FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS

Subject: Malcolm X. Little

File Number: NY 105-8999

Section: 79

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

SECTION 79

SERIALS 5830-5910

(February 1965)

191 Pages

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105-8999-5893	HQ 100-399321-NR after 268
105-8999-5898	HQ 100-399321-277
105-8999-5905	NY 105-8999-5899
105-8999-5908, 5909	HQ 100-399321-276

FD-350 (Rev. 7-18-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

HUNT FOR KILLERS IN MALCOLM CASE 'ON RIGHT TRACK'

Police Express Confidence as They Query Witnesses —3 to 5 Men Sought

THOUSANDS VIEW COFFIN

Funeral for Negro Leader Set for Saturday—More Bomb Threats Spiked

By PETER KIHSS

The police asserted yesterday that they were "on the right track" in the hunt for the Negro killers of Malcolm X, militant black nationalist leader.

Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle, in charge of Manhattan North detectives, said witnesses were being shown photographs, which he would not otherwise identify.

One man, Thomas Hagan, also known as Hayer, was arrested immediately after the murder Sunday, but three to five men are believed to have been involved.

While the police effort went on, 5,000 persons, overwhelmingly Negroes, visited the Harlem funeral home where Malcolm's body was on public display. Two thousand visitors filed past the open coffin during the first four hours Tuesday night.

Saturday Funeral Set

A funeral service for the 39-year-old founder of his own Muslim sect was announced for 9:30 A.M. Saturday. It will be held at Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, 1763 Amsterdam Avenue at West 147th Street, whose two floors can hold nearly 3,000 persons.

Both the church and the funeral home were targets of unfounded bomb threats during the day. In Chicago, Saturn Airlines announced it had canceled a charter flight that was to have brought 150 Black Muslims, members of the movement from which Malcolm had split, to their national convention tomorrow because of what Ronald Grillman, regional manager, said was fear of bombing.

Meanwhile a survey of various investigators indicated that Malcolm's own Organization of Afro-American Unity had remained small and had apparently been fading even more than the segregationist parent group.

Hate Drive Feared

But there was concern that his assassination might build him up as a symbol. Chinese Communist propagandists were already seeking to invoke him for a hate campaign, such as followed the murder of Congo Premier Patrice Lumumba.

While his own group withheld data, responsible outside quarters estimated Malcolm's movement had perhaps only 40 "hard core" or "full-fledged" members and 200 more "hangers-on." This was a decline from an estimated total of 400 members at its start in March, 1964, when Malcolm's first public black nationalist meeting drew 1,000 spectators for his call for Negro "ballots — or bullets."

The Black Muslims — Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam — have fallen off to 7,000 members in the country, according

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

1 NEW YORK TIMES

FILE STRIPPED BY [redacted] ON 10/23/67

Date: 2/25/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: PETER KIHSS
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

(X) Being Investigated

NO-3999-5970

INDEXED ....
SERIALIZED ....
43 FEB [redacted]
FBI—NEW YORK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/10/84 BY 8069 JHE/WEB/dd

to Aubrey Barnette, former secretary of their Boston mosque's male group. Mr. Barnette estimated their national peak at 15,000 in 1961. This contrasts with a claim made by Malcolm that he had built up the Black Muslims from 400 in 1949 to 40,000.

Negro civil rights leaders contend propaganda has inflated the impact of both Muslim groups. They note that a Louis Harris poll in the Feb. 15 Newsweek magazine had found Negroes nationally "reject the racist counsels of the Muslims," with only 5 per cent in their favor.

This survey said 94 per cent upheld "the marching militants like Martin Luther King" and 70 per cent the Congress of Racial Equality. What the poll called "Establishment organizations," like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, drew 92 per cent support. Urban League backing was put at 60 per cent.

A New York Times questionnaire among New York Negroes last July found only 6 per cent naming Malcolm X as "doing the best for Negroes" in a listing of Negro leaders. Dr. King, heading his Southern Christian Leadership Conference, polled 73 per cent of the support and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., 22 per cent.

Rustin Pays Respects

Nevertheless Bayard Rustin, a key organizer of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington said after viewing the bier at the Unity Funeral Home, 2352 Eighth Avenue at West 126th Street, that Malcolm had "caused many young Negroes to take a new vision of themselves."

Eight ministers of the Harlem-Upper Manhattan Church Association of 251 Protestant churches announced creation of an "Educational Fund for the Children of Malcolm X" with a $125 initial contribution in an account at the Freedom National Bank, 271 West 125th Street.

Their president, the Rev. W. Sterling Cary, said that "Malcolm X restored manhood to the Negro and taught him how to defend himself," even though the ministers might have differed with him over how to attain civil rights.

In an interview in Garden City, L. I., James Farmer, national director of CORE, said that he did not believe the Black Muslims were involved in Malcolm's murder or that Malcolm's followers had wrecked the rival group's mosque in a fire early Tuesday.

Underworld Motive Been

He said that the murdered man had been "deeply involved" in fighting the narcotics traffic in Harlem, and he added that some Negro leaders had suggested the possibility of Communist influences being involved.

It was learned that the police were in possession of motion pictures that had been taken at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, where the killing took place. Chief Coyle declined comment on this report.

The detective chief appealed against any private attempts at revenge, and once again he complained that Malcolm's followers had "not come forward" to help in the police investigation.

Malcolm's bodyguard, Reuben Francis, appeared in Criminal Court yesterday, but a hearing on charges that he had shot and wounded Hagan, one of the alleged assassins, was put off until next Wednesday. He is being held in $10,000 bail, which his counsel, Nathan H. Mitchell, argued should be reduced.

Clock Stirs Alarm

In Chicago, police bomb squads were called after a delivery truck had pulled up at Elijah Muhammad's tightly guarded mansion entrance with what the driver said was a crated clock from Philadelphia. Guards said their leader had not ordered any clock—but it was determined later to be a grandfather's clock, a gift from Philadelphia Mosque No. 12.

Exploitation of Malcolm's murder was reported from Peking, where The People's Daily, the main Chinese Communist newspaper, said he had been killed after becoming " a thorn in the side of the U. S. rulers," according to Reuters news agency.

In a telephone interview from Boston, Mr. Barnette, the disillusioned former Black Muslim official, said the membership of Malcolm's movement was "very small," although with "a tremendous potential."

Mr. Barnette said that "very few" of the 8,000 Negroes he estimated had left the parent Nation of Islam, had joined any other group, having become entirely disillusioned by exploitation and domination. The main present Muslim centers, he said, are in New York, with "probably less than 500" members; Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles.

The Elijah Muhammad group's tactics, he said, are to exaggerate apparent membership by rallying supporters from many cities for any public rallies, which also are swelled by curiosity-seekers.

Reliable investigators elsewhere, who cannot be named, held the Black Muslim movement had been "imprisoned" within itself by a racial-segregationist and hate-white philosophy that "had to have ignorant persons to begin with" and to carry its heavy financial demands. Malcolm was credited with an ability of "almost exciting to riot and then pulling the string very quickly" to avoid confrontation with the police.

There were differing views on Malcolm's departure from the Black Muslims—either as a clash over power or his recognition that the movement needed broader appeal. One report was that some Middle East leaders had given financial aid to Malcolm and made possible his trip last year to Cairo, Mecca and African capitals.

This was held to have been in hope of converting him to orthodox Mohammedanism, and Malcolm in fact declared he had come to know good white people while abroad. But these patrons were reported to have backed away when Malcolm, on his return here, once again began denouncing whites.

Addressed White Groups

Even while announcing that he would have the wrongs to American Negroes taken up by United Nations delegates, Malcolm was said to have devoted his major effort to public appearances and speeches in white circles. There were reported complaints that he had given little attention to activity for his followers at the Muslim Mosque, Inc., which he set up in the Theresa Hotel, Seventh Avenue and West 125th Street.

Since Malcolm's break with the Nation of Islam, two sons of that group's leader—Wallace Muhammad and Akbar Muhammad—also left the parent movement, but apparently withheld endorsement of Malcolm's movement.

Malcolm's increasing attacks and taunts against Elijah Muhammad, particularly on his former chief's personal life and financial practices, were said to have disconcerted both his old and new disciples.

In recent days Elijah Muhammad is held to have professed confidence that Malcolm was "destroying himself." Muhammad is said to have commented that he didn't want to see Malcolm die but "would rather he live and suffer his treachery."

There had been a variety of left-wing efforts to build up Malcolm's movement before his death, and there were some forecasts that the Progressive Labor Movement and Trotskyite Communists might try for greater influence—and possibly cause further splits.

The New York Times

SECURITY AT HARLEM FUNERAL HOME: Patrolman at left checks mourners going into the Unity Funeral Home where the body of Malcolm X is on view to the PUBLIC.

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

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New Clue Bared on Malcolm

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

3 NEW YORK POST

By TED POSTON

Malcolm X revealed shortly before his murder that he had slugged it out with three men who were "casing" his Elmhurst home.

The one-story, brick residence at 23-11 97th St. was firebombed a week before the Negro extremist leader was gunned down at an Audubon Ballroom meeting.

The night after the firebombs gutted his home, Malcolm told how, several weeks earlier, he had spotted the three men, confronted them on the corner of his block and "beat them up." The trio then ducked back into their car and drove off, he said.

Malcolm did not give the names of the three men or identify them in any other way. But in the same interview in which he described the fight, Malcolm spoke of an October meeting in Boston "of the so-called Muslim terror squad" at which the assignment had been given out to "get" him.

Meanwhile, Asst. Chief Insp. Coyle, who is in charge of the investigation, was less buoyant today about possible leads than he was yesterday when he told reporters, "We are on the right track."

'Slow Progress'

Coyle told the press last night that police were making "slow progress" in the case. Then he hurried off to a meeting of top police officials.

There were no indications that Malcolm's widow had recognized any of the suspects shown to her in photographs.

Police were intensifying security precautions throughout Harlem as the funeral for the slain leader, scheduled for Saturday morning at the Faith Temple, 1763 Amsterdam Av., drew nearer.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/10/84 BY 8269THE/WEB/dd

Date: 2/25/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: TED POSTON
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-39932
Submitting Office: NYO

☒ Being Investigated

105-8999-5[illegible]

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
43 FEB 25 1965
[redacted]

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Tonight, admirers of Malcolm are staging a big outdoor rally at 125th St. and Seventh Av.

Five thousand people have viewed Malcolm's body at the Unity Funeral Home, at 2352 Eighth Av. near W. 126th St., since Tuesday.

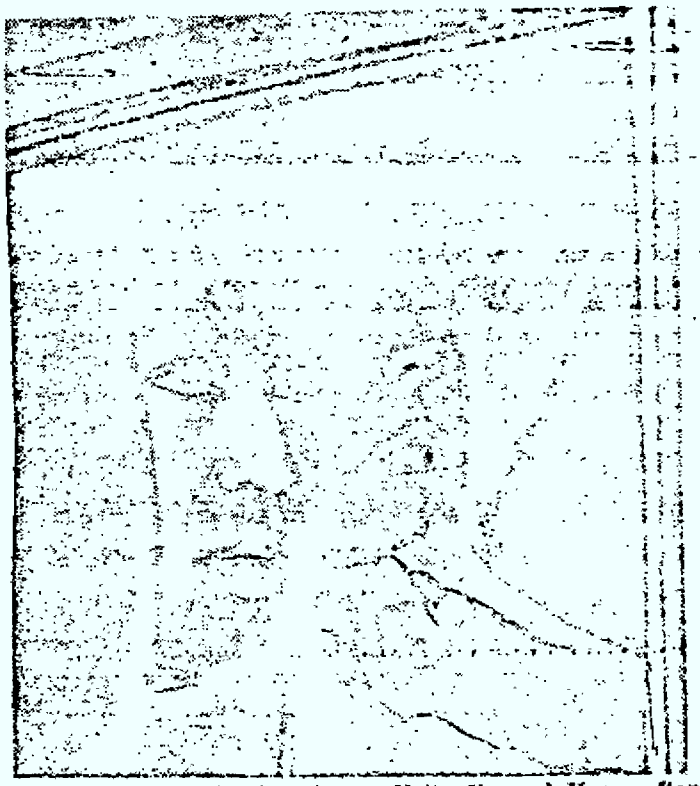
Widow Pays Visit

Malcolm's widow, Betty, and seven other persons called at the chapel last night and stayed for 25 minutes. The mourning room was cleared and its double folding doors were closed during the visit.

Police stopped the file of mourners 15 minutes before the widow arrived and did not permit it to move again for 10 minutes after she and her party had left.

In St. Louis, the leader of the local Black Muslim chapter said that bullets fired Sunda through the plate glass window of the Muslim restaurant there had no connection with Malcolm's murder.

Clyde X said the shots had been fired several hours before Malcolm was killed.



Malcolm's widow (center) leaves Unity Funeral Home after viewing her husband's body. Post Photo by Engel

FEAR AND TENSION—WAITING FOR MALCOLM X'S LEGACY

FEAR, TENSION— CALL FOR PROBE

By Maurice C. Carroll
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

At the Harlem funeral home where the murdered Malcolm X lay in a $2,100 glass-covered copper coffin there were bomb threats yesterday and long lines of silent mourners.

At the Black Muslim mosque fire-bombed in the early morning in apparent retaliation for the murder, and at potential trouble spots across the nation, there were guards and squads of invesigators.

Amid the indications that the vendetta would be fought in the Negro fringe world that spawned it there were two pleas. From a respected civil rights leader came an appeal for a White House investigation. From the man who heads the murder inquiry came an appeal for cooperation from silent Negro witnesses.

Out of fear or shock, the Black Nationalists who saw their leader assassinated were not talking to police, complained Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph W. Coyle. Only those wounded during the Sunday tumult or non-

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Herald Tribune

EDITION late city

DATE 2-24-65

PAGE 1

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/10/84 BY 8269JHE/ICEN/ dd

105-8999-5906

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members of Malcolm's sect have given statements, he said.

From James Farmer, national director of CORE, came the plea for a Federal inquiry. "I doubt seriously if the Black Muslims murdered Malcolm," said Mr. Farmer. "I think someone else was involved." He did not explain whom he had in mind.

In Harlem, stunned by Sunday's and yesterday's fire-bombing, police reinforcements in heavy numbers surrounded the funeral home where the body of the fiery 39-year-old who had come to represent the voice of Negro extremism will lie until a funeral Saturday.

There was an ominous spread of the trouble and the threats. The New York Times received a bomb threat because, a telephone caller said, the paper had written "a bad article" about Malcolm. A man was arrested at Lenox Ave. and 125th St. with a sawed-off rifle; police did not say what he was doing there. Two young men were seized near the funeral home—one of them carrying a rifle in a canvas case.

The two were released after questioning established their innocence of any evil intent. The rifle was for hunting.

There was little made public about the investigations of Malcolm's murder or the attack on the mosque. A young man arrested as one of the assassins remained under heavy guard in Bellevue Hospital. Late in the day police said tests confirmed that a tin can and a paper shopping bag found on a rooftop near the mosque had been used in setting the fire.

There was fear that the violence would spread further, and there was speculation about the burning of the mosque.

"We don't know who did it," said Joseph X, an official of the burned-out mosque, "but we know it was set off."

He added: "There are those who used to be with us and know other ways of getting into the building."

Joseph X talked with reporters in the office of the Muslim newspaper, Muhammad Speaks, a block from the littered Harlem intersection where firemen continued to wet down the smoking, ice-encrusted hulk of the Temple of Islam No. 7, 102 W. 116th St.

Someone who knew the terrain, he said, could have sneaked through an alley on 115th St., climbed the mosque's fire escape to the fourth floor and entered the building through a fire door. There was only a small hook on the fire door, he said; fire rules prohibited locking it.

But he did not say directly that he thought followers of Malcolm X were responsible for the fire bombing, which occurred despite hundreds of police reinforcements that had poured into Harlem.

He did say, as his leader Elijah Muhammad had said in Chicago the day before, that the Black Muslims had nothing to do with the public execution of their most famous dissident. "Our hands are clean," said Joseph X.

But hundreds of police, including more than 100 brawny members of the Tactical Force, stood by in Harlem, and hundreds of others were poised to join them. Within minutes after yesterday morning's five alarm 320 extra police from Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx were speeding to Manhattan's Negro ghetto.

One focal point of their worries was the Unity Funeral Home, 2352 8th Ave., at 126th St., where Malcolm's body will lie until funeral Saturday. The announcement board listed "Al Hajj Mayik Shabaz Malcolm X. Police set up wooden barricades outside, they searched all persons entering there, they inspected all floral wreaths for possible explosive devices and they investigated a series of bomb threats yesterday.

One caller gave what he said was his name—funeral director Joseph E. Hall said he recognized the name as that of a man he had buried some time ago—and said that "Malcolm won't be burried . . . he'll be cremated."

Before the public was permitted to file in to view the slain Black Nationalist leader, his wife, weeping audibly but hiding her face from photographers, arrived with a group of friends.

Police estimated that 1,000 persons filed past the casket during the first hour of viewing. These were hurried through until the congestion was relieved, and after that it was merely a matter of maintaining steady movement, which put through about 300 in the next hour.

No end was in sight, it seemed clear, to the violence and retaliatory violence among Negro extremist groups that began Sunday with the gangland-style execution of Malcolm X.

There was a pale echo in San Francisco of the furious fire that destroyed the main Black Muslim mosque in New York. Someone threw kerosene on the door of the Mus-

lim meeting place in San Francisco and lit it, but two patrolling policemen spotted the blaze quickly and damage was slight.

