women deliberated for more than 20 hours last month before finding each defendant guilty of first-degree murder.

The trial took a startling turn when Hayer, on the witness stand, changed his earlier testimony and admitted he had taken part in the killing. But he asserted that his co-defendants were innocent.

Broke With Black Muslims

Malcolm was shot to death Feb. 21, 1965, in the Audubon Ballroom at 166th Street and Broadway, as he addressed a rally of 400 persons. A former supporter of Elijah Muhammad, the black Muslim leader, he was slain about a year after breaking with the Muslim movement to set up his own group, known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Court attendants and police personnel, including policewomen, searched spectators who entered the courtroom before the sentencing calendar was called. The courtroom was locked when the sentencing of Hayer was begun. Mrs. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, was searched and sat in a back row of the court to hear the sentencing.

Hayer, 24 years old, of 347 Marshall Street, Paterson, N. J., wore a dark suit and stood next to his lawyer, Peter Sabbatino. Four court attendants surrounded Hayer.

Mr. Sabbatino told Justice Marks that "the solution here will not be supported by history."

He then asked for an adjournment of the sentencing, saying his client was in pain as a result of a bullet wound he suffered while trying to escape from the ballroom after the killing. Justice Marks denied the motion.

The life sentence brought no sign of emotion to Hayer's face.

Others Receive Their Terms

The next to be sentenced was Butler, 27, of 661 Rosedale Avenue, the Bronx. He was represented by William C. Chance Jr., who also vainly sought an adjournment.

Johnson, 30, of 330 Bronx Park South, the Bronx, was represented by Joseph Pinckney, who told the court that he had intended to ask for an adjournment, but had been asked by his client not to do so.

Mrs. Shabazz declined to comment as she left the court. When she was a witness at the trial, she said, as she passed the three defendants: "They killed my husband. They had no right to kill my husband."

The prosecution was conducted by assistant district attorneys Vincent J. Dermody and Gerald J. Ryan. Mr. Dermody recently was promoted to head the homicide bureau in Manhattan District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's office.

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NOT RECORDED
176 APR 21 1966

The Washington Post and Times Herald
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The Murder of Malcolm X:

COVERING UP THE CRIME

b7c

By MRS. ELLA COLLINS

NY

There has been no mention in the press of additional indictments of the other men involved in the assassination of Malcolm X.

Are we to believe that the conviction of the three killers is the conclusion of the trial? Are we expected to accept this as a final verdict?

As I wrote earlier, during my investigation reliable, responsible and competent people who witnessed the assassination, today remember, as they did immediately after the assassination, seeing five or six men firing guns either at Malcolm X or overhead, and two others causing disturbance to distract.

KILLERS STILL LOOSE

In accordance with the law, each man participating in assassination is equally guilty. Of a total of eight or more men (including the one who set off the fire bomb in the rear of the Audabon Ballroom), just three have been brought to justice.

Now I ask the Black people of this land: Do we fall asleep and let this investigation end? Is this what the power structure intended? Historically, we have done nothing to bring to justice killers of great Black men. Why do we rely on others to do our work?

I was informed, during my investigation, that many of Malcolm's top security men had warned witnesses who saw the assassination from close range to keep quiet and say nothing when they were questioned by the District Attorney.

PERJURING WITNESSES

Why would these so-called "protectors" of Malcolm X hold evidence and warn others to hold evidence that would aid the D.A. in building the state case, in apprehending more of the killers and in bringing them to justice?

Members of Malcolm's security gave testimony in court favorable to the defense—they did not appear as "hostile witnesses." Some who testified for the state had previously informed me of opposite information to what they gave on the witness stand.

Many witnesses who could have identified the persons involved were not even called to testify. A woman told me that she sat beside one of the killers and had raised her hand to knock away

Officers of OOAU:
Wilma Belfou, Bonsu Nekau

his gun. The killer's expression warned her that she herself was in danger. NY

When I asked if any of the three indicted men was the one she had seen, her answer was no. She had also seen the three men who had finally been tried for the killing, but none was the one that sat beside her.

This man had ran to the stage and fired point-blank at Malcolm as he was falling.

In addition, two other killers (wearing turtleneck sweaters pulled up over their mouths) who were small in stature, were shooting at Malcolm and overhead.

She had seen a total of six men taking an active part in the murder.

A man was shot in the stomach during the assassination and refused medical aid. Who was he? Who finally treated his wounds? Not a word about him was mentioned during the trial. Another man was shot in the foot. He too was not mentioned at the trial.

Many of these relevant facts were given to the District Attorney by those present at the Ballroom that Sunday. They were not brought out in the open at the trial—was it because they would open doors for additional indictments?

At other rallies held at the Audubon Ballroom there were 40 to 60 policemen present—in the back of the room, in adjoining rooms, in the outer hall, in front of the building and in squad cars.

On the day of the assassination, there was only one policeman to be seen—outside the building. According to witnesses, it took 15 to 20 minutes for the police to arrive after the killing. Why?

We must remember that just a week earlier, Malcolm's home was bombed. If the police found it necessary to protect this great man on previous occasions—when nothing happened—why was it found unnecessary to protect him after his home had been bombed?

The stage was vacant that day, the cops no where to be seen. Security men stood by and did nothing—and none were called to testify at the trial. All this indicates that many people were aware of the planned assassination.

Since that cold, awful day, many of Malcolm's security men have left the country. Others have hidden out. Many of us know who they are—including the District Attorney.

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Williams to Handle 3 Muslims' Appeal In Malcolm Killing

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7(UPI — Edward Bennett Williams, considered one of the best constitutional lawyers in the country, said today his firm has been retained to appeal the convictions of three Black Muslims accused of killing Malcolm X.

Malcolm was shot down Feb. 21, 1965, as he began to address a gathering of his breakaway Black nationalist organization at the Audubon Ballroom in Upper Manhattan.

Following an eight-week trial, Talmadge Hayer, 24 years old, of Patterson, N.J., and Norman 3X Butler, 26, and Thomas 155X Johnson, 30, both of the Bronx, were sentenced to live imprisonment.

Williams said his firm had been retained by "friends and those closely related to the accused men." He said the Appellate Division of New York Supreme Court has been advised of the appeal.

Role Denied by Black Muslims

Spokesmen for the Black Muslims have consistently denied any participation in the killing. They also denied having had anything to do with the subsequent trial anf refused to discuss the three defendants' Black Muslim spokesmen in New York and Chicago, where the group's headquarters is situated, declined comment on yesterday's development.

Sources close to the group have speculated, however, that the Black Muslims are meeting the expenses of the court cases.

The three men were convicted and sentenced last April and would become eligible for parole after they had served 26 years eight months. All had pleaded innocent.

During the trial, Hayer changed earlier testimony by saying he had taken part in the killing. He testified that his two co-defendants were innocent.

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
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The Baltimore Sun
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The National Observer
People's World

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FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

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Crowd Battles Police 2 Hours

A South Side meeting of some 250 persons in memory of Malcolm X, slain Black Nationalist leader, flared into a two-hour, sporadic struggle with policemen Sunday.

Violence erupted, the police said, with the appearance of two white women on the scene. The crowd also was angered by the failure of an attempt to erect a new sign renaming Washington Park as Malcolm X Shabazz Park.

Thirty - eight participants were arrested. Eleven persons, including four policemen, were treated for minor injuries. Molotov cocktails, rocks and d[illegible] were hurled during the encounters.

Extra Police Sent

Some 125 extra policemen were sent to the scene as a meeting, which began in a forum of Washington Park, degenerated into angry shouting.

Rocks tore through windshields of autos passing by and windows in several police cars were shattered.

Policemen formed a chain with locked arms at one point of the struggle. Demonstrators left the park and assembled in front of the Wabash Av. Police Station, shouting epithets.

Crowd Chased Back

Policemen with night sticks chased the ~~crowd~~ back into the park and fired shotguns into the air several times.

The crowd assembled at 1 p.m. at a park forum at 53d and South Park. There were speeches and drum playing. Many of the crowd wore colorful fezzes, arm bands and buttons bearing the words "Black Power."

The meeting was held by various groups, none of them officially designated nor later identified.

Plainclothes policemen Otis Harris and Carl Ford, of the Wabash Av. Station, said they had been told last week that an attempt would be made during the rally to tear down the Washington Park sign at 51st and South Park, and replace it with a "Malcolm X Shabazz Park" sign.

The crowd never got the sign up. It was confiscated by policemen.

The disruption of the meeting came with the appearance of two white women who parked their car nearby. Their names were not learned.