In Boston a man who broke with the Muslim movement said that heavyweight champion Cassius Clay, who was recruited into the Muslims by Malcolm X and remained after Malcolm left, was in danger from Malcolm's followers. "They will try to get back at the Muslims in some way to make a big impression, with some one the equal of Malcolm in national stature," said Aubrey Barnette. "Clay has that stature."

In Chicago police maintained a massive guard around the 19-room mansion of Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad. Alerted by reports that some of Malcolm's followers were bound for Chicago to avenge their leader's assassination, police began guarding the Coliseum where some 7,000 Muslims are to gather Friday for a week-end convention at which Elijah is to speak.

In Paterson, N. J., home of the man accused of being one of Malcolm X's slayers, police also were on the alert because of a considerable concentration of Muslims there. Mayor Frank X. Graves ordered around-the-clock precautions against any possible Nationalist attempt at retaliation.

In New York uniformed police and detectives watched potential trouble spots including other Muslim mosques.

Authorities braced to halt an escalation, in gangland or Tong War style, of the retaliatory violence apparently signaled by the mosque fire.

There had been a meeting in the mosque Monday but it ended before midnight and the four-story building stood dark and padlocked when the four-member police guard changed at 2 a. m.

"We came on at 2 a. m. and we checked all the doors," said Patrolman John L. Waterman of the W. 123d St. station. "At about 2:15 a. m. I heard a multiple explosion followed by glass falling on me. About 10 minutes later the flames broke out from the roof."

The manager of the Hollywood Bar and Grill, 105 W. 116th St., said he and his patrons heard a "vroom" sound. "We rushed to the window," he said. "We saw glass coming down and flames shoot up."

Soon the flames towered three stories above the blazing building. At 2:30 the roof caved in. Half an hour later the front wall collapsed, cascading bricks onto a hook and ladder truck. Knocked from a ladder by the toppling wall, Fireman Siegfried Newman was taken to Harlem Hospital where he was listed in critical condition. Four other firemen suffered minor injuries.

The water cascading into the IRT station at Lenox and 116th forced closing of the station for much of the day. Full service was not restored until 3:40 p. m.

Even while the flames roared it became clear that this was no accident but the very retaliatory violence that police had feared.

Police found a paper bag with traces of "some oily substance" on the roof of the building at 113 Lenox Ave., next door to the mosque.

Then in mid-morning, while ice crusted the gutted mosque building and made a slithery sheet out of the busy intersection, police searchers found an empty five-gallon tin that had contained gasoline or kerosene on the 113 Lenox Ave. roof.

The mosque building itself, sinoky, shaky, choked with ice and rubble, defied early search efforts. A police team, including a bomb squad member could not get above the first floor during a morning inspection.

This had been Malcolm's headquarters in the days when, as Elijah Muhammad's representative, he headed the Black Muslim movement in New York.

The fourth floor was used for meetings, the third as a temple. The second floor was vacant, the first occupied by five storefronts on 116th St. and three on Lenox Ave. One of the Lenox Ave. stores housed the clean and quiet little luncheonette where Muslims gathered.

The wide sidewalk in front of the luncheonette was the scene of the last public clash between the Muslims and the dissidents who followed Malcolm X after he broke with the organization in early 1964.

The break was ostensibly caused by Elijah Muhammad's silencing of Malcolm after the fiery New York leader made his "chickens coming home to roost" comment after the assassination of President Kennedy. But it was seen by some as an attempt to curb Malcolm, whose public eloquence and personal charm and availability had earned him the public attention that escaped the elusive and hard-to-meet Elijah Muhammad.

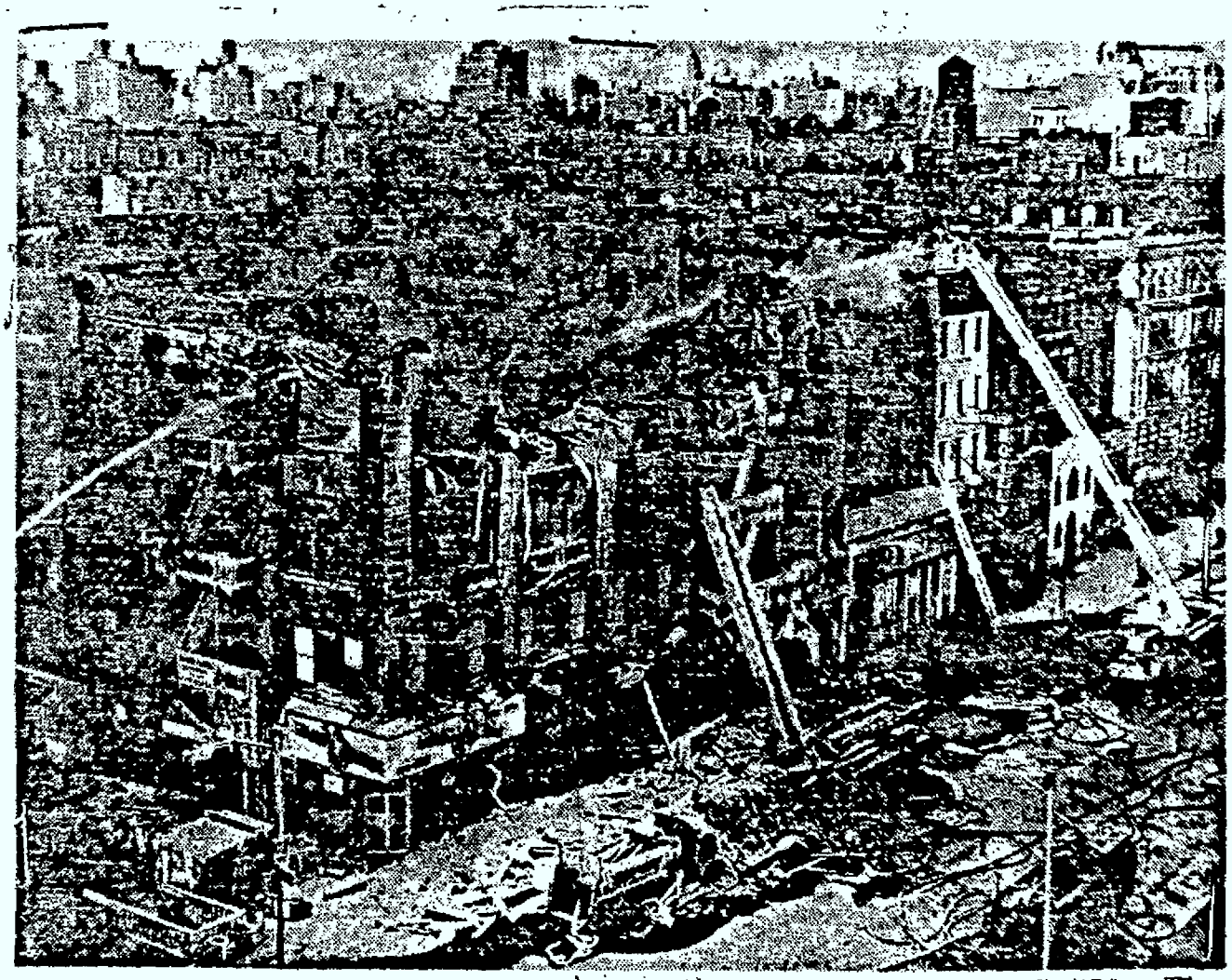
Outside the Muslim restaurant last June there had been a gunpoint confrontation between Malcolm's dissidents and the New York Muslims then headed by Minister James X.

Malcolm claimed then that his life was in danger.

It was a claim he made repeatedly and on Sunday, as he stood to address some 400 persons in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, it was borne out.

In what police called a "well planned maneuver," there was a diversionary scuffle and then bullets from at least two pistols and pellets from both barrels of a sawed-off shotgun were fired at the tall, bearded man on the two-foot-high stage.

Only a week before the modest Elmhurst home where he lived with his wife and their four small children was burned by fire bombs.



Herald Tribune—UPI

AVALANCHE OF BRICKS partly buried this fire truck and engine on 116th St. and Lenox Ave. after roof collapsed and a brick wall crashed into the street following an explosion and fire that destroyed Black Muslim Mosque 7 at 102 W. 116th St. early yesterday morning. Fire truck at right pumps water into the smoking debris.

Herald Tribune photo by JILL KREMENTZ

HIS FOLLOWERS—These people waited in yesterday's bitter cold, they waited in silence, patient and brooding, to view the body of the slain Malcolm X.

FD-350 (Rev. 7-18-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

The People Who Came to Mourn

By KENNETH GROSS

On the sidewalk outside the Unity Funeral Home a whisper rippled through the small crowd.

"A bomb's going off here. Malcolm X won't be buried, he'll be cremated," a voice said.

"They want people to be afraid of the bombs and stay home," explained a bystander. "They," he said, are the Black Muslims. "They want to be able to say Malcolm couldnt even draw a crowd to his funeral."

About 50 policemen patrolled the two-story funeral home at W. 126th St. and Eighth Av. last night. Twice a search was made for bombs, but only the rumors exploded.

Mrs. Alva Johnson, a white-haired housewife, clutched her thin coat to her throat as tears ran down her cheeks. She had just climbed to the second-floor viewing room where Malcolm X lay and paused at the glass-covered coffin.

"I saw that boy speak when he was alive," she said. "He made all of us feel alive. Now he's dead and I don't know what I feel except mad."

About 2,000 mourners visited the room in three and half hours. They came singly, in pairs or in groups. There were teenagers and grandparents.

Some stood before the casket and wept. Some were grim-faced and mute. Some prayed.

Ozzie Cuvilge, a Queens taxi driver, said he didn't support Malcolm and wasn't a Muslim but had come to pay his respects anyway.

"He was changing," Cuvilge said. "He would have been a great leader. He was a man we could follow."

"He was looking for a way of life for the so-called Negro and he was killed," Omar Tanam, a Muslim, said impassively. "I just feel bitter."

On nearby corner, a group of high school students looked on.

"He wasn't afraid of nothin'," a teenager said, kicking the curb. "That's why they killed him. Cause he wasn't afraid."

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

3 NEW YORK POST

Date: 2/24/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: KENNETH GROSS
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-1997-5904

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/10/84 BY 8269 [illegible]

Post Photo by Engel

Part of the crowd who came to the Unity Funeral Home at 126th St. and Eighth Av. to view the body of Malcolm X.

The Deadly Street

The Unity Funeral Home is a two-story white brick building with a green canopy going out to the curb of Eighth Ave. in Harlem between 126th and 127th Sts. The sidewalk in front is white from crushed rocksalt. The Inez Beauty Lounge is on the left. The Nina Bar is on the right. The Nina is closed for a violation and the rusted legs of turned-over barstools showed in its windows yesterday afternoon.

The funeral home is across the street from the N. Long Mattress Factory, "Saggy Chair Bottoms Replaced." And it is around the corner from the entrance to the Braddock Hotel. In 1942, a soldier and a girl got into a fight with a white policeman in the bar of the Braddock and it spilled out into a race riot.

They hold the wake of Malcolm X in this setting: It will last until Saturday morning, when he will be buried. And a tong war, one which could spread across the nation, could be starting because of the body in the funeral home.

Malcolm X was murdered in front of 400 people

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Herald Tribune

EDITION Late City

DATE 2-24-65

PAGE 1

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/10/84 BY SP6GTHF/WEB/dd

105-8999-5903

[redacted]

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on Sunday afternoon because of his bitter differences with the Black Muslims, the Negro organization which he left. Yesterday, there were fist fights and brushes all over Harlem between Malcolm's followers and the Muslims. When night came, the people waited for guns to be used.

The body of Al Hajj Malik Shabazz Malcolm X, his full name when he died, or Malcolm Little, as he was born, or Big Red, as he was known on 125th St., was in a small green-carpeted chapel in the rear of the second floor of the funeral home last night. He was in a black suit with white gloves on his clasped hands and he was in a glass-covered casket which sat between two lamps. The people came up a flight of stairs, walked down a hallway lined with policemen, passed in front of the casket and then left. They left with wet faces and drawn mouths and bowed heads, and in fear.

"They got to do something back," one of Malcom X's people was saying. "A religious temple got bombed on them last night. They're fanatics, these other people. They absolutely got to do somethin' back."

"Would they try and bomb this place out?" he was asked.

"Where else would they hit?" he said.

Downstairs, Harold Dunwoodie, a police deputy inspector, tapped his nightstick against the balcony rail and looked out onto the street.

"Three hours to go," he was saying. "This is my last tour. Thirty years on the job and I get out when I finish here tonight. I'm just looking to get past the next three hours."

"What does it look like?"

"Who knows what it looks like," he said. "I'll tell you one thing. At 11 o'clock every man in the police department gets out of this building. There's one thing taking care of this matter out on the street. But a bomb coming through a window and into this place? Not with men inside while I'm here."

THE WAITING LINES

It was a long day at the funeral home. The body was supposed to be ready for viewing at 2:30 p. m., but it is not ready for them then and would not be until 7:30 p. m., after Malcolm's pregnant wife, Betty, weeping, left the place. But the people stood and waited through the hours in the 25-degree cold.

The line started behind the gray wooden police barricades in front of the funeral home. It went down past the Nina Bar and then curled around the corner to the bleakness of 126th St. The people there stood in the shadows in front of a tenement which had a painted sign on it saying, "No Loitering, Sitting on Stoop or Hanging Around in Hallway. By Order of Police Dept." The line ended at a point directly across the street from the entrance to the Braddock Hotel. A few steps farther down, by a row of dented garbage cans, another line started between barricades. This one went far down the block, running in front of the tenements. The people stood and waited quietly to view the body of Malcolm X.

And everywhere, on the sidewalk, out in the middle of the streets, on the rooftops and at windows in the buildings, were the police. They were in uniforms and in plainclothes and in old clothes, to look like people from the neighborhood, and they waited, too. They waited for the violence everybody says was going to take place in the name of this body on the second floor of the funeral home.

THAT OLD MAN . . .

"Here's one of Malcolm's men," a friend of ours, who was on 126th Street, said. He introduced a guy who was wearing a black overcoat with a knit collar. He was standing alone, away from the crowd.

"I'm not gonna eat till I view the remains," he said. "I haven't eat since midnight. I'm not going to touch a thing till I see the remains."

"Then what do you do?"

"Then? Then we get Elijah Muhammad. We get him this week. If we don't get him this week, we get him next week. If we don't get him next week we get him the week after. We wait for a whole year if we have to. But we get him. That old man in Chicago gets killed."

"How many guys do you have that can do a job like that?" he was asked.

His eyes bulged. "One is enough," he said. "One man with a gun is all it takes to kill that old man in Chicago."

He stood in silence, for a while, looking at the sidewalk. Then he looked up.

"Do you know anything about the Muslims at all?" he said. "Do you know that anybody who leaves their movement gets marked the same as Malcolm was? Do you know how many people up here have been shot at because the left the movement? I tell you they been shot at. It's all over this town and something has to be done about it. We startin' with that old man in Chicago."

Africans Call Malcolm X the 'American Lumumba'

The murder of Malcolm X, under prompt autopsy by political experts abroad, has already produced startling post-mortems.

Some of the more militant or suspiciously activist African regimes are passing word around through representatives at home and away that Malcolm X was an "American Lumumba."

Thus, he is being equated for martyr status in more volatile regions of Africa with the controversial, slain Patrice Lumumba. When the ousted Premier of the Congo was found murdered four years ago, African militants pointed an accusing finger at the West generally, and have since invoked the Lumumba image as part of folk legend.

In Western Europe, the assassination of Malcolm X is big news. Most people seem to feel a vendetta among Negroes, let alone extremists, is imminent. There has been raised also the specter that sinister white groups really masterminded the assassination.

Dead, Malcolm X has stirred more macabre interest and sparked more controversy than he could have created when alive.

This is the phase that bothers American officialdom in Europe and particularly in Africa.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Herald Tribune

EDITION Late City

DATE 2-24-65

PAGE 10

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/10/84 BY [illegible]

105-8999-5902

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When he was in Britain recently, Malcolm X made a deep impression, even on hostile interviewers. His unexpectedly careful manner of speech and decorum, even when he extolled black extremism, appeared to many to mitigate his appeals to violence.

Dr. Martin Luther King remains, to Europeans, as the foremost personality in the Negro campaign for equality. The normal inclination on this side and on the Continent is to welcome intellectualism. Dr. King, his background, his insistence on non-violence and his recent Nobel prize give him towering stature over the extremists.

Yet few people, in Europe or Africa, are quite aware of the difference between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims. Most—and this is important—are gripped by a morbid fascination with the stories of derring-do and armed preparations the extremist factions supposedly carried out.

For some time, Malcolm X also has been welcomed into the same tent with followers of Egypt's President Nasser. Devout Moslems have said, often enough, they are puzzled by the kind of Mohammedanism espoused by either Black Muslims or nationalists.

But Malcolm X made a solid impact with some of the more radical independent African regimes. His last tour took him, among other places, to Ghana, where he received a heady reception. During his tour Africans applauded his extremism.

The shocking fact is that many of the African voices hailing Malcolm X's views held fairly similar ones. Most of the more prudent African men of state and officials condemned these views, but they are often drowned out in the clamor of the others.

The radicals among the independent Africans raised a storm when France refused to permit Malcolm X to stay in Paris. He had to fly back to London immediately. Before leaving, he said he wouldn't give a plugged nickel for Gen. de Gaulle, anyway. The fuss subsided swiftly when the French took no notice.

However, notice—up to a point—has been taken in European newspapers and sociological assessments of Negro extremism in the cause of equality. Bombing of Black Muslim mosques and stories, real or fancied, of inexorable vengeance on Malcolm X's enemies are readily accepted as an essential and incomprehensible facet of present-day America.