'We Don't Want Them'

Officers Harris and Ford said the women joined the crowd. Then someone shouted:

"There's whites among us." Other voices cried, "That's white and we don't want them here." The crowd was made up of a number of youths, both male and female.

Two or three Negro girls set upon the whites, the two Negro plainclothesmen said. "They were joined by about 15 Negro women who pushed and mauled them," the officers said. "We pulled our stars and told them we were police. We ordered them to get back to the meeting."

The policemen then drew their guns. Ford escorted the two white women to their auto and directed them to leave. They did.

Then the crowd began moving from the speaking area to 51st and South Park. About

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CHICAGO SUN TIME.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-22-67
Edition: FOUR STAR FINAL
Author:
Editor: EMMETT DEDMON
Title: RALLY TO HONOR MALCOLM X SPONSORED BY C.C.R.P. WASHINGTON PARK, CHICAGO, ILL.
Character: 157-1465
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

☐ Being Investigated

UNDER INVESTIGATION

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30 uniformed policemen then were on hand.

Police Reinforced

Minutes later, they were reinforced; the policemen then numbered about 125.

They pursued the crowd, moving in a wide arc of some 500 yards, back into the park.

Soon, the crowd assembled at the Wabash Av. Station, ostensibly, the police said, to try to free a number of participants who were being questioned inside.

The crowd totaled some 200. They chanted and shouted insults at the policemen before being dispersed.

Three Molotov cocktails were hurled into 48th St. They landed harmlessly although they were ignited.

Bottles and stones also were thrown at policemen.

Inside the station, demonstrators refused to stand for photographs and would not discuss the incident with newsmen.

Police Lt. Robert Harness, commander of the 2d District, praised his men. "They kept their heads, and withstood a lot of baiting and pressure," he commented.

The area was cleared by 6:45 p.m., and by midnight the Wabash Av. station had its normal complement of men on duty.

A 13-year-old girl said she was told by some of the group to put up a sign renaming the park. She wore a button with a picture of Malcolm X.

The girl complained that as she attempted to post the sign "a policeman hit me in the head."

The police said they had planned to remove the sign because no permit had been issued for its erection on public property.

The Wabash Av. District policemen treated for minor injuries at Provident Hospital were:

Daniel Moran, face cut from thrown brick; Louis Shelley, bruised arm; James Breckenridge, hand bite, and Marvin Phaar, sprained or fractured wrist.

The 31 adults and seven juveniles were arrested on charges ranging from mob action and interfering with police to disorderly conduct. Some were charged additionally with aggravated battery and damage to police property.

Three of the juveniles were arrested during a television filming of arresting police at the station.

2

Confiscated and taken to Wabash Av. Police Station is sign erected by rioters to replace the Washington Park one near scene of rally. (Sun-Times Photo by Jack Lenahan)

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

30 ARRESTED DURING MALCOLM X TRIBUTE

10 Hurt at Black Nationalist Rally

A black nationalist meeting in Washington park's free speech area erupted in violence yesterday after two white women joined the crowd of 250 persons honoring Malcolm X, the slain Negro leader.

In the melee that followed, 30 persons were arrested, 10 others—including 3 policemen—were injured, and the Wabash avenue police station was beseiged for more than an hour.

At the meeting, sponsored by the Afro-American Student association, a sign bearing the name of the park was ripped down and the group tried to replace it with a sign reading "Malcolm X Shabazz Park."

Angers Negro Women

The two white women, who were rescued by Negro undercover policemen, fled the scene and remained unidentified.

Their arrival in the park angered some Negro women, who seized them and began shouting "Black power" and "Whitey's here." Policemen Otis Harris and Carl Ford intervened and led the two white women away.

Then, someone tore down the park sign, and several arrests were made after police reinforcements arrived.

The crowd marched on the police station, a few blocks away at 48th street and Wabash avenue, to protect the arrests. Rocks and bottles were thrown and police said at least four molotov cocktails were exploded.

Tip Over Police Car

Comdr. Robert Harness addressed the crowd thru a bullborn in an effort to get them to disperse. Hundreds of policemen were called in from several south side districts to handle the crowd.

The mob tipped over a police car a block south of the station and smashed its windows.

CTA officials rerouted buses around the scene of the disorder.

Among those addressing the meeting in the park were Lawrence Landry, who led the massive 1963 school boycott; Oscar Brown Jr., the entertainer; and Robert Lucas, chairman of the Chicago chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, who led last summer's open housing march into Cicero.