And the reverberation, deeply disturbing from parts of Africa, is that of Malcolm X as "the American Lumumba." It's a mocking image.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Memorial Rally For Malcolm X

A memorial rally for Malcolm X will be held tomorrow evening in the center of Harlem, a committee headed by Harlem rent-strike leader Jessie Gray announced today.

The rally is planned for 6 p.m. at W. 125th St. and Seventh Ave. Gray said the meeting will be peaceful "as long as the police conduct themselves properly."

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

3 N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

Date: 2/24/65
Edition: SEVEN SPORTS
Author:
Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

UNDER INVESTIGATION
105-8999-5901

SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FILED ... NEW YORK
[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/10/84 BY 8269JHE/WEB/dd

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Malcolm & the Movement

ALVIN DAVIS

And now, as always in this kind of high drama, the revisionists.

CORE's James Farmer hears that Malcolm X asked protection from the State Dept. and that his murder may have been part of an international plot. Assemblyman Percy Sutton, Malcolm's lawyer, says the victim himself was absolutely persuaded that hard-right, hard-white Texas oil money was behind Elijah Muhammad because, at bottom, their separatist goals are alike—and that oil money might have bought the assassins.

The conspiracy-on-the-right people are talking anew about a CIA plot and the conspiracy-on-the-left people, like the Daily News, are talking about a black revolutionary movement, Cuba-based and more fanatic than either the Muslims or the Malcolmites.

The theories are imaginative but Malcolm blamed Elijah Muhammad before he died and the confrontation is already on. It would be a cruel piece of irony if the Black Muslims didn't do it. Mistaken conclusions have set off blood feuds before, with bodies strewn across the Cumberland mountainside, and abroad, in Africa, India and in the Balkans.

We've already had a fire-bombing that looks like retaliation, men arrested for carrying concealed rifles near the funeral parlor, fear for the life of Cassius Clay, the biggest headline name among the Black Muslims, and direct threats of vengeance from Malcolm's half-sister and his second-in-command. If it wasn't the Black Muslims, they better persuade Malcolm's people soon.

* * *

Nobody accuses Elijah Muhammad of being in the civil rights movement. He runs an angry cult, a kind of Father Divine sect with muscles. Malcolm X wasn't in either, but he was making eyes at it. In the wake of the murder, what happens to the civil rights movement itself?

Boycotters held a sit-in at Roy Wilkins' office yesterday because they're not satisfied with the NAACP's attitude toward them. SNCC is fragmented over the direction of next year's efforts in Mississippi, backbiting of Martin Luther King is widespread among rights people themselves, although some of it has subsided since Oslo and the Atlanta testimonial, and Selma.

The rights movement is splintered as ever but I have a feeling, and Jim Farmer agrees, that the murder of Malcolm X isn't going to hurt it a bit. As Farmer says, "The Grand Wizard is already talking about what savages we are, killing each other off like in the Congo. But that's just the Klan."

How many people thought that last summer's riots represented the limits of Negro alienation? And whatever happened to the backlash? This murder, and the blood feud, may be the real limit but there are so many more people able to recognize it for what it is: Negro alienated from Negro and Negro killing Negro as the ultimate expression of a frustration and a ghetto-revolution in which protests just don't satisfy. On a much smaller scale, the Tong Wars, 40 years ago, were also the breakout point for an alienated and inarticulate minority. They started with total violence, and they ended with absorption.

* * *

Jim Farmer said yesterday that Malcolm X was moving unmistakably toward the civil rights movement. Another top activist told me that Malcolm had promised to talk, during the very meeting at which he was cut down, about jobs and schools and segregation, the things rights people talk about, not Black Nationalists.

I'm skeptical about that; they're measuring Malcolm for martyrdom a little too soon. But he had talked more softly to the dozens of white reporters who interviewed him, and there is now some evidence that he talked more softly to his followers, too.

The question is how many of them would have followed him from preachments of violence into the camp of demonstrators and pickets and boycotters? Some, perhaps. But the trend is now reversed. How many will head for the rights movement now?

NEW YORK POST, 2/24/65 p. 38

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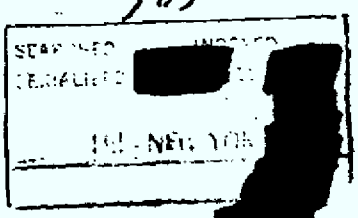

SAC, NY CONFIDENTIAL 2/24/65

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ATTENDANCE AT FUNERAL OF MALCOLM X

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1 - [redacted] #31
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CONFIDENTIAL

105-8999-5897

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FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

New Threats Stir Muslim Turmoil

Police Here Ready for Islam Convention

BY GEORGE MURRAY

The Black Muslim mosques, universities, and restaurants across the nation are under heavy guard today by police and Islamic followers of Elijah Muhammad.

Black Nationalist followers of the slain Malcolm X also are guarding their mosques and headquarters in fear of retaliation for the destruction of the four-story Muslim temple in New York City's Harlem.

Despite their refusal to cooperate with police, authorities are determined to protect the followers of Muhammad from self-styled avengers who have made death threats at the bier of Malcolm X.

The same threats last night in Harlem beside the coffin of the 39-year-old fiery orator who was assassinated Sunday have been made by phone to police.

Vengeance is Theme

Vengeance is the theme of the calls here as it was of Malcolm's wife; Betty; his half-sister, Mrs. Ella Collins; and the heir-apparent of Malcolm's splinter Afro-American Unity party: Leon "4-X" Ameer.

Ameer, who arrived in New York from Boston, where he had been sent by Malcolm X to organize a New England branch of the group, said:

"We are going to repay them for what they did to Malcolm. There will be maximum retaliation."

Taught Muslims Karate

Ameer, a tough little man who taught karate to the Fruit of Islam, the Black Muslim storm troopers, said retaliation could include the assassination of Elijah Muhammad.

Of the 68-year-old Elijah, Ameer said:

"I don't know if he'll live out the month. They're guardin' him pretty good now, but I don't know if he'll live out the month."

Ameer made clear that he is aware the month ends this Sunday, bringing to a close the 3-day convention of Elijah Muhammad's forces held annually i nthe Chicago Coliseum at 1513 Wabash av.

Ameer said that he himself is going to die. The Black Muslims, he said, are going to kill him. He says it so quietly, so clamly, it is difficult to believe him. A week ago Malcolm X said the Black Muslims were going to kill him—and it was difficult to believe him, too.

Work with FBI

Intelligence units of the Chicago police are working closely with the Federal Bureau of Investigation to prevent spread of the violent wrafare among Negro extremist groups.

Capt. William Duffy, head of the police intelligence unit, is in touch with police in major cities housing the Negro factions.

Police Sgt. Allan Michaels said his men would make a complete search of the Coliseum today, and another tomorrow. After that the premises will be secured until Elijah Muhammad's convention opens Friday morning.

Police received a warning that a time bomb has been placed in the Coliseum, set to detonate while Muhammad is speaking either Friday or Saturday.

"100 Men Coming Here"

Another warning that 100 men are coming here from Harlem to kill Muhammad came from a man who identified himself as John Henderson.

Col. Minor K. Wilson, administrative aid to the police superintendent, said:

"We've been watching the Black Muslim movement and the activities of Malcolm X for months. We think it highly improbable, however, that there will be any attempt to kill Muhammad during the convention here."

A Muslim mosque in San Francisco was bombed, less successfully than the one in Harlem which was demolished.

Police also have seized two New York City Negroes carrying rifles.

Renegade from Cult

Ameer, 31, like Malcolm X, was a renegade from Elijah Muhammad's religious cult. Ameer had been inthe Muslim movement since 1956.

Another aspect of the Malcolm X assassination is a fanatic Negro hate group called the Revolutionary Action Movement. This group, known as R. A. M., is dedicated to organized violence.

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

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/10/84 BY [illegible]

CHICAGO'S AMERICAN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 2/24/65

Edition:

Author: 3 STAR FINAL

Editor: GEORGE MURRAY

Title: LUKE CARROLL

Character: MALCOLM X

or 100-33593

Classification:

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

Under Investigation

SEARCHED [illegible]

SERIALIZED [redacted]

FEB 6 [illegible]

FBI — NEW YORK [redacted]

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R. A. M. includes hard-core young hotheads from both Elijah Muhammad's and Malcolm X's organizations, who dream of a global black revolution.

R. A. M. is only one of 17 black nationalist groups known to have been members last summer of a coördinating body calling itself the African Nationalist Federated council. Most of these organizations profess the belief that the American Negro can gain freedom only by linking his fate with that of rising African and Asian nations.

Some believe that the assassination and Muslim temple bombing were the work of R. A. M.

Farmer Tells Story

Support for this explanation came indirectly from James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, who said he believed Malcolm's slaying to have been "a political deed, with international implications."

Farmer said he would ask President Johnson to order a federal inquiry. Farmer said that while he believed Malcolm's death to have been "an international plot, the executioners themselves were not foreign agents."

Negro FBI agents in New York are investigating Malcolm's ties abroad. He had told friends of two offers of employment, one with President Gamel Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic and the other with President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

Widow Delays Burial

Malcolm said Nasser wanted him to head the African section of Cairo's foreign ministry and that Khrumah wanted him as an anti-American speech writer and policy adviser on east-west relations.

Malcolm's widow said she was delaying burial until Saturday "to allow time for dignitaries from Africa to arrive."

Other nationalist groups include the United African Nationalist Movement, founded in 1948 by its current leader, 46-year-old James Lawson; and the Muslim Brotherhood, which claims to be the true Muslims, hostile to Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims.

(AP Wirephoto)

NEW YORK—Unity funeral home where body of Malcolm X lay is guarded by policemen on rooftops [arrows].

LEON (4-X) AMEER
Malcolm X successor?

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

MOSQUE FIRES STIR FEAR OF VENDETTA IN MALCOLM CASE

Police Concern Mounts After Burnings in Harlem and in San Francisco

MORTUARY THREATENED

Funeral Home Searched as Body Is Put on View—3 Seized With Guns

By PETER KIHSS

Police concern about a vendetta by followers of Malcolm X mounted yesterday after fires wrecked a Black Muslim mosque here and scorched another in San Francisco.

The Unity Funeral Home, 2352 Eighth Avenue, at West 126th Street—where the body of the murdered Negro extremist leader was put on view last night—was searched twice after bomb threats were made. The body will remain on view until Saturday.

A young Negro carrying a rifle in a canvas case was seized outside the funeral home at 5:15 P.M. and was taken with a companion to the West 123d Street station house for questioning. And a 56-year-old Negro car washer, John F. Gilliard of 120 West 124th Street, was taken there after he got out of the subway at Lenox Avenue and 125th Street carrying a sawed-off rifle.

Hundreds of police reinforcements were sent to Harlem.

Mosques Guarded

In the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, the police guarded a Black Muslim mosque at 120 Madison Street and 10 businesses owned by the Nation of Islam, the group's formal name. Another mosque, at 105-05 Northern Boulevard, Corona, Queens, was also under protection.

In Chicago, police squads maintained 24-hour vigils outside the iron-fenced mansion of the Black Muslim leader, Elijah Muhammad, while others watched its mosque, university newspaper and restaurants.

The group's national convention is to start at the Coliseum in Chicago Sunday, with 6,000 supporters expected to attend, and the city's police said the security detail was being expanded from eight to 45 men.

Last night the Chicago police said they had received a call warning that 100 men from Harlem would go to Chicago "to get Elijah." The caller, who identified himself as John Henderson, also said a bomb had been planted in the Coliseum. The police said they would search the arena today.

A group that had planned a

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

1 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 2/24/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: PETER KIHSS
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYB

XX Being Investigated 6999 5995

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mass meeting for 8 o'clock last night in tribute to Malcolm asserted that the police had ordered the Theresa Hotel to cancel the rental arrangements.

The sponsor was the Federation for Independent Political Action, according to Jim Haughton, director of the Harlem Unemployment Center, one member organization.

Malcolm's group, the Organization for Afro-American Unity, has its headquarters in the Theresa, at Seventh Avenue and 125th Street.

Jesse Gray, the Harlem rent-strike leader, called for a public outdoor memorial meeting for Malcolm tomorrow at 8 P.M. at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue.

At Lenox Avenue and 116th Street icicles hung in yesterday afternoon's bitter cold from what was left of New York Mosque No. 7.

The roof of the four-story building had fallen in, and part of the walls of the top story had collapsed.

That collapsing wall had injured five firemen and a man who had been buying a newspaper across the street. One fireman, Ziegfried Newmann, 27 years old, was taken to Harlem Hospital in serious condition. The others hurt, including the pedestrian, were treated at the hospital or at the scene.

Police investigators reported that a five-gallon tin with traces of gasoline, along with a paper shopping bag in which it had apparently been carried, had been found on the roof of an adjoining building at 113 Lenox Avenue.

Explosion Heard

Police and Fire Department investigators suggested someone might have thrown a homemade fire bomb from the roof into the mosque.

Four policemen guarding the mosque at its 102 West 116th Street entrance said they heard an explosive sound at 2:15 A. M. Flames shot through the roof 10 minutes later and roared 30 feet into the air.

The fire was not officially declared under control until 4:20 A. M. Southbound IRT subway service was halted on the Seventh Avenue line at 149th Street for a time, and was rerouted. Three bus lines also were rerouted.

The fire at the San Francisco mosque, at 1872 Post Street, was discovered by two policemen before it had a chance to do much damage. Kerosene had been splashed on the sidewalk and door and then set afire.

The two men questioned about carrying the hunting rifle outside the funeral home were released after a half hour. Gilliard, who was said to have been carrying a rifle under his coat in the subway, was booked on a charge of possessing a dangerous weapon.

Joseph E. Hall, manager of the funeral home, said a man he knew had telephoned him at 12:35 P.M. to say he had overheard someone say a bomb would be thrown in front of the building. Armstead Barrett, assistant manager, received a telephone call from a woman with a "West Indian" accent at 2:25 P.M. saying she heard three men threaten to blow up the place.

Searches Fruitless

Police searches were fruitless there, as well as at The New York Times building at 229 West 43d Street, where a man had telephoned to complain of an editorial on Malcolm's death and declared, "Your plant will be destroyed at 4 o'clock."

Malcolm's body, lying in a bronze casket under a glass plate, originally was to have gone on view at 2:30 P.M. At 6:15 P.M., his widow, Betty, protected by a cordon of policemen, went into the funeral home. She stayed with four friends and relatives until 7:10 P. M. Ten minutes later the public was allowed in. There were 350 persons waiting behind police barricades.

About 2,000 persons were estimated to have visited the funeral home last night before it closed at 11 P.M.

The public will be admitted again starting at 10:30 A. M. today and continuing until 11 P. M.

The funeral home's directory listed the dead leader as Al Hajj Malik Shabazz. The first two words signify his pilgrimage to Mecca and the last two represent the first name he assumed when he converted to the Nation of Islam. Malcolm's birth name was Malcolm Little.

Dr. M. T. Mehdi, secretary general of the Action Committee on American-Arab Relations and a friend of Malcolm's for four years, said the Mecca pilgrimage had been "the most important because it changed his attitude from racist thinking of black supremacy to one of authentic Islam, which believes in the equality of man."

Service Delayed

A funeral service is being delayed until Saturday morning at the widow's request.

One orthodox Moslem, Sheik Al-Hajh Daoud Ahmed Faisal of the Islamic Mission of America, 143 State Street, Brooklyn, said the Koran ordinarily called for burial within 24 hours if possible.

Policemen were stationed on the roofs of the funeral home and adjoining buildings yesterday and were deployed throughout the area. Persons entering for other funerals were searched.

Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle, in charge of Manhattan North detectives, said Malcolm's supporters were hampering the investigation of their leader's murder by failing to come forward as witnesses.

Chief Coyle said they might be reluctant, but he emphasized their leader "had a cause and he was a sacrifice for it."

William Parker, who was shot in the right foot Sunday at the meeting at which Malcolm was killed, told the police in Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center yesterday that he had been a follower of Malcolm and that he fell over his 4-year-old son to protect him when the shooting started.

Chief Coyle said that William Harris, who was in the hospital with a bullet wound in the abdomen, refused to say anything except that he would take care of his own problems.

"There's a little of the dawn," Chief Coyle said when asked about the inquiry. "We're making progress. But what is being done now is basically groundwork."

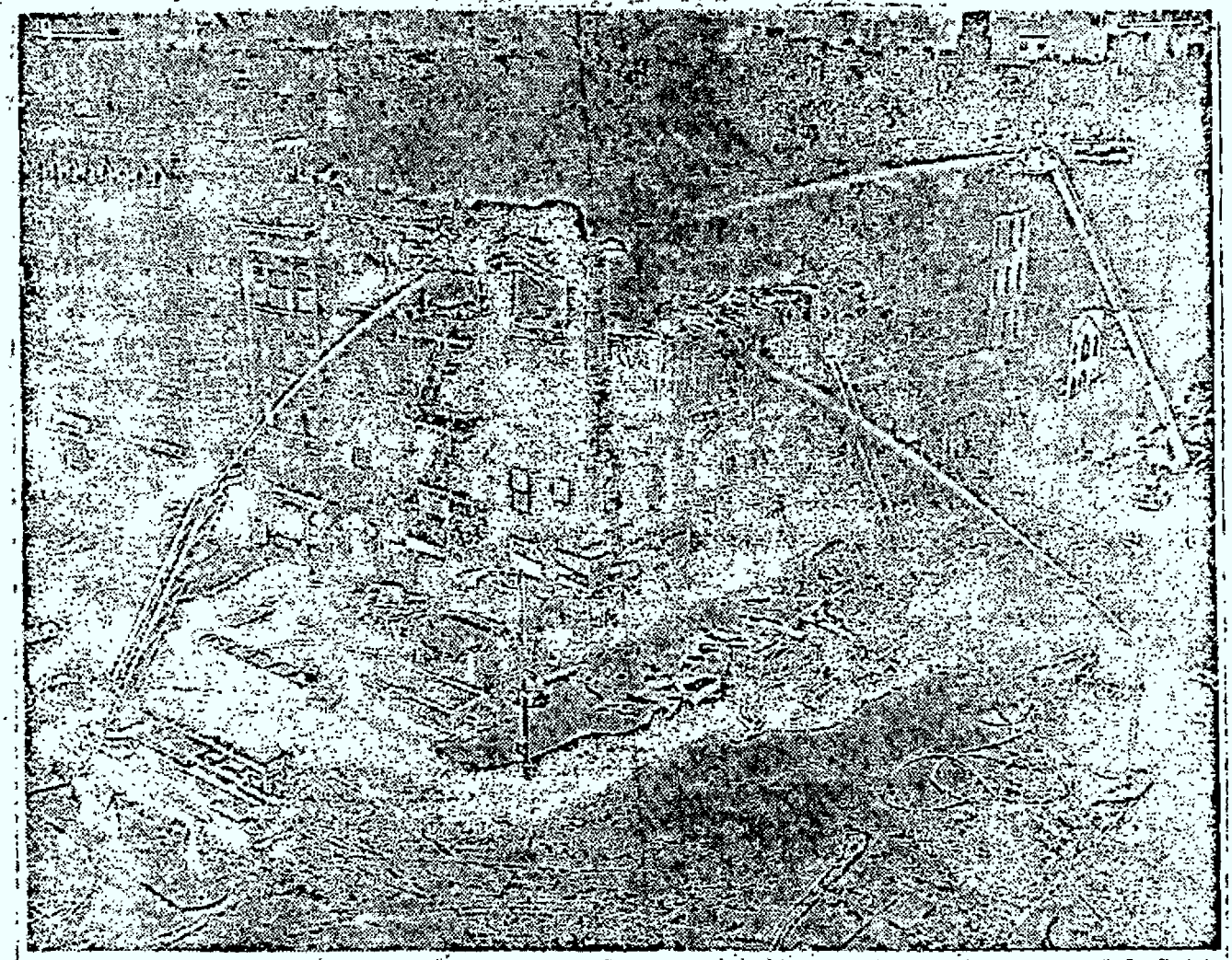
One Negro has been charged with the murder. He was booked under the name of Thomas Hagan although he has a police record under the names of Talmadge Hayer and Thomas Hayer.

Hagan, or Hayer, or Hayes—the name on his school records in his home town of Paterson, N. J.—was kicked and pummeled by a crowd that pursued him as he fled the Audubon Ballroom on 166th Street Sunday. Even before he got out of the ballroom he was shot in the thigh, allegedly by one of Malcolm's bodyguards.

Hagan-Hayer-Hayes was still in Bellevue Hospital's prison ward last night.

Police Commissioner Walter Arm said yesterday the Police Department on 20 specific occasions had offered protection to Malcolm or other leaders of his group—only to be turned down.

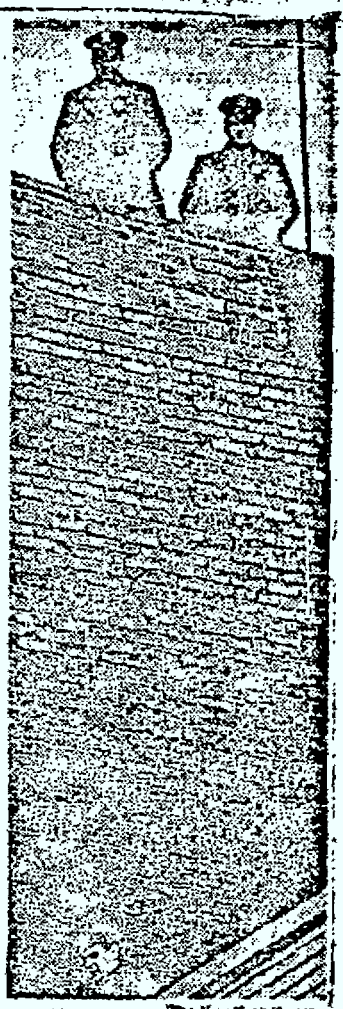
Seventeen times, he said, the department had offered to station uniformed men at meetings at the Audubon Ballroom. The last offer, he said, was made last Sunday.



The New York Times (by Don Charles)

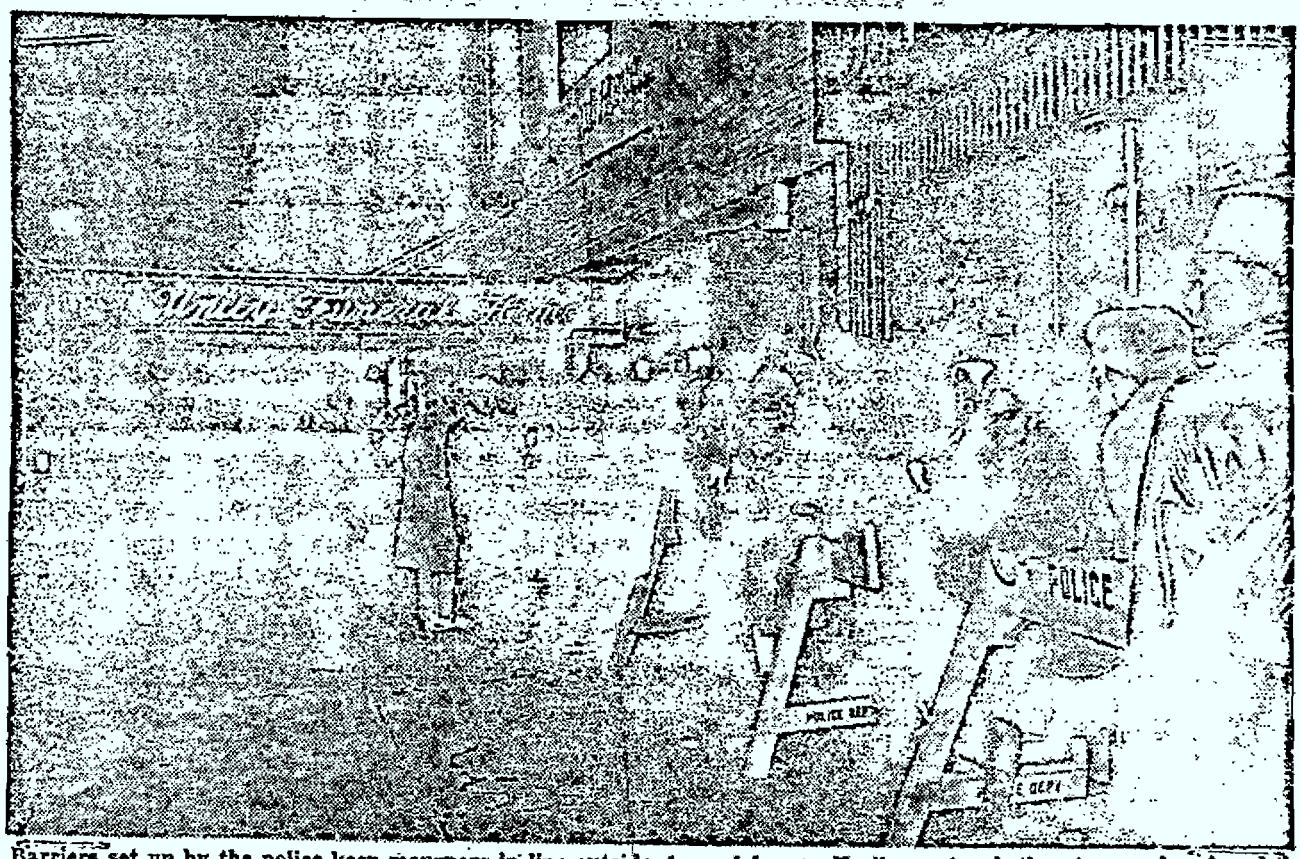
BLACK MUSLIM CENTER BURNS: New York Mosque No. 7, at Lenox Avenue and 116th Street, on fire yesterday

A policeman inspects flowers being delivered at Unity Funeral Home on Eighth Avenue above West 126th Street.



The New York Times

Policemen behind parapets on roof guard the scene.



Barriers set up by the police keep mourners in line outside funeral home. Earlier, a bomb threat proved unfounded.

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

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Blast Wrecks Muslim HQ Here

By KENNETH GROSS and RALPH BLUMENFELD

A spectacular fire triggered by a series of explosions gutted the Black Muslims' Harlem headquarters today in what was seen as a stroke of vengeance for Sunday's murder of Muslim defector Malcolm X.

Five firemen were injured, one critically, in the three-alarm blaze which began with a "terrific muffled exploson" blowing out the windows of the Muslim's fourth-floor mosque at 102 W. 116th St. at 2:15 a.m.

Police reinforcements poured into Harlem to guard against further outbreaks of violence and tighten security at the mosque, where only a small patrol was assigned in the first 35 hours after Malcolm's death.

Four policemen were on duty outside the mosque on Police Commissioner Murphy's orders to prevent retaliation for Malcolm's slaying, but there apparently was no surveillance of the building's interior.

Ptl. John Waterman, on patrol outside, said the mosque's doors were locked. Chief Inspector McKearney told reporters that nobody was seen leaving the building after the explosions began.

Two witnesses, however, said they saw two men emerge from a door of an adjacent building at 111 Lenox Av.—the roof of which is connected to the mosque's roof—when the fire started. But McKearney said:

"We have no knowledge of that."

Ptl. Edward Mottole said he found the door of 111 Lenox Av. open and ran up the stairs "looking for people to get out."

He found no people in the building, Mottole said, but on the roof he found a gasoline-soaked brown paper shopping bag which "looked like it had had a five-gallon can of gas in it."

Fire Chief John T. O'Hagan said his men were not immediately able to search the charred mosque—and the Muslims' No. 7 Temple of Islam on the third floor—but that he thought the fire was "certainly suspicious."

Asked if the fire was set in revenge for Malcolm's murder, O'Hagan replied:

"I would't be surprised. It seems logical. I just put the fires out. eW have our top investigators working on it. It's certainly suspicious.

1 Lenox Av 105-8999

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

3 NEW YORK POST

105-8999-5894

[redacted] b7c

Date: 2/23/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: GROSS, BLUMENFELD
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-8999

LARCHED ..... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ..... FILED

43 FEB 2 ... 65
FBI — NEW YOR...

[redacted] b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/10/84 BY 82 [illegible]

The mosque's roof collapsed 30 minutes after the first alarm as more than 150 firemen fought to bring the blaze under control in sub-freezing weather.

Fireman Siegfried Newman, struck in the head by falling brick as he worked a high-powered hose halfway up a 100-foot ladder, was taken to Harlem Hospital in critical condition. Later reports listed him as "fair."

A fire lieutenant and three other firemen, less seriously injured, were taken to the same hospital. Also reported hospitalized was a civilian, Melvin Shelton, 34, of 349 W. 85th St., who suffered an injured hand.

McKearney, conceding that it was possible for someone to reach the mosque roof unseen by entering one of the connecting buildings on Lenox Av., said police would question "all of Malcolm's people" but would not immediately attribute the fire to vengeance for his murder.

"We're investigating all possible avenues of explanation," McKearney said.

Scores of Black Muslims had gathered for a meeting in the third-floor temple earlier in the evening and the building was not empty until midnight. "Man, the place was packed," a nearby resident said.

Henry X, a spokesman for the Muslim mosque, said flatly: "This has all the earmarks of retaliation."

Ptl. Waterman and his partner, Ptl. Frank Valenti, were the first to see the fire from their vantage point on patrol outside the mosque.

"I had just checked the door and founnd it locked and we were wallking around the street with nobody in sight when we heard this explosion," Waterman said.

"It went 'varoom!' and I yelled to Frank, 'run!'

"We ran out into the middle of 116th St. and saw the glass from the windows coming down toward us and the flames shooting out. There was quite a glow."

Turn In Alarm

Waterman and Valenti ran to turn in the alarm, then evacuated the patrons in a bar on the Lenox Av. side of the grouped buildings.

The blaze, brought officially under control at 4:20 a.m. but still smoldering two hours later, was confined to the two top floors of the building used as New York headquarters for the Chicago-based Muslim organization headed by Elijah Muhammad.

The second floor is vacant. The ground floor houses four commercial establishments including the Shabazz Restaurant, owned by the Muslims and offered by them as an example of Negro-owned business places.

Chief O'Hagan said nobody had been found inside the burning building and there were no reports of injured persons inside.

There was some confusion over how many separate explosions preceded the fire. Many witnesses, including the two patrolmen stationed outside, were aware of only one blast. But several nearby residents insisted they heard more than one.

Fire Commissioner Martin Scott said delay between the first explosion report and the 50-foot flames which became widely visible 10 minutes later was probably due to the fact that the fire was building itself up.

Scott would not comment officially on speculation that revenge had motivated the presumed arsonists.

"You fellows can put two and two together," he shrugged.

Meanwhile, police hoped to head off the vengeance of Malcolm's followers by finding his assassins. But clues were few, except for the victim's repeated assurances that the Black Muslims had him marked for execution.

Police would not confirm a report that Malcolm's wife, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, 37, had removed

a slip of paper from his pocket as he lay dying, supposedly listing the names of Muslims assigned to kill him.

Fingerprint experts were still working on Malcolm's car—a blue 1963 Olds reported "missing" when he died, but found 27 hours after the murder parked at 146th St. and Broadway. In the trunk were a typewriter, an attache case, two rolls of movie film and a suitcase.

The car's location was 20 blocks south of the Audubon Ballroom at 166th St. and Audubon Av., where the 39 year-old Black Nationalist leader was gunned down Sunday at 3:03 p.m.

Police said the car and its contents ould be turned over to Malcolm's widow, "but so far she hasn't been in touch with us."

Mrs. Shabazz had promised to be available today for questioning as "one of the witnesses" in the slaying, police said.

No immediate move was made to arraign the lone suspect in custody, Talmadge Hayer, 22, as police sought evidence linking him to Muslim activity in New Jersey.

Paterson and Passiac police reportedly know Hayer well. They arrested him Nov. 7, 1963, when 40 guns of varying description, stolen from Passaic's Liberty Arms store, were found in Hayer's basement at 347 Marshall St., Paterson. Still missing in the same robbery are 57 boxes of pistol ammunition and 2,500 rifle and shotgun shells.

Hayer was charged with homicide eight hours after Sunday's assassination because two witnesses identified him as one of three gunmen who had fired enough bullets at Malcolm X to wound him 16 times. Chief Medical Examiner Dr. Milton Helpern said the fatal wounds came from the sawed-off double-barrelled 12-gauge shotgun allegedly fired by Hayer.

The slender 6-foot suspect, under heavy protective guard at the Bellevue Hospital prison ward, isn't talking. Neither are his mother and two young sisters, with whom he lived at the Paterson address.

Police say Hayer was shot in the left thigh by Malcolm lieutenant Reuben Francis as he fled the murder scene. Hayer then had to be rescued by police from the angry mob, and Francis was arrested about an hour later outside the Hotel Theresa.

But four alleged Hayer accomplices who vanished from the ballroom are still at large—including two gunmen and two men who, witnesses say diverted attention from the attack on Malcolm by setting a gasoline-soaked sock afire in the rear of the hall.

"Now what are they going to say—that he shot himself?"

Malcolm's half-sister, Mrs. Ella Mae Collins, said in Boston: "He will be avenged."

Chicago police kept a 'round-the-clock watch on the home of Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, hoping to net six Malcolmites reportedly bound from New York bent on retribution.

A Chicago Daily News dispatch in yesterday's early edition of The New York Post, crediting an FBI source, listed the names of two of the men believed to be on the way to Chicago. A man identifying himself as one of them, Omar Ahmad, called The Post from Harlem during the day and denied that he had any connection with the Malcolm group.

"We are innocent," Muhammad, 67, told a press conference.

But Chicago cops strengthened their security guard in worried anticipation of the Muslim national convention there this weekend.

At Malcolm's Hotel Theresa headquarters his private secretary, James Shabazz, met last night with other members of the now-leaderless group.

"He was the spirit, the force and the fiber of the movement," one man said. "Without him, there is no movement."

But Harlem observers predicted that Malcolm's Organization for Afro-American Unity would now be taken over by the urbane, goateed Shabazz.

He is a fiery orator, much in the style of his slain leader but better-educated—fluent, for example, in several languages including Chinese. And, observers say, more single-minded than the often affable Malcolm.

Leon Ameer, the former press secretary for Cassius Clay who took over Malcolm's Boston office after splitting with the Muslims and now sees himself as the Muslims' chief target, is also in the running as inheritor of Malcolm's mantle. But he is said to lack the "appeal" of Shabazz.

"Shabazz has a 'hard' reputation," it is said.

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

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

About Malcolm X

JAMES A. WECHSLER

The murder of Malcolm X may be solved at any hour. But the mystery surrounding this elusive, magnetic man will haunt and fascinate those who knew him even slightly.

To much of the white world he was long a demonic character engaged in the reckless preachment of hatred and violence against "whiteys" and their "Uncle Tom" accomplices. To many Negroes he was the only fearless, virtuous voice of salvation.

But the true tragedy of his sudden death may well be that he was a complicated, introspective man engaged in profound personal transition when he was truck down. It is conceivable that he was on the threshold of a larger, if altered, role in the annals of our time. Now we will never be sure.