Police charged all those arrested with mob action, disorderly conduct, and resisting arrest. They will appear today before Magistrate Maurice Lee in Jury court.

The disturbance yesterday came at approximately the same time as police in several parts of California were trying to put down racial, religious, and political violence.

Closed by Council

In Vallejo, Cal., about 40 miles northeast of San Francisco, all 70 members of the police force and a dozen highway patrolmen were called out to quell a disturbance at the Floyd Terrace housing project, which has been ordered closed by the city council.

In San Francisco, violence broke out between Jews and Arabs in Golden Gate park.

Police said about 100 Arab students picketed a gathering of about 1,500 persons marking Israel Freedom day. The Arab group marched toward the bandstand and began heckling the speaker, according to police.

In Los Angeles, 26-year-old Michael Laski, leader of a small communist splinter group which calls itself the Communist Party U. S. A., Marxist-Leninist, was arrested at an outdoor anti-Viet Nam protest rally on a charge of using sound equipment on Sunday without a police permit.

In San Diego, 34 Negroes and 4 whites were arrested after a riot at a rock 'n' roll show in the downtown Community Concourse auditorium.

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CHICAGO AMERICAN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-22-67
Edition: 3 STAR FINAL
Author:
Editor: LLOYD WENDT
Title: RALLY TO HONOR MALCOLM X SPONSORED B C.C.B.P. WASHINGTON PARK- CGO, ILL
Character: or 157-1465
Classification:
Submitting Office: CHICAGO
☐ Being Investigated

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UNDER INVESTIGATION

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SECTION OF WASHINGTON park, near Provident hospital, has been proclaimed Malcolm X Shabazz park, according to sign. Gathering of Black Nationalists to honor their slain leader turned into a riot.

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

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Wabash Av. Station Guarded After 38 Arrests in Park

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By Edmund J. Rooney

Extra police squads guarded the Wabash Av. police station and patrolled nearby streets Monday as the result of a disturbance led by "Black Power" advocates.

Four juveniles and 34 adults were arrested after the melee Sunday in Washington Park. Three policemen and four other persons were slightly injured.

Police Comdr. Robert Harness blamed the disturbance on "high emotionalism" by persons attending a meeting to dedicate the park to Malcolm X. slain Black Nationalist.

"The trouble began when two unidentified white girls sought to attend the meeting and their presence was objected to by many colored women," Harness said.

TWO NEGRO undercover detectives, Otis Harris and Carl Ford, were credited with rescuing the white girls from the angry crowd.

"Harris and Ford pulled their guns and risked severe personal injury to allow the white girls to get to their car and drive out of the park," Harness said.

More than 150 uniformed police, wearing riot helmets and carrying shotguns, rushed into the park and nearby streets.

A CROWD of more than 200 persons quickly arrived at the Wabash Av. station, 48th St. and S. Wabash, to protest the arrest of 12 persons at the park. The crowd ignored a plea by Harness to disperse and tossed rocks, bricks and Molotov cocktails.

The three Wabash Av. District policemen treated for minor injuries at Provident Hospital were Daniel Moran, face cuts from a thrown brick; Leon Shelley, bruised arm, and James Breckenridge, hand bite.

The 34 adults who were arrested will appear May 31 in Boys Court on charges ranging from mob action and interfering with police to disorderly conduct. Some were charged additionally with aggravated battery and damage to police property.

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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 5-22-67
Edition: RED DART
Author: EDMUND J. ROONEY
Editor: ROY M. FISHER
Title: RALLY TO HONOR MALCOM X SPONSORED BY C.C WASHINGTON PARK, CHICAGO, ILL.
Character:
or
Classification: 157-1465
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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The Story of Malcolm X on Screen

51

HOLLYWOOD (UPI) — Darryl Zanuck, head of 20th Century-Fox Studios production, said today he is activating a film based on the life of the late black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

Mr. Zanuck has hired author-television personality Louis Lomax to write a dramatic screen treatment of his book "When the Word is Given," a biography of Malcolm X.

Mr. Zanuck currently is searching for a producer, director and star for the drama which is scheduled to begin filming next spring.

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Around the Nation

A-5

Draftee Undrafted

OBERLIN, OHIO—Oberlin College's President, Dr. Robert K. Carr, said yesterday that the Selective Service System has assured him that a delinquency notice given an Oberlin student who demonstrated against the war in Vietnam will be withdrawn.