* * *

One of those who talked personally and sadly yesterday about Malcolm's murder was a spirited civil rights activist named Donald Harris. A Rutgers graduate and Georgia field worker for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Harris had spent many hours of his young lifetime listening and talking to Malcom. Late last year their paths crossed anew in Nairobi, Cario and Paris, where Harris and other SNCC leaders were on tour.

"It was a year since I had seen him, and he had grown tremendously in overall perspective," Harris recalled yesterday.

"He had completely moved away from separatist doctrine. He was talking about bringing all of the elements of the civil rights movement together so that they could speak with greater effectiveness—whether at the UN or in dealing with the new nations.

"His manner was different even in the way he spoke to people—a conscious effort not to frighten them off and dropping the use of words like 'devil' when he talked of whites.

"He seemed to realize that it was very important for him to get into the mainstream of the civil rights movement. He wanted to be respected, you might even say that he was seeking respectability."

* * *

All this did not mean Malcolm had become a model moderate. "He continued to say many things that needed to be said—to keep people on their toes and force them to think," Harris observed. At the same time Malcolm was visibly trying to emerge from the isolation into which some of his earlier utterances (such as his cruelly derisive comment on the assassination of President Kennedy) had driven him.

For Harris and others of his generation—as well as some older citizens—Malcolm had retained a lively personal appeal even when they differed philosophically with him. But now they found him "warmer, more genial" than ever in private colloquy; they were struck as always by his patience and earnestness in conversing with young students.

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

22 NEW YORK POST

Date: 2/23/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: JAMES A. WECHSLER
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

XX Being Investigated

105-[illegible]

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FEB 23 1965
FBI — NEW YORK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/10/84 BY 826 DHE/WEB/dd

Cynics may say he had shrewdly shifted his tactics in an effort to broaden his base of support. But to Harris and others, he seemed a man of solemnity and pride groping his way toward new positions from the frustrated frenzy of ghettoism.

He was also certain, Harris recalled, that he was in personal danger as a result of his split with the official Muslim sect. "In Paris last December he always sat with his back to the wall, he seemed paranoid about people passing him," Harris remarked. In the light of Sunday's events, his anxieties proved to have the quality of premonition.

* * *

I had only two encounters with Malcolm X; the public phases were angry and acrimonious. One was on a Barry Gray show during which a) he bitterly assailed A. Philip Randolph for his repudiation of Marcus Garvey's black nationalism in the early 1920s and b) denounced me for suggesting that New York was a less oppressive state than Mississippi. But as soon as the program ended, he became gracious and communicative; measured dignity replaced easy demagogy. "You know I'll never admit publicly that New York is better than Mississippi until we win our revolution," he said; his eyes danced with a certain whimsicality; he proposed that we lunch together soon. Unfortunately, we never did.

The other exchange occurred at a public forum shortly after a white Cleveland minister had been killed by a paving truck during a civil rights demonstration. After Malcolm had delivered his anti-white tirade, I asked him (as reported here at the time) whether he would voice any word or compassion for this slain white martyr. He roared his comtemptuous reply; he would have no soft sentences for any white man as long as millions of Negroes remained oppressed.

But all that was many long months ago. To the end, his voice could still be fiery and provocative; as late as last Thursday, according to a report in the Columbia Spectator, he was telling a throng of Barnard girls that many Negroes were "ready, willing, equipped and able" to combat terrorism with terror. He was also saying, however, that "the Negro revolution is not a racial revolt —we are interested in practicing brotherhood with anyone really interested in living according to it." This was apparently his last public address before he stepped into the asassins' fire on Sunday at a meeting from which, in the climactic twist, all whites were barred for "security" reasons.

In Malcolm's life-story rival historians may glimpse squandered genius, messianic inpiration, mystic fanaticism, private gentleness, a tortured soul. Perhaps there were elements of all these things. Many men may now invoke his name, and profess to act in his behalf. There are ominous rumblings of reprisal. I can hardly speak for him, but surely there is enough in the record of his last months on earth to suggest that he hoped to leave a legacy more meaningful that wild cries for revenge. As for myself, I might be a wiser man if I had known him better.

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

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm X And His Enemies

By TIMOTHY LEE

IN THE WORLD of Malcolm X, the enemy was everywhere. He lurked in religious temples and he stalked the streets of every big city where there is a large population of Negroes.

The enemy was a member of the Nation of Islam, better known as the Black Muslims, a black supremacist religious organization where the white man is "a blue-eyed devil" and the Negro is "divine." The enemy was a member of the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan, white supremacist groups where the Negro is called every vile name in the English language. The enemy wore tatters or an Ivy League suit, and sometimes he wears a badge. For Malcolm X, he was everywhere.

"There is a conspiracy to kill me because the racists know that I now believe the only way to help the black man in this country is unity among black people and white people," Malcolm said a scant few days before he was murdered. "Since 1961 there has been a working agreement between Elijah Muhammad and his Black Muslims and the Klan and the White Citizens Council. They are all interested in keeping the black man segregated."

Malcolm had just returned from applying for a pistol permit at the W. 123d St. police station. He was talking in the headquarters of the Muslim Mosque Inc., located in Suite 128 of the Hotel Theresa at Seventh Av. and 125th St. He had opened the mosque last year when he defected from the Black Muslims.

Two young men stood guarding the door and a dozen others lounged as best they could on wooden folding chairs. A few days before, the house where he had lived in Elmhurst, Queens, was bombed at 2:30 a.m. while he and his wife, Betty, and their four children were sleeping. The bomb exploded 10 hours after Malcolm returned from a five-week speaking tour in Europe and North Africa as chairman of the Organization for Afro-American Unity.

The explosion, and his assassination, came almost one year after Malcolm divorced himself from the Black Muslim movement. At that time he was East Coast representative of Elijah Muhammad, the "Messenger of Allah" and leader of the Nation of Islam. As Elijah's representative, Malcolm made a speech in Manhattan Center on Dec. 2, 1963, in which he said the assassination of President Kennedy two weeks earlier was a case of "chickens coming home to roost." For this, Elijah suspended and [illegible] days.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/10/84 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/[illegible]

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

21 NEW YORK POST

Date: 2/23/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: TIMOTHY LEE
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-3993
Submitting Office: NYO

XX Being Investigated

105 8999 584

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted] 624

43 FEB 23 1965
FBI — NEW YORK

"Many people hated President Kennedy but some others loved him enough to die for him," said Minister James X by way of explanation the other day. James is the man who replaced Malcolm as Elijah's East Coast representative. "Because of those strong feelings, the Messenger said no Muslim should make a statement about his death. But Malcolm, you see, thought he had a public image to protect and he just couldn't keep his mouth shut. He disobeyed the Honorable Elijah Muhammad."

A short, broad young man with a shaved head named Captain Joseph X chanted "That's right" after each statement James X made. They were sitting under a portrait of Elijah Muhammad in the Shabazz Restaurant at 113 Lenox Av., around the corner from Mosque No. 7, where Malcolm X used to be minister.

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IN THE RESTAURANT, OPERATED BY THE mosque, two young men glared at a visitor and never took their eyes off him. Two more guarded the front door and several others watched Capt. Joseph for a signal. Capt. Joseph is east coast military commander, in charge of the Fruit of Islam, the Black Muslim's shock troops.

The Black Muslims profess not to smoke, drink, gamble, use narcotics, or engage in sexual promiscuity. They eat only one meal a day and they demand complete separation of the races.

There are about 7,000 registered Black Muslims in the United States, and an estimated 50,000 sympathizers. "We're not interested in sympathizers," James X said. "Sympathizers like you because they think you're an underdog. We have nothing to fear but Malcolm does. He has defied the Messenger and he must fear the wrath of Allah." The Muslims will not harm Malcolm—he is not important enough."

But Malcolm feared that he was important enough. He was converted to Islam while serving seven years for burglary in a Massachusetts prison. During his 10 years as a Black Muslim he was certainly the sect's best strategist and organizer. In the year after he left, he said, more than 50 per cent of the young men quit the movement.

"I haven't even bothered trying to recruit those men," Malcolm said. "That's one of the reasons Elijah's people want to murder me. They're afraid the same organizing skills I used to make the Black Muslim movement what it was will be used against them. When I start recruiting, the Black Muslims will feel it."

Another reason his life was in danger, Malcolm said, was that he testified in court last year that he was forced out of the Nation of Islam because "I had told members of my mosque that Elijah Muhammad was living with nine wives and six children by these wives. But I've since found out it was seven wives and 10 children. No wonder he lost so many followers who were interested in moral righteousness."

Two weeks after Malcolm left the movement one of his older brothers accused him of trying to lead Negroes into "violence, bloodshed and loss of life." Philbert X, a minister of Muhammad's mosque of Islam in a four-city area in Michigan, called his brother "cunning and clever" and said "his reckless efforts will cause many of our unsuspecting people who listen to and follow him unnecessary loss of blood and life."

Last June six of Malcolm's followers were arrested outside the Shabazz restaurant when one of them aimed a loaded semi-automatic rifle at a group of 35 of Elijah's followers. There followed a series of beatings and stompings in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Boston and New York. But somehow, major violence was avoided.

In July the police raided Suite 128 of the Hotel Theresa, headquarters for Malcolm's new mosque, and found a fully-loaded 7.65 Mauser high-powered rifle with 100 rounds of ammunition.

In September a 28-year-old computer operator was arrested when an arsenal was found in his home in Brooklyn after police were called when he threatened his wife. The arsenal included four rifles, one of them a high-powered Magnum, three pistols, several surgical knives and machetes, two bayonets, two axes, about 600 rounds of ammunition and a walkie-talkie set. There were also several books on warfare. The young man showed the cops a card signed by Malcolm X certifying membership in the Organization for Afro-American Unity. He said he was a follower of Malcolm and kept the weapons "to protect myself and Malcolm X."

On January 6 in the Bronx, a Rikers Island prison guard was shot in the chest and seriously wounded by three Black Muslims. He had defected from Mosque 7, where he was known as 13X, and Capt. Joseph admits the three men arrested for the shooting were also from Mosque 7.

A week later Elijah Muhammad's youngest son, Akbar Muhammad, a 25-year-old student of Islamic law at Al Azhar University in Cairo, quit his father's movement. He made it clear his sympathies were with Malcolm. He quit, he said, because he was no longer able to agree with "my father's concocted religious teachings, which in most cases are far from and diametrically opposed to Islam, and because of his politically sterile philosophy of the Afro-American struggle."

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MALCOLM LIKED TO SAY HIS MUSLIM MOSQUE, Inc., was open to people of all races. "The trouble is, we haven't found any white people who want to be Muslims," he said. But there was no question about membership in the Organization for Afro-American Unity—Negroes only.

"We are going to build an organization that will be run exclusively by Negroes and only for Negroes," Malcolm said. "That means the man downtown (white people and civil rights leaders) won't be able to tell us when to demonstrate or what kind of demonstration we are allowed to have."

In his position of religious and social leader Malcolm X likened himself to Dr. Martin Luther King, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and Rev. Milton Galamison. "I'm a religious leader, yes. But religion is not enough," Malcolm said. "Today the problems of the Negro go beyond religion. They are so complex that any man who thinks he has a simple solution has to look ignorant—and that includes the white racists who want segregation and the Black Muslims who want separation."

But Malcolm had no intention of joining forces with those civil rights leaders who teach non-violence. He said, instead, that his OAAU would recruit and train Negroes to protect other Negroes during their voter registration drives in the South.

"If the American Negro were American, he wouldn't need civil rights legislation and voter registration drives," Malcolm said. "You can't use kids against the Ku Klux Klan. What you need are armed and equipped units, and if the government won't send them we will. I've never advocated violence but I do believe in protecting ourselves from those who want to harm us."

Among those who wanted to harm him personally, Malcolm assured his listener, were all the Black Muslims still faithful to Elijah Muhammad. When the $16,200 Elmhurst home was bombed and burned, Malcolm said it was an attempt on his life. The next day, when the home was declared the property of the Nation of Islam in Queens Civil Court and Malcolm ordered evicted, the Black Muslims said the bombing had been done by Malcolm himself as a publicity stunt.

"I won't say this is the start of a war," Malcolm said. "But there's been blood spilled and there will be more. Elijah could stop it if he wanted to, because no Muslim commits a violent act against a black man without his permission. I believe Elijah hates Negroes and he wants to see them spill each other's blood, even kill each other."

Malcolm X moved from the Elmhurst home last Thursday in the dead of the night—between midnight and 5 a.m.. Among those who helped him move was James Shebazz, who says he was told by Capt. Joseph X in January 1964 that he "should go over and kill Malcolm." Instead Shebazz, 33, warned Malcolm and quit Mosque 7 and the Black Muslims.

★ ★ ★

"WE'RE NOT TRYING TO SHUT MALCOLM UP," James X had said. "If he's got something to peddle, let him peddle it. Let him become a chump for the white man. But he's got to stop trying to tear down the image of the Messenger. You know, if you go into a Christian church and lambaste Jesus, you're liable to get your lumps."

At the Hotel Theresa Malcolm prepared to leave. Two of the young men got up to check the corridor. A stranger was waiting for the elevator and they told Malcolm to wait. When the corridor was empty two more men walked outside the building and checked the sidewalk. When a pair of strangers standing on the corner moved away, they signaled all clear.

"I've never had a bodyguard," Malcolm said as he got into his car. "Your alertness is your best bodyguard. But there is a threat against my life and there is no people in the United States able to carry out that threat better than the Black Muslims. I know. I taught them."

Seventh Av. and 125th St. was crowded. There were cops and civilians, shoppers and workers going home. Somewhere among them, was the enemy.

And on Sunday afternoon the enemy caught up with him. Malcolm X has been silenced.

Post Photo By Stein

—"I've never advocated violence but . . ."

Jimmy Cannon

SPORTS TODAY

The Muslims' Prize

This was in Miami Beach before the Cassius Clay-Sonny Liston fight. The guys who promoted it played it down when you asked them if it were true that Clay was a Black Muslim. They panicked when Malcolm X walked into the 5th st. gym.

CANNON

They worked on Clay to break him away from Malcolm X but they couldn't shake him. Already he was Cassius X. But that was a name the Muslims didn't use publicly. They persuaded him to be discreet about his friendship with Malcolm X. They were very close and they spent a lot of time together but they met secretly.

He carried a cane Malcolm X gave him and he was proud of it. The guys who live off him as a fighter said you know Cassius, he's just a big kid. It's his brother, Rudy, who is mixed up with the Muslims. No one was conned. But the boxing journalists didn't take it seriously. They did kidding pieces about it. It was treated as a gag. But there were guys with Xs in their names around Clay all the time.

It wasn't until after Clay became the heavyweight champion that he threw away the Clay and took the X. It was all out in the open then and he came on strong with the doctrine of black supremacy. But Malcolm X broke with the Muslims and put his own outfit together. Clay stayed with them, and he was suddenly Muhammad Ali.

He was very vain about what he was. He didn't mention Malcolm X anymore. He told people that Elijah Muhammad was a holy man and you couldn't get him to discuss Malcolm X. The Muslims moved with him every place he went in Boston as he exercised for the second fight with Liston which was called off. Never again would he carry Malcolm X's cane.

They cherish him as a trophy because he is the only famous Negro in their sect. They acted like bodyguards but they also seemed to be his keepers. The guy who swung the most weight was Clarence X who used his hands in the streets of Boston as the Muslims fought among themselves. He didn't say much and he generally whispered when he spoke to Clay.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY N.Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN

EDITION Latest Ins

DATE FEB 23 1965

PAGE 23

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION ✓

105-8999-5890

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED

SERIALIZED [redacted] 62C

43 FEB 23 1965

FBI—NEW YORK [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/10/84 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/ld

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The Muslims would stand around and eavesdrop on the interviews after the workouts in the gym. Sometimes Clarence X would bend down and put his mouth close to Clay's ear to tell him something. The champion would nod or he would get up and walk over to people who were waiting to shake his hand. The people all seemed to be friends of Clarence X and they didn't appear to be fight buffs.

It was different in other ways, too. Angelo Dundee has been Clay's trainer from the beginning. But Dundee no longer stood on the apron of the ring to advise him while he beat up the sparring partners. He was down on the floor but he explained it meant nothing. Dundee is the only white guy around Clay who is connected with boxing. The guy who was up on the apron was Boudini who isn't a Muslim. He is a Negro and when I saw him there and Dundee below him and away from the action I remembered what a guy had told me in Miami.

"If Clay wins the title," the Negro entertainer said, "don't be surprised if he fights only Muslims."

One afternoon I was sitting with Clay in the dressing room up a flight of stairs from the gym. He said no one was fooling him. They called him champ to demean him. He claims that's how white men avoid referring to him as Muhammad Ali. He made champ a nasty word. That's what Dundee calls him.

"The Pope change his name," he said. "Everybody change their name. Why can't I change my name?"

This is the first time I ever saw him this way. It would happen again in Boston, and often. There were instances when he ridiculed the Christian religions. It was bad, this vicious strain in the glad personality. The way it came out it sounded as though he were addressing a multitude in a vast hall instead of a few sports writers in a closet of a dressing room. It seemed rehearsed.

★

There was an afternoon when a Negro minister, who fought as Shannon O'Neill, asked him a question. The clergyman called him Cassius instead of Muhammad Ali and this made Clay hysterical. He turned on O'Neill and screamed about truth and the true God and he was no longer the innocent clown of a kid. There was meanness in him, and it was frightening. They have him and this is what they did to him and they were with him constantly.

This is a kid who was rejected by the Army although he had passed all the physical tests and they got their hands on him and had transformed him into a propagandist. They were sentinels outside of any door he was behind and they pushed aisles through the crowds that collected around him the way detectives take a prisoner through a mob. They were always present, and they glared at anyone who approached him as though they expected someone to come at him.