John D. Love, 21, a junior, became subject to immediate draft by the notice as a result of his part in a demonstration last Oct. 26 against Navy recruiters.

Dr. Carr said the General Faculty Council had approved a proposal for temporary revocation of the school's policy of making facilities available to military recruiters.

School "Hate"

NEW YORK—Alfred A. Giardino, president of the Board of Education, has directed Superintendent of Schools Bernard E. Donovan to "establish clear control" of Intermediate School 201 in East Harlem and to end "incitements to hate" there.

He said he and other board members were shocked that an antiwhite program was held Wednesday in the school auditorium. It had been billed as a memorial to the third anniversary of the assassination of black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

The City Commission on Human Rights also announced plans to hold hearings on reports of racism in public schools.

Hijacker Probed

MIAMI—The United States Government probed through Swiss diplomatic channels yesterday to learn whether Lawrence Mahlon Rhodes Jr. would get sanctuary in Cuba or be returned to face Federal piracy and kidnaping charges for hijacking a jet airline and forcing the pilot to take him to Cuba.

The State Department asked the Swiss Embassy to determine whether the Fidel Castro government had granted political asylum to Rhodes, the son of a West Virginia coal miner. Hijacking an aircraft in flight is a death penalty offense under Federal law.

Associated Press

BERNARD E. DONOVAN
... to combat hate

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The Washington Post
Times Herald A-5
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TWO STUDIOS PLAN MALCOLM X FILMS

James Baldwin and Louis Lomax Writing Scripts

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By VINCENT CANBY

Hollywood apparently regards Malcolm X as a hot box-office property. Two motion-picture companies are rushing plans for major films based on the life of the black nationalist leader, born Malcolm Little, who was assassinated here Feb. 21, 1965.

Columbia Pictures, which owns the rights to "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," hopes to begin production in the fall with a script now being written by James Baldwin. Sidney Poitier has been mentioned as the possible star, although all parties connected with the project refuse to comment.

At the same time, 20th Century-Fox is planning to start production late this summer on "Malcolm X," based on an original screenplay being written by Louis Lomax, a newspaperman and television commentator.

The possibility that two films about Malcolm X might be ready for release at about the same time does not seem to be deterring either company.

'Hot' Summer Feared

An executive at Fox said Thursday that "the only thing that would persuade us not to go ahead would be our inability to come up with a good script." A Columbia official said simply that "the project is fraught with peril," but this, apparently, was in reference to what might happen to the project should the warnings of violent racial unrest materialize this summer.

The two companies have, however, been sparring rather discreetly over their rival films. Last week an arbitration committee of the Motion Picture Association of America's title registration bureau gave Columbia the right to use the title, "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," for its film although Fox had earlier registered its intention to make a film called "Malcolm X."

The title registration bureau has no legal authority, but the film association's member companies, in an attempt to forestall the use of similar and duplicate film titles (and, indirectly, film stories), register titles with the bureau and receive priority on their use.

The Fox spokesman suggested that the reason that Columbia was given the right to use its title, even though it was registered after Fox's, was because "The Autobiography of Malcolm X" belongs to a copyrighted work. That book, written in collaboration with Alex Haley, was published by Grove Press in October, 1965.

Reached Thursday in Hollywood, Marvin Worth, who will produce "The Autobiography" for Columbia, had another explanation: "I have just one thing to say. I submitted ['The Autobiography of Malcolm X'] to Fox before submitting it to Columbia."

David Brown, a Fox vice president and the director of story operations, confirmed this, but said that at that time Fox already was working on its own original treatment of the Malcom X story "although that was not conveyed to Mr. Worth at the time."

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, is cooperating with Mr. Baldwin on the preparation of the Columbia screenplay and has given the film company the exclusive right to portray her in the forthcoming film.

Although Columbia executives would not disclose how much had been paid for "The Autobiography," they said that Mrs. Shabazz and her children would also receive part of the film's net profits, which will be paid into a trust fund.

Officials at Fox were reluctant to disclose the scope of the Malcolm X screenplay being written by Mr. Lomax, as well as the names of those persons associated with the black nationalist from whom they have received legal releases. Paul Monash will produce the Fox film, which, it is expected, will be made without well-known players.