There was a Negro in the fight racket who knew them and he said they owned this kid and they would never let go of him. He is a prize. They slept in the hotel where he stopped and they cooked for him and waited on him at meals and they were always there and he didn't seem like an athlete anymore but a plaster statue carried in a procession. They picked up the phone when you called him and they were always present at the interviews and they approved of what he said because he made Elijah Muhammad a saint on earth, and he argued for their cause which was also his own.

He boasted about the sanctity of the Muslim's way of life and, because he is the heavyweight champion, reporters took notes on what he said. He always came around to Liston being a hoodlum. There is no violence in us, Clay would say, and he was still saying it in Chicago the day after his old friend had been murdered on a platform in a ballroom in Harlem.

"Cassius ain't a bad boy," grieved the Negro in the fight racket in Boston. "It's a shame what they done to this nice kid."

The night they took Clay to the hospital with the hernia they lined up outside the room where he lay. They ran everyone off until the cops came to chase them. It was Clarence X, standing on a chair in the hospital lobby, who read the original medical explanation of Clay's condition. There wasn't any doubt who was in charge.

Cassius Clay who was once Cassius X is now Muhammad Ali. Malcolm X is dead and Clay hasn't carried his cane for a long while. He is Muhammad Elijah's man now. He praises Muhammad Elijah as a pure and good man and he seems to be shouting from a pulpit when he does. That's the way he talked about Malcolm X when he, too, had an X in his name.

Elijah Says Malcolm Died as He Preached

Chicago, Feb. 22 (UPI)—Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad said today his assassinated former lieutenant, Malcolm X, preached war and violence and "died according to his preaching."

The diminutive Muhammad said his Negro supermacy sect was innocent of the slaying of Malcolm, a bitter defector from Muslim ranks, and that he had no idea who shot him.

Speaking at a rare news conference heavily guarded by police and Muslim "Fruit of Islam" bodyguards, Muhammad said he was not disturbed by reports that gunmen might be en route from New York to Chicago to avenge Malcolm's death.

Doesn't Know Them

He said he did not know any of the persons questioned in New York about the assassination and did not believe they were his followers.

Muhammad, sitting in the lavish living room of his three-story, 15-room South Side mansion, told newsmen that Malcolm X died by the same violence which he preached himself and which, Muhammad said, caused the Muslims to expel the former head of the New York Muslim mosque.

"Malcolm died according to his preaching," Muhammad said. "He seems to have taken weapons as his god. Therefore, we couldn't tolerate a man like that.

"He preached war. We preach peace. We're forbidden to do that (preach war) by God Himself."

World's heavyweight champion Cassius Clay told reporters: "I cannot presume to improve on what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad says. He speaks for all Muslims in this country. And you can be sure that whatever he says is right."

Muhammad said he did not expect "war" to break out between the Negro militants who defected with Malcolm X and the Black Muslims, which he estimated at between 200,000 and ~~300,000.~~

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY News

EDITION Final

DATE 2-23-65

PAGE 3

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(UPI Telefoto)

'Violence Took Him Away'

Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad addresses news conference in his Chicago home yesterday. He said of the murder of Malcolm X, "He preached violence and violence took him away." Heavily guarded by police and "Fruit of Islam" bodyguards, Muhammad said he was not disturbed by reports that gunmen might be enroute to Chicago from New York to avenge Malcolm's death. He denied his sect had anything to do with the shooting.

(NEWS foto by Alan Aaronson)
James Shabazz, Malcolm's secretary, at station house yesterday.

-350 (Rev. 7-18-63)

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MALCOLM X LED CLAY TO MUSLIMS

Slain Leader Was Assailed by Boxer After Split

By ROBERT LIPSYTE

A year ago, under a bright Miami sky, it seemed odd that the happy-go-lucky, loud-mouthed 22-year-old spent so much time in deep discussion with the somber Black Muslim from New York.

That relationship was pointed up yesterday with reports that as a result of the murder of the Negro leader, Malcolm X, the police were guarding the young man, Cassius Clay, the heavyweight boxing champion of the world.

The two had been discussing Black Muslimism for a number of years and had built up admiration for each other and for Elijah Muhammad, the supreme leader of the Black Muslim movement.

It was Malcolm who guided him into the movement, personally taught him doctrine and counseled him as a friend.

Even though Malcolm had been silenced by Elijah, he and Clay met, and Clay invited him down to his Miami Beach training camp before the fight with Sonny Liston. At that time, Clay had passed the preliminary examinations for Black Muslim membership, but had not as yet received his X, symbolic of accreditation.

Awarded His X

The night Clay won the title was spent with Malcolm and a small group of friends—instead of the usual open house revelry.

The next day Clay announced his membership—which had been awarded by telephone the night before from Chicago headquarters. Informed sources insist that Clay would not have been awarded his X had Liston

A few weeks later, Malcolm broke with the movement. He could have taken Clay with him, but he counseled Clay to "find out for yourself."

With Malcolm gone, Cassius X's importance in the movement grew.

Clay, soon renamed Muhammad Ali, was able to recruit many young people for the movement, and was sent as a Black Muslim ambassador to African and Eastern heads of state.

When Clay went to Boston for the second fight with Liston and was asked about Malcolm, he would burst into a tirade against "that chief hypocrite."

Clay's Father Comments

Special to The New York Times

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Feb. 22—Cassius Clay's father denounced his son's Muslim associates today as "a bunch of gangsters."

Cassius Clay Sr. said he had consistently refused to call his son Muhammad Ali.

"I raised him clean," the elder Clay said. "He's got no reason to be ashamed of his name. That Elijah, he should clean his own house first."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/10/84 BY 8269 THE/ WEB/DD

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

21 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 2/23/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: ROBERT LIPSYTE
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

(X) Being Investigated

105-8999-5888

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SERIALIZED ... [redacted] ...
FEB 23 196[redacted]
[redacted] NEW YOR[redacted]

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MUSLIM MOSQUE EXPLOSION

By Maurice C. Carroll
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

An explosion rocked Temple Islam, a mosque of the Black Muslims, at 102 W. 116th St., shortly after 2 a. m. today.

Ambulances were rushed to the scene, and within minutes the resulting blaze had caused three alarms. Police said the blast apparently occurred on an upper floor of the building and flames had gone through the roof.

The explosion came in the midst of tension evoked by the murder Sunday afternoon of Malcolm X, leader of the Black Nationalists, which had been attributed to the Black Muslims. Extra details of police had been poured into Harlem.

At least six bearded young followers of the dissident Muslim leader were rumored bound for Chicago to take vengeance upon Black Muslim leaders, and authorities there put extra guards around Muslim sites.

Malcolm was gunned down before 400 persons Sunday afternoon in a second floor

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Herald Tribune

EDITION Late City

DATE 2/23/65

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Herald Tribune—UPI

Mrs. Malcolm X at the morgue yesterday.

Manhattan ballroom, but only one close-mouthed young man was held by New York police yesterday, and no one would say officially how many more were sought.

In the early evening, a blue 1963 Oldsmobile believed to be Malcolm's was found at 146th St. and Broadway, 20 blocks from the scene of the murder.

Police said a memorandum book had been found in Malcolm's pocket.

They declined comment on a rumor that the fiery leader, an eloquent, unpredictable 39-year-old with fierce friends and fierce enemies, had written on a slip of paper the names of men he thought would kill him—had intended to read those names at the meeting where he was murdered.

Malcolm's followers clearly blamed the assassination on the followers of Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader whose home is in Chicago.

The rumor was that Malcolm's widow had taken the paper out of his pocket moments after he was shot.

The soft-spoken nurse who married Malcolm X in 1958, who was the mother of his four children and who was in the audience Sunday when he was murdered, arrived at the City Morgue shortly before noon yesterday to identify formally his bullet-riddled body.

Malcolm's wife, Mrs. Betty Little Shabazz, wept when she saw the body, police said. But she composed herself and was able to answer newspapermen's questions outside the morgue a few minutes later.

Someone asked if she knew who had murdered her husband. "You'll have to talk to my attorney," she said quietly.

Had her husband expressed fear for his life?

"No," she said, "but he was concerned."

And then, bitterly, she said: "The police and press were unfair. No one believed what he said. They never took him seriously—not even after the bombing." She said he did it himself.

"Now what are they going to say—that he shot himself?"

Among those with Mrs. Shabazz was Joseph E. Hall, director of the Unity Funeral Home, 2353 Eighth Ave., at 128th St., where a funeral is to be held Saturday. There was no explanation of the delay. The Black Muslim tenets say that "the sun should not rise and set twice on the body of a dead Muslim."

A spokesman at the funeral home said the body would go on view at 3:30 p. m. today, and then be on view from 9 a. m. to 11 p. m. daily. No site has been chosen for the funeral, which is tentatively set for 10 a. m. Saturday, he said. Burial is to be in Ferncliff Cemetery, Hartsdale.

THE WOUNDS

Dr. Milton Helpern, Chief Medical Examiner, said a blast from both barrels of a sawed-off shotgun had killed Malcolm X, although 38 and 45 calibre bullets had hit him, too.

There were no wounds in the face, he said, and none had been inflicted from behind; but there were some in the lower extremities, indicating that the firing had continued after he fell backward.

"The man was a standing duck," Dr. Helpern said. "You don't have to be an expert marksman when you're up close."

Shotgun wounds of the chest and heart were listed as the official cause of death. The shotgun blast caused "a baker's dozen" wounds, most of them in the heart, the doctor said.

Police said at least three 45 calibre bullets and 16 shotgun pellets had been recovered from Malcolm's body.

The close-mouthed young man seized at the assassination scene was in the Bellevue Hospital first-floor prison ward, under extra-heavy guard and with the space on his admitting card for religious affiliation filled out with a question mark.

Was he a Black Muslim?

"We're not certain of his affiliation," said Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm. "We are trying to confirm whether he is or is not."

Even finding who he was took some time. Originally listed as Thomas Hagan, he was later identified through fingerprints as Talmadge Hayer, 22, alias Thomas Hayer, last known address 247 Marshall St., Paterson, N. J.

The FBI said the only notation in Hayer's record was an arrest at Passaic, N. J., Nov. 7, 1963, for possession of stolen property.

Police did not spell out immediately his role in the assassination.

Hayer's foot was in traction. He was shot in the thigh and his ankle broken during the melee after the assassination.

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MALCOLM X BODYGUARD—Reuben Francis, a follower of the slain Malcolm X, as he was booked yesterday for allegedly shooting Talmadge Hayer, one of the alleged assassins of Malcolm X who was captured.

There was a gunpoint confrontation June 16 in front of a Muslim restaurant on Lenox Ave. between Muslims and Malcolm's followers. The previous weekend, Malcolm said later, there had been a clash in Boston. Some of his followers were driving toward an airport, he said, in a car that he was supposed to have been in. "Some men with knives rushed back to the car . . . the car they thought I was in, shouting they were going to kill the so-and-so. But our brothers had a shotgun."

THE ASSESSMENT

This was Malcolm's assessment of the genesis of that incident: "The thing that has Elijah Muhammad insane with rage is that his followers are leaving in droves."

But Malcolm's own organizational efforts were generally conceded small success. He got a lot of publicity but he had few followers. Minister James, who was Malcolm's successor in New York, said at the time of the summer furor. "He has been so unsuccessful so far we don't even consider his movement important enough to look into."

Then, a week ago Sunday, the Queens home that the Muslims had given Malcolm and from which they were trying legally to dislodge him was struck by a fire bomb. "I believe that was done on orders of Elijah Muhammad," said Malcolm. James X said that Malcolm himself was the probable bomber.

The New York branch of the Muslim movement, which grew under Malcolm and is now headed by Minister James, has not seemed as separatist as the Muslims in the headquarters city of Chicago.

There, besides the separate restaurants and churches such as they maintain in New York, they run a department store, and their yellow school buses carry uniformed Muslim children to special Muslim schools.

Elijah Muhammad, known as the Prophet, inherited leadership of the movement after its white founder, Wallace Fard, disappeared mysteriously in 1934.

The Black Muslims are not recognized by Moslem religious leaders in the Middle East. Their followers in the United States, who now number 100,000 to 250,000 (it depends on the source), are distinguished by lives of rigorous morality and Moslem-style dietary restrictions.

They preach a rigid separatism from whites, a doctrine which Malcolm abandoned after he left the movement.

He, too, lived and preached a life of strict morality. But, although personally peaceful, he did not hesitate to preach violence.

The fear yesterday was that his followers might retaliate with violence against the men they thought had caused the violence that killed Malcolm—the leaders of Black Muslimism.

Malcolm's half-sister, Mrs. Ella Mae Collins, talked to a newspaper reporter at her Boston home. "We will continue as long as there is a breath left in my body," she said.

"He will be avenged."

At the small frame house in Paterson where Hayer's parents and his two young [illegible] the family refused to talk with newspapermen.

Records showed that he had been arrested a few days after 25 to 40 weapons were stolen from the now-defunct Liberty Arms Co., 227 Broadway, Passaic. The man who had owned the firm, Robert Riggs, told reporters that some of the weapons had never been recovered.

Malcolm X's bodyguard, Reuben Francis, 33, of 871 E. 179th St., the Bronx, accused of felonious assault and Sullivan Law violation in the shooting of Hayer, was arraigned quickly and quietly in Criminal Court and held in $10,000 bail.

Francis' record, police said, included a 10-year prison sentence and a dishonorable discharge for a Washington, D. C., rape in 1950 while he was in the military service, and robbery and Sullivan Law charges in New York in March, 1964, which were dismissed the day after they were brought.

Police assigned 35 of the 50 detectives on the case to question everyone known to have been in the ballroom where Malcolm was murdered, and they poured reinforcements into tense Harlem—but they were reticent with information about almost every aspect of the case.

Deputy Commissioner Arm said tests were being run on the shotgun, the only weapon found near the murder scene.

Was there any connection, some one asked, between the murder and the week-before bombing of Malcolm's home?

"They seem to be connected," Mr. Arm said cautiously. "Every possibility is being considered."

A special telephone number was set up to take information on the murder, and police promised to protect callers' identity. The number: SW 5-8117.

THE TIME

No one would say how many extra police had been poured into Harlem. But in a move reminiscent of last summer's rioting, a special reserve unit was set up in a Parks Department building in Mount Morris Park. A communications truck and an emergency service unit were stationed there.

In Chicago, home of the Black Muslim movement from which Malcolm had split, worried police posted extra guards. Chicago authorities were particularly concerned about the scheduled opening there Friday of a national Black Muslim meeting. In both Chicago and New York, police feared vendetta-type killings in retaliation for the public execution of Malcolm X.

It was shortly after 3 p. m. Sunday when Malcolm was murdered.

He had just been introduced as "a man who would give his life for you" and had stepped to the podium of the old Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway.

"A salaam alaikem," he said in his resonant voice, a voice that could hypnotize a crowd, a voice that had helped earn him second ranking in the Black Muslim sect before his ouster in early 1964.

The Moslem words mean, "Peace be unto you," and the crowd of some 400 responded in chorus, "Wa alaikem salaam (And unto you peace)."

Suddenly angry voices broke the waiting hush. "Get your hand off my pockets. Don't be messing with my pockets," said a man in the middle of the auditorium. There was a scuffle. The bodyguards who always surrounded Malcolm headed toward the apparent trouble spot and their leader, in a weary, conciliatory tone, said, "Now, now brothers, break it up."

He stepped from behind the podium, a tall, erect man, and now the scuffle in front of him dissolved and shots sounded.

It was a "well planned maneuver," Joseph W. Coyle, assistant chief inspector in charge of the police investigation, said yesterday. Shorn of his bodyguards, standing silhouetted on the front of the stage, Malcolm was struck by pellets from a shotgun and by at least three .45 calibre bullets. The force of the fusillade knocked him backwards. He lay on the stage.

Amid the turmoil—people flinging themselves to the floor, mothers hovering over their children, Malcolm's bodyguards trying to find the murderers, shouting and cursing and screaming—Malcolm's wife, Betty, pregnant with their fifth child, pushed through to where her husband lay. "Oh, they're killing my husband," she screamed.

The man later identified as Hayer managed to flee the ballroom, but outside he fell under a howling swarm of Malcolm's followers.

He was shot in the left thigh—police said yesterday Francis fired the shot from the ballroom's second floor landing—and was kicked and trampled by the mob, suffering a broken left ankle, until two policemen tugged him to safety.

They put him into a radio car. The mob tried to rock it and the car sped off. Eventually he was taken to the Bellevue Hospital prison ward.

A few minutes later four policemen dashed in with a wheeled stretcher. They lifted Malcolm's still body onto it, carried it downstairs and wheeled it through the muttering crowd to the emergency room of Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center across the street.

It wasn't long before a hospital spokesman appeared and told a cluster of waiting newsmen, "The gentleman you know as Malcolm X is dead. He was dead or death-appearing as he was brought in here. . . . His family was present when he died. There were no words passed before he died."

THE HISTORY

The man they knew as Malcolm X had been born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Neb., one of the 19 children of a Baptist minister who was a disciple of the Black Nationalist Marcus Garvey.

Malcolm was 7 when his father was found dead under the wheels of a streetcar. Malcolm always said he had been lynched.

The boy led a shiftless, delinquent life and by the time he was 16 he was living in Harlem, a pimp, a thief, a marijuana smoker. He was arrested in Boston in 1945 as part of a burglary gang and it was while he was in prison in Concord, Mass., that he was converted to the Muslim faith.

He went to work for the movement in 1952 and two years later he came to New York to head its mosque here. By the end of the 1950s he was the movement's No. 2 man and, an eloquent spellbinder who was as charming in conversation as he could be demagogic in oratory, he soon came to be regarded as the Black Muslim spokesman, rather than the reticient and hard-to-meet Elijah Muhammad.

The quiet, mysterious leader and the glib, well-publicized aid split in early 1964, the ostensible cause Malcolm's widely quoted remark after the assassination of President Kennedy about "chickens coming home to roost."

Soon Malcolm had organized a dissident mosque, with headquarters in Harlem's Theresa Hotel.

And by early summer he was making provocative charges about Elijah Muhammad's personal life. According to Malcolm, Muslim violence was directed then at him and his followers.

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MUSLIM MOSQUE BURNS IN HARLEM; BLAST REPORTED

Building Is Virtually Razed —Six Firemen Injured as Front Collapses

SLAYERS ARE SOUGHT

50 Detectives Assigned to Search for Malcolm's Killer —3 to 5 Negroes Hunted

A Black Muslim building in the heart of Harlem went up in flames early this morning, apparently after a fire bomb was tossed through its fourth-floor window.

The police said the building belonged to the Black Muslims, the group from which Malcolm X, the slain black nationalist leader, was ousted 18 months ago. They would not speculate immediately on whether the blaze might have been in retaliation to the slaying Sunday afternoon.

The four-story building on the southwest corner of Lenox Avenue and 116th Street was virtually demolished an hour after the fire broke out at 2:25 A.M. Firemen sent in a second alarm at 2:38 and a third at 2:47.

No one was reported to have been in the building at the time of the blaze. The entire building was used by the Muslims. One floor was a mosque. Other space was used for a dance hall and offices.

Wall Falls on Firemen

Six firemen were injured when part of the front wall collapsed. Two of them had to be carried to ambulances.

The blaze was officially described as "definitely suspicious" by the Fire Department. Investigators were called to the scene.

Policemen patrolling nearby were reported to have apprehended a youth who was seen fleeing from the area. An eyewitness said that the police indicated something had been thrown through the mosque's window, touching off the blaze.

The fire quickly engulfed the roof of the building and destroyed the mosque.

Barricades Thrown Up

The police put up barriers to control about 300 persons who crowded the area. Firemen had trouble fighting the blaze because of high winds.

An adjoining building, housing a restaurant and an apartment with about 70 families, was evacuated by the Fire Department. Flames began spreading to that building and to a grocery on the other side of the mosque.

At 3:20 the police sent out a call for reinforcements as a precaution. A sergeant and five patrolmen were being brought in from every precinct in the Bronx and Queens.

More than 75 firemen were at the scene.

The police had stepped up their patrols in the Harlem area because of fear that some retaliatory action might be taken against the Black Muslims for the death of Malcolm X.

The police also intensified their search yesterday for more suspects in Malcolm's murder. Witnesses and an autopsy report indicated that three to five Negroes might have been in-

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

1 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 2/23/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author:
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

(X) Being Investigated

105-8999

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
FEB 2 3 1965

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DATE 2/10/84 BY 8389 JHE/WEB/LLP

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volved in the shooting, which took place at a rally of Malcolm's followers.

A 22-year-old suspect who had been charged under the name Thomas Hagan was identified on the basis of Federal Bureau of Investigation fingerprint data as Talmadge Hayer, alias Thomas Hayer, of 347 Marshall Street, Paterson, N. J.

In Paterson, Hayer was reported to be under indictment on a charge of possessing stolen property. The charge stemmed from a burglary on Nov. 5, 1963, in which 40 weapons were stolen from a gun shop; 18 were never recovered.

A second person seized shortly after the slaying was Reuben Francis, 33-year-old bodyguard for Malcolm. In a brief, quiet session, Criminal Court Judge Walter H. Gladwin held Francis in $10,000 bail for a hearing tomorrow on charges of felonious assault and violation of the Sullivan Law.

Francis, who gave his address as 871 East 179th Street, the Bronx, was accused of having fired at Hagan, who was hit in the left thigh.

Increased police patrols were on duty in Harlem yesterday as Malcolm's body was moved from Bellevue Hospital, where the autopsy was performed, to the Unity Funeral Home, 2352 Eighth Avenue, at West 126th Street, where the body is to go on view at 2:30 P. M. today.

Joseph E. Hall, general manager of the funeral home, said a funeral service was being delayed until 10 A. M. Saturday. The church has not been selected but will be in Harlem, Mr. Hall said.

Founded Own Mosque

Orthodox Moslem theology calls for burial within 24 hours. However, Mr. Hall said, the widow—who signed documents as Mrs. Betty Shabazz—indicated that dignitaries from Africa wished to attend.

In Boston, Malcolm's half-sister, Mrs. Ella Mae Collins, vowed his movement would be carried on "as long as there is a breath left in my body." She added, according to United Press International, "He will be avenged."

After his break last March with Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, known as the Black Muslims, Malcolm founded his own group, the Muslim Mosque, Inc., with headquarters in the Theresa Hotel, 125th Street and Seventh Avenue. He preached a more militant doctrine in favor of arming Negroes for self-defense against asserted white exploitation.

There was speculation that the leadership of Malcolm's group, which he eventually called the Organization of Afro-American Unity, might pass to James Shabazz, Malcolm's secretary. Mr. Shabazz was public relations man for New York Mosque No. 7 when Malcolm was its minister for the Nation of Islam.

Another potential candidate for a high post, Leon Ameer, arrived here yesterday from Boston and said he was ready to do anything he could to help carry on Malcom's efforts.

Mr. Ameer, in an interview on WOR-TV last night, predicted that the same fate that "befell Malcolm X will eventually befall Elijah Mohammad." He said that Elijah Muhammad was responsible for Malcolm's death and that there would be some type of retaliation.

Mr. Ameer is a 31-year-old former press secretary for the heavyweight boxing champion, Cassius Clay, who has taken the name Muhammad Ali as a follower of Elijah Muhammad. Mr. Ameer was known until last December as Leon 4X, a New Haven captain for the Black Muslims.

Muhammad's movement calls for Negroes to set up their own independent country on territory received from the United States. But Muhammad laid stress against the bearing of arms.

Malcolm was suspended ostensibly for having described President Kennedy's assassination as a case of white men's violence and "chickens coming home to roost." When he broke away finally, however, he contended he sought a broader movement with Negroes seeking the ballot and civil rights here—with bullets, if need be.

50 Detectives on Case

About 50 detectives were hunting the conspirators who riddled Malcolm with pistols and a shotgun at a meeting of his organization in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th Street and Broadway.

Although first reports were that white persons had been barred from the rally, Gunter Frentz, a 22-year-old white insurance underwriter, said he had attended after hearing the meeting announced over radio station WINS last week. There were four or five other whites present, he said.

Two Negro spectators who were wounded, apparently by random shots—William Harris of 614 Oak Tree Place, the Bronx, and William Parker of 23-05 30th Avenue, Astoria, Queens—were reported in satisfactory condition last night at Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center.

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At 5:45 P.M., Malcolm's blue 1963 Oldsmobile, for which an alarm had been broadcast, was found at a meter at Broadway and 146th Street, its left door damaged. This was announced by First Deputy Police Commissioner John F. Walsh at the Wadsworth Avenue station house, headquarters for the inquiry.

Police laboratory experts checked the car for fingerprints and detectives questioned storekeepers and residents about the car.

Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle, commander of Manhattan North detectives, in charge of the investigation, said the murder had been a "well-planned maneuver." Asked how many plotters had taken part, he replied only, "More than one."

Chief Coyle noted that a diversionary tactic had been used by two men in the rear of the ballroom. They set fire to a gasoline-soaked sock on the floor just before the 39-year-old Malcolm started to speak from the stage.

The detective chief said that Hayer had made no statement to the police and that they did not know if he was a Black Muslim.

Dr. Milton Helpern, the Chief Medical Examiner, completed the autopsy yesterday morning and certified the cause of death as "multiple shotgun slugs and bullet wounds of the chest, heart and aorta." There were also wounds of the arms and legs and a slight wound in the chin, he said.

The autopsy indicated two different calibers of revolver bullets as well as shotgun slugs, so that three weapons appeared to have been used, Dr. Helpern said.

A shotgun wrapped in a man's coat was found behind the ballroom stage after the killing, and ballistics tests were being made yesterday.

Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm said yesterday that a special detail had been assigned outside the ballroom for the regular weekly meeting of Malcolm's group. It was a "normal procedure," he said, to refrain from assigning uniformed policemen inside the meeting.

Assistant Chief Inspector Harry Taylor, in charge of Manhattan North uniformed police, said Sunday that two sergeants and 18 patrolmen had been stationed in the area. He declined to say whether any plainclothes men had been in the audience of about 400, but indications elsewhere were that there had been.

Malcolm's widow formally identified his body at Bellevue yesterday, arriving with a group that included Assemblyman Percy Sutton, the family lawyer; Mrs. Collins, the dead man's sister, and her son Rodnell; Seborn Scott, a friend of the Collins family, and Mr. Hall, the undertaker.

The widow wept. When she came out, she told newsmen bitterly:

"The police and press were unfair. No one believed what he said. They never took him seriously. Even after the bombing of our home, they said he did it himself. Now what are they going to do—say that he shot himself?"

In the Bellevue prison ward, Hayer's leg was said to be in traction. He had been reported shot in the thigh, and his leg broken by kicks as he fled the ballroom.

A check on his Paterson police record showed he was arrested as a disorderly person in 1961, in addition to the stolen-property charge. The latter involved the theft of $1,000 in weapons from the Liberty Arms Company, 325 Broadway, Passaic, now out of existence.

Barricades were set up outside the Unity Funeral Home, where Malcolm's body was taken in a zippered body sack at 5:15 P.M. The body was to be placed in a wrought bronze coffin, believed to have cost $2,100, and sealed with glass for the public display. Mr. Hall said burial would be at Ferncliff Cemetery, Hartsdale.

Associated Press

Reuben Francis, left, a bodyguard of Malcolm X, with detective here yesterday. He was charged in shooting of Talmadge Hayer, suspect in slaying of Malcolm X Sunday.

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Members of City's Secret Police Unit Saw Malcolm Shot

By Milton Lewis

Of The Herald Tribune Staff

"Several" undercover plainclothes policemen were in the uptown meeting hall at the time Malcolm X was shot dead there on Sunday.

This was learned yesterday as the Police Department insisted it was unfair to blame police for "letting" the militant Black Nationalist leader get killed, as charged by some of his followers.

According to a high police official, "several" members of its outstanding unit, the highly secretive Bureau of Special Services (BOSS), were in the Audubon Ballroom at Broadway and 166th St. when bullets cut down Malcolm X as he started to address a group of 400 persons, ostensibly all devoted to him.

A veteran police officer was asked:

"Since there were police present, how could the crime occur?"

"Very easily. There were about 400 people there—and there was bedlam. How can you keep an eye on all of them? Our information is that the people were not frisked when they came in—and for all we know, one or more women may have been the arms bearers." And the cops present were probably thrown off guard by that phony diversionary scuffle just before Malcolm was shot."

Only last Tuesday a rookie policeman member of BOSS was responsible for the arrest of three men and a woman who had plotted to blow up the Statue of Liberty, the Liberty Bell and the Washington Monument. This officer, only 10 months on the force, had infiltrated a Negro extremist group, Leftist supporters of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

The BOSS policemen who were in that Washington Heights ballroom were all Negro, since Malcolm X barred all whites from attending, as was his custom.

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.

A police official made this explanation:

"That meeting was indoors. They don't want us in there. The presence of uniforms would have led to arguments and to incidents. It is sufficient to say that we had him covered. We can't go into the area on what we do on watching these people. Naturally, there'll be an effort to blame the cops."

Only a week before Malcolm X was gunned down, his home in East Elmhurst, Queens, was fire-bombed, causing him to move out and check into the Hotel Theresa in Harlem. Malcolm X charged at the time that this was an attempt to murder him, so police offered him protection, which, according to a police official, he declined. He was quoted as having said:

"I can take care of this myself."

However, there was every reason to believe that Malcolm X had been receiving some kind of police protection since the fire-bomb incident and he had applied for a permit to carry a revolver. He was turned down and he reportedly vowed to get a weapon anyway. But there was no evidence that he had a firearm on him when he was slain.

In confirming that BOSS policemen were in the hall at the time of the fatal shooting, a police official said:

"If we had not had them there we certainly would have been very careless. And there were a couple of uniformed men outside."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Herald Tribune

EDITION Late City

DATE 2-23-65

PAGE 14

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FD-350 (4-3-62)

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Question for New York authorities investigating the slaying of **Malcolm X**: Was he silenced because he had agreed to testify here against the Black Muslims as a bona fide religion? Malcolm X was to be a key witness for the state in the case of **Thomas Cooper** vs. **Frank Pate**. Cooper, an inmate at Stateville where Pate is warden, instituted the suit because he has not been allowed to practice his Black Muslim religion in the penitentiary. The Illinois attorney general's office, in defending Warden Pate, will seek to prove that the Black Muslims do not constitute a bona fide religion, a stand Malcolm X was prepared to uphold. The case will have far-reaching implications and, eventually, could cost the followers of **Elijah Muhammad** some of their tax exemptions.

MALCOLM X HAD TRAVELED TO MECCA as a pilgrim and returned with a revised view of his religion. The Black Muslims preach "all white men are devils." In Mecca, among the Moslems, Malcolm X discovered the religion is a "brotherhood of all peoples," as he related in one of his appearances on our TV show. "I saw people of all colors come together as one in a real sense of brotherhood," he said. "I no longer believe all whites are devils," as Elijah Muhammad claims.

WBBM RADIO IS COMING UP with a timely guest for its Conference Call Tuesday at 6:15 p.m. He's **Aubrey Barnette**, who authored that expose of the Black Muslims in the Satevepost. Barnette, a former official of the Muslims, will be on the long-distance telephone from Boston to answer all questions phoned in locally. Barnette, after the slaying of Malcolm X, has gone into hiding and not even WBBM knows where he will phone from. . . . The killing of Malcolm came practically on the eve of the Black Muslims' annual convention at the Coliseum here next weekend. Elijah Muhammad delivers a major address on Sunday.

MALCOLM X

CASSIUS (MUHAMMAD ALI) CLAY'S friends are urging him to accept a police guard, but so far the champ has declined. As the No. 1 national figure in the Muslims, Clay could be the prime target for any retaliation. ..

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

42

CHICAGO SUN TIMES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 2/23/65
Edition: FOUR STAR FINAL
Author:
Editor: IRV KUPCINET
Title: JOHN G. TREZEVANT
MALCOLM X
Character: 100-33593
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

Under Investigation

105-8999-5884

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
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FBI — NEW YO[redacted]

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DATE 2/10/84 BY 8269JHE/
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FD-350 (4-3-62)

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Reveal Police Guard Given Malcolm X On Visit Here

Malcolm X was closely guarded on his last visit to Chicago after police received a report that he might be slain here, it was disclosed Monday.

An around-the-clock guard was provided for Malcolm, who stayed at the Bismarck Hotel Jan. 29-31. Fears for Malcolm's life were based on reports that he was being followed by members of the Black Muslim sect.

Capt. William Duffy, commander of the Chicago police intelligence division, said Los Angeles police reported that Malcolm was being trailed on the West Coast up until the time he flew to Chicago.

Recognized Muslims

During his three-day stay in Chicago, Malcolm told the police sergeant assigned to him that he recognized members of the Black Muslims in front of his hotel and outside the television studio where he made an appearance on Kup's Show.

Meanwhile, Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, said he is certain none of the members of his group had anything to do with Malcolm's murder.

But, he said, a check is being made to ascertain whether members of the plot to assassinate Malcolm had any connection with the black supremacy movement.

'Victim Of Teachings'

"Malcolm was a victim of his own preachings," Muhammad told a press conference in the living room of his three-story red brick home at 4847 S. Woodlawn. "He preached violence."

At the police press conference, it was also revealed that the pilot of the plane bringing Malcolm from Los Angeles to Chicago refused to take off until a thorough search was made of the plane and of all baggage.

The search — apparently made on the basis of the pilot's fear that a bomb could be placed aboard Malcolm's flight — delayed the plane for several hours.

Threats Confirmed

Duffy said "informed sources" told him the murder of Malcolm was planned to be a "public" event. Malcolm was shot and killed Sunday as he rose to address a rally in a Manhattan ballroom.

Duffy also confirmed rumors that members of a "black nationalist movement" are heading to Chicago to seek revenge for Malcolm's death.

"We are taking every precaution to prevent any such thing from happening," Duffy said. A police guard surrounded Muhammad's home and temple Monday.

On his last visit to Chicago, Malcolm was met at O'Hare Airport by Sgt. Edward McClellan, who remained with Malcolm at the Bismarck.

McClellan said Malcolm told him that the Black Muslims were "tracking my presence for the purpose of killing me." He said Malcolm indicated he feared for his life, but that "nothing will stop my mission."

Malcolm was heir apparent to Muhammad, who calls himself the messenger of Allah, when Malcolm broke with the Chicago-based movement in 1963.

Potential For Violence?

Asked to size up the potential for violence between the rival Negro groups, Duffy said:

"When one group leaves one community to come to our community for the purpose of killing, this would be described as a dangerous situation."

Police were assigned to the airport and bus and train depots to watch for any possible avengers from the East.

Muhammad, 67, told reporters that the annual national meeting of the Black Muslims here Friday through Sunday will go on as scheduled. He said he would make his scheduled address at the Coliseum, 1513 S. Wabash, despite the threat of violence.