"The Autobiography of Malcolm X" covers his life from his boyhood in Michigan, through his Harlem hoodlum days and his conversion to Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, to his break with Muhammad and his trips to Mecca.

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BLACK MUSLIMS LOSE ON MURDER APPEAL

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Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, April 16—The Court of Appeals rejected Wednesday an appeal of three Black Muslims sentenced to life in prison for the murder of Malcolm X, leader of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

In a unanimous opinion, the state's highest court ruled there was no reversible error in the first-degree murder conviction of Thomas Hagan, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson.

The appeal asked the reversal of the conviction because the press and public were barred from the courtroom during the testimony of two witnesses. This act, the three claimed, denied them their constitutional right to a public trial.

That contention was rejected, said Associate Judge Francis Bergan, who wrote the opinion, because:

"In the balancing of policy and of interests if, for a good reason related directly to the management of the trial, the judge closes the court room as to the testimony of a witness and otherwise keeps it open to the press and public, a defendant is not necessarily deprived of a 'public' trial."

The judge had closed the court when the attorney for one witness said the life of his witness had been threatened and he feared for his life if he testified. Related testimony by an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was also taken in private.

Malcolm X was murdered Feb. 21, 1965, while addressing an audience in the Audubon Ballroom in New York City.

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Court Upholds Convictions in Malcolm X Slaying

ALBANY, N.Y. (UPI) — The Court of Appeals today upheld the conviction of three Black Muslims for the slaying of Malcolm X, who was shot while preparing to address some 400 followers in a Manhattan ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965.

In a unanimous opinion, the court held that "the proof that the defendants participated in the assassination of Malcolm X is abundant."

The defendants, Thomas Hayer, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas Johnson, all of New York and all Black Muslims, had contended that exclusion of the news media and the public from the courtroom during a small segment of the trial had deprived them of their rights to public trial.

The opinion, written by Associate Judge Francis Bergen, cited several cases where the press and public had been excluded from the trial and which did not infringe on the defendants' rights.

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The Wall Street Journal
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People's World
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The Sister of Malcolm X Leads 300 in a Pilgrimage to His Grave

By HOMER BIGART
Special to The New York Times

HARTSDALE, N.Y., May 19—The sister of Malcolm X led a pilgrimage of 300 today to the grave of the slain black militant in Ferncliff Cemetery here where she said that her brother would have "prevented" black riots had he lived.

The birthday of Malcolm X, who was shot by a band of black assassins in Harlem in 1965, was also marked by the closing of eight junior high and elementary schools inthe Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, and by memorial programs in other predominantly black schools throughout the city.

At the graveside, marked by a metal plaque, Malcolm X's sister, Mrs. Ella Collins, exhorted the crowd: "Learn to stand up like men and defend yourselves."

Eight blacks, robed in white and wearing white turbans, stood guard while two men clad in funereal black unrolled the red, black and green flag of the Republic of New Africa over the grave. A symbolic vacant chair, draped in the African colors and displaying a photo of Malcolm X, was placed beside the grave. An imam chanted prayers in Arabic.

'Don't Let Him Down'

"He's been dead five years: don't let him down," said Mrs. Collins. "The way you don't let him down is to develop yourselves.

"Improve your raggedy minds. Stop sleeping all day. Stop trucking and jiving. Stop being boys. You want my opinion? You're still boys. Learn to do something positive for a change. Don't let him die in vain."

Mark Holden, a young man representing the Black Panthers, read an editorial from the current issue of the Black Panther newspaper saying Malcolm X had "set the stage" for the Black Panthers' "era of the gun."

"History has shown us," Mr. Holden read, "that for the black liberation struggle, it's definitely time to 'get guns and be men.'"

Mrs. Collins called on all black males present to salute the flag, which had been removed from the grave. The men queued up and marched past the flag, each touching it with his right hand.

"I believe riots would not be a major factor if he [Malcolm X] were alive today," said Mrs. Collins after the ceremony had ended. "He would have prevented riots. He would have revealed the truth to them to something positive."

Mrs. Collins defended the Black Panthers against charges of violence.

"Would you call Panthers violent when you know Nixon would give them a gun and send them overseas to kill people?" she asked. "I can't remember the Black Panthers doing anything that would measure up to dropping bombs on homes in Vietnam.

The New York Times (by Don Hogan Charles)

Followers of the slain black militant leader Malcolm X drape his grave with the flag of Black Liberation movement

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The Sun (Baltimore)
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