Newsmen Searched

Members of the Black Muslim sect politely but proficiently searched the more than 50

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CHICAGO SUN TIMES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 2/23/65
Edition: FOUR STAR FINAL
Author:
Editor:
Title: JOHN G. TREZEVANT

MALCOLM X

Character:
or 100-33593
Classification:
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

Under Investigation

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
FEB 6
FBI — NEW YO[redacted]

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105-8999-5883

newspaper, television and radio reporters and cameramen who attended the press conference.

Muhammad, seated on an Italian provincial chair in his elegant living room, said the search is for the purpose of detecting firearms, alcohol or "what not."

"We were very shocked upon hearing of Malcolm's death," Muhammad told reporters, who had to be accomodated in two shifts because of their numbers.

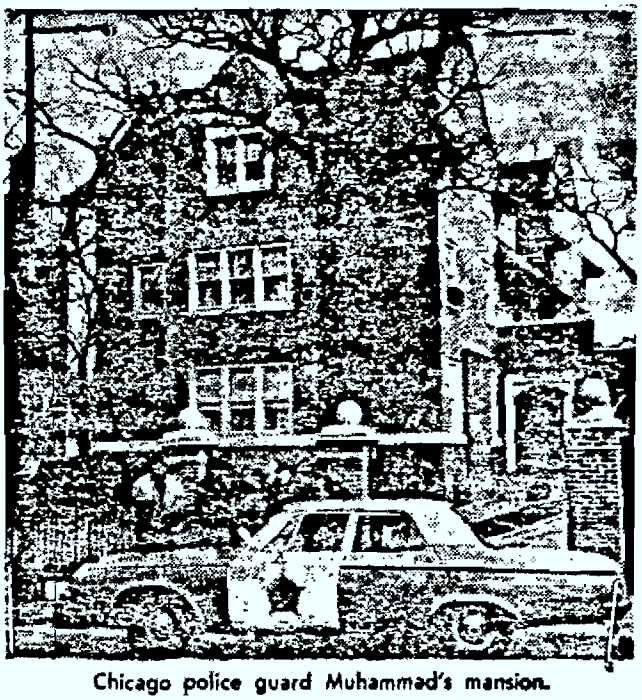
He called Malcolm's break with the movement an act of "disobedience," but said "we hated to see him leave."

One version of the split is that Malcolm fell into disfavor for making a slurring remark at the time of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Many believe that the parting of the ways was the result of Malcolm losing a power struggle within the organization.

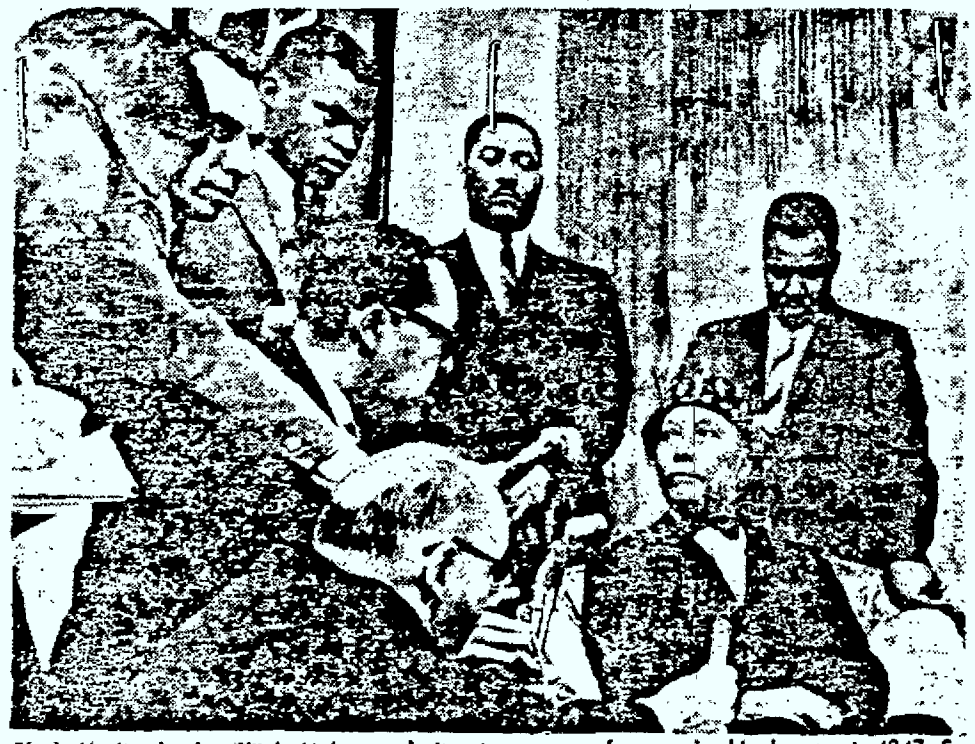
Muhammad, however, said it was simply over Malcolm's insistence on using firearms in spite of the sect's policy of "never resorting to arms."

The Black Muslim leader repeatedly expressed the view that no member of his sect was involved in the murder.

"A hypocrite is not to be killed," he said. Malcolm was a hypocriate because he turned his back on the teachings of the "Brotherhood of Islam."



Chicago police guard Muhammad's mansion.



Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad sits at press conference in his home at 4847 S. Woodlawn. Bodyguards stand behind him. (Sun-Times Photo by Ralph Arvidson)

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Myth Already Springing Up: Malcolm X, Martyred Hero

BY MILT FREUDENHEIM
Chicago Daily News Service

NEW YORK—The myth of Malcolm X as a martyred hero slain by sinister forces began taking shape within hours of his murder.

"I don't care if he was shot by Negroes," said a woman on a Harlem street. "This was planned, directed and carried out on orders from the white power structure."

"It's an American custom, a more," commented Earl Brown who doesn't believe the myth for a minute. "The average Negro feels he is kept down or oppressed and blames it on the white man.

"Who else has he got to blame it on? That's what boys like Malcolm prey upon," added Brown, acting borough president of Manhattan and long active in Harlem politics.

James Farmer, executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), said Malcolm "will grow in stature after death. He will tend to be the martyred patron saint of a certain aspect of black nationalism.

"Many will claim his mantle although far from holding Malcolm's ideas."

At the modest Hotel Theresa room where Malcolm's Organization for Afro-American Unit headquartered, his aide and secretary, James Shabazz, formerly known as James 64 X, could not be reached for comment.

MALCOLM could attract a crowd to a rally, like the one Sunday afternoon where he was shot down in front of 400 witnesses. Together with other Negro celebrities, he could muster crowds of several thousand.

But there was little evidence that he left behind any sizeable organization.

"You can always attract a crowd in Harlem by getting up on a street corner and saying 2 and 2 are 5," Brown said. They might stand around at 125th St. and 7th Av. and gaze at some guy standing up there.

"But most Negroes consider black nationalism an extreme point of view, without any credence. How can the Negro fight for integrated schools and yet accept black nationalism or separation?"

A NATIONAL Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) spokesman pointed to Negro opinion surveys showing Black Muslims and Black Nationalists with small followings.

"They are on the same level and with the same percentage of following as George Lincoln Rockwell and his American Nazis," he asserted.

Negro comedian Dick Gregory once remarked: "The Black Muslims have been around for 30 years, but nobody knew it until the white man put them on television."

"Nobody" refers to Negroes as well as whites, the NAACP man said.

"People in Harlem read about Malcolm X with the same interest and remoteness as people downtown on Park Avenue," said Brown. "They have no more contact, nor do they attend his meetings."

THE 1960 U.S. census showed 1,087,931 Negroes in a New York City population of 7,781,984. (Chicago was next, with 812,637 in a 3,550,404 total.)

A leading Harlem politician said privately that an admitted Black Muslim or Black Nationalist couldn't win an election. "Harlem Negroes are as conservative in politics as Sen. Eastland in Mississippi," he declared.

One Harlem candidate was elected last fall to the legislature with Muslims quietly working to get out his vote. But this wasn't discovered in time to stop him, the politician said.

Farmer agreed that Mal-

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4

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 2/23/65
Edition: RED DART
Author: MILT FREUDENHEIM
Editor: CREED C. BLACK
Title: MALCOLM X
Character: 100-33593
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

Under Investigation
105-8999 5882

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FBI — NEW YORK [redacted]

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DATE 2/10/84 BY 8269THE/WEB/dd

colm's following was more apparent than real. "He could draw a crowd anywhere in the country. He was a platform artist almost without peer, with tremendous charisma (crowd magic).

"They would applaud. But if it came to a vote, I think most of them would have voted against him," Farmer said.

HE CONTRADICTED the image of Malcolm in the press as "a devil with horns." Since breaking with Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad last year, Malcolm "was moving further from black racism and closer to the civil rights movement."

Malcolm saw his role "as an extremist frightening white people into acceptance of the comparatively moderate rights organizations," Farmer said. "For that you ought to be supporting me," he once told Farmer.

All available authorities agreed that black nationalism is a minor league movement in numbers. Farmer said it is splintered into some 17 groups in Harlem alone, together attracting a maximum following of fewer than 40,000 New Yorkers.

Brown doubts the total is more than "a few thousand."

"Some of the groups are rackets for the personal gain of their leaders rather than sincere extremists," Brown said.

FARMER recalled that Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement in the 1920s was much bigger, with possibly a million members who gave their savings to charter ships.

It fell apart when Garvey, a West Indian, was sent to prison for mail fraud. He died penniless in London in 1940.

The NAACP spokesman sees Malcolm as a product of "white masochism." Brown theorizes that the white media are jolted "by any Negro who projects a different image from that the white man holds of the Negro."

"The Negro didn't pay much attention, but the white man put Malcolm on TV," Brown said. "The more TV he got, the more he turned on the heat. Whites looked on Malcolm as a Negro and feared that maybe all Negroes are like that, underneath."

Brown added: "Negroes didn't accept him."

FD-350 (Rev. 7-19-63)

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A world of violence

Malcolm X, the son of a minister, was a preacher of hate and violence.

Unlike his father, he chose as his calling a ministry of fear and hatred. And this, in the end, led to his violent death.

But the death of Malcolm X was just as wrong morally as his own preachments, for hatred and violence are the naked hallmarks of evil. It is just as evil for a white man to preach and practice violence against a fellow human being because of his skin coloration as it is for a dark-hued man to advocate violence against his white brethern.

The final irony in the violent end of the fiery, articulate leader of the Black Nationalists was that he was done away with by Negroes, his own people for whom he had a compulsive love, the people who, in his mind, provided the well-springs for his unbridled hatred of the white man and what he stood for.

Malcolm X was not a complex man; he had a singular drive in life, the absolute segregation of the Negro from the whites. He was a racist in philosophy, as much as the racists found in the South.

His racial theories were rejected by virtually all leaders of the civil rights movement, for they saw in this extremist ideology the same distortions preached by the hate-mongers in the South.

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THE STAR LEDGER,
NEWARK, N.J.

105-8995-5881

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SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED
FEB 24 1965
FBI — NEW YORK

[redacted]

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Date: 2/23/65
Edition: FINAL
Author:
Editor: PHILIP HOCHSTEIN
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: IS-MMI
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: NEWARK, N.J.

☐ Being Investigated

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FEB 24 1965
FBI — NEW YORK

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DATE 2/10/84 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/dd

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Malcolm X was a victim of his own ambitions. He was caught up in a feud with Elijah Muhammad, spiritual leader of the Black Muslims. He was the heir apparent to the aging leader of the Muslims until the assassination of President Kennedy, a tragedy that caused him to exult:

"Chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad."

These harsh words, uttered in the midst of the shocked sorrow that had enveloped the nation and the world, drew an abrupt disavowal from Muhammad. He declared the Black Muslims were "shocked with the rest of the world," and imposed complete silence on the man who had been his principal spokesman. Three months later, Malcolm X broke away to form his own extremist group, the Black Nationals.

For Malcolm X the chickens tragically came home to roost, too, but let no one crow or gloat. For the forces that spewed hate and violence against this man must share the same moral guilt. The degree of moral guilt is measured by the act itself . . . not by the stature of the victim.

Vengeful Blow For Malcolm X? 5 Firemen Hurt

[Malcolm X Avengers At Work? Harlem Mosque Firebombed: Picture Page—21; More Stories—Photos, Pages 4-5]

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.

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 building.

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 re-

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NY Journal American
EDITION Latest News
DATE 2/23/65
PAGE 1
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FBI—NEW YORK

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faliation for the brutal murder of Nez Leader Malcolm X. Chief C. ... replied:

"I wo ...dn't be surprised. It seems l... ical. All our top investigat... s are here."

A sh ...ping bag containing kerosen ...rags was found on the roof of an adjoining building at 113- ... Lenox ave., by two policem...n.

8 INTERROGATED

Eight ...legroes were rounded up in ...e area, which is a gathern... place of Black Muslims, a... were being interrogated ... a temporary police headqu...ters set up in the Hollywo... Bar & Grill across from t... mosque at W. 116th st.

"The ...plo...ions ripped the mosque ...like a shot," one witness sa...

"We heard this terrific room!" 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 avenged!"

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 7th ave.

James 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."

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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 319 W. 85th st., also was 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, crying 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 abroad may have enough time to get here. She expects several one indicated.

Mrs. Shabazz, [illegible] was under police [illegible] home of friends at an [illegible] closed 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

thus far is Talmadge Hayer, 23, 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 J. 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 Broadway, 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.

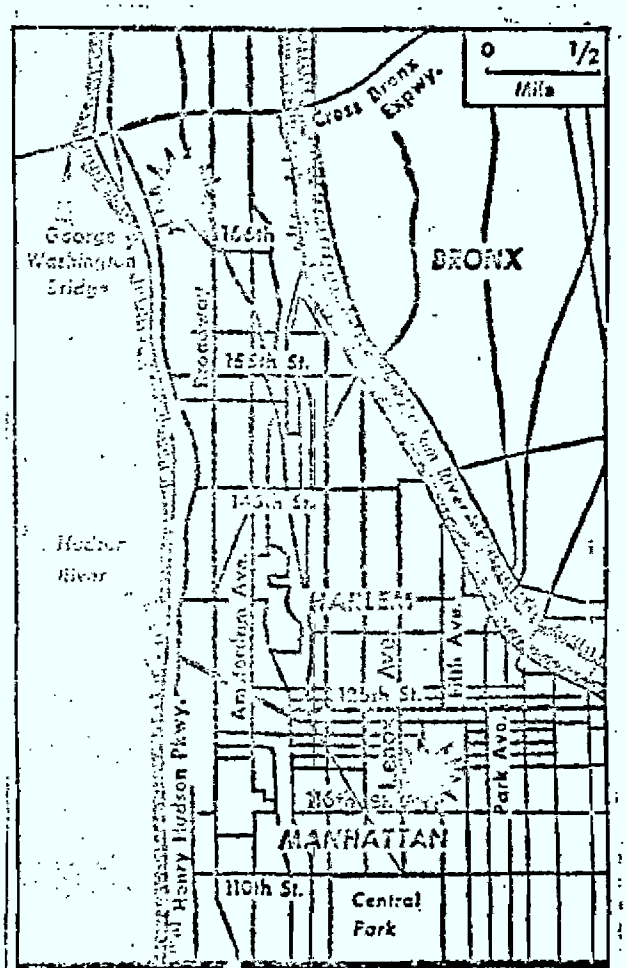
Of Hayer, Insp. Flanaghan said:

"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."

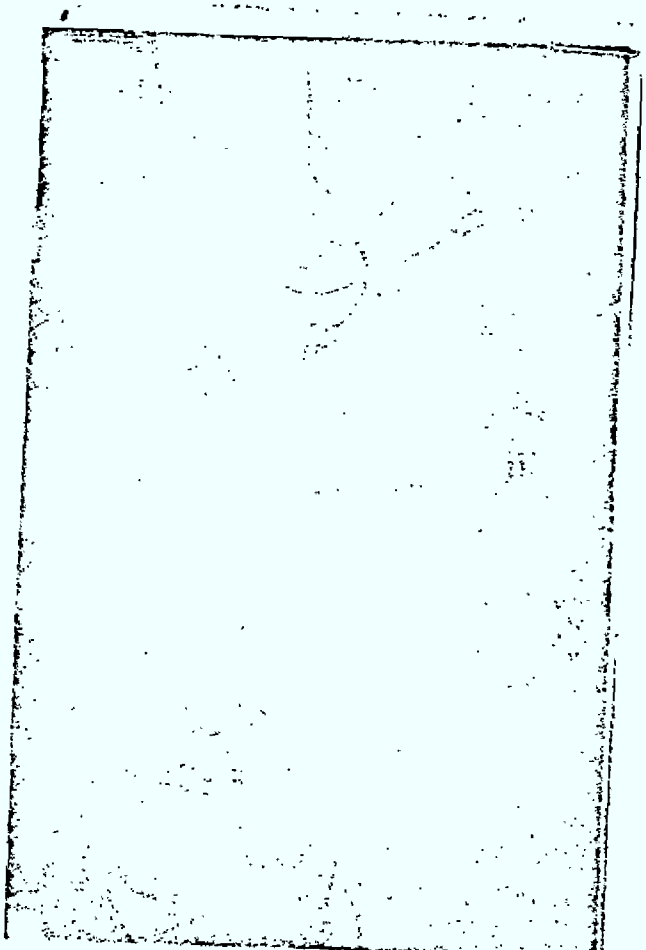
Hayer, alias Thomas Hazan and Thomas Hayer, lives at 347 Marshal st. in Paterson, N.J., where the door was slammed in the face of a reporter who went there to inquire about him.

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

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



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.



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 Leo Morgan

FD-350 (Rev. 7-18-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Muhammad Says Muslims Played No Part in Slaying

By AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Feb. 22—Elijah Muhammad denied today that the Black Muslim movement, which he leads from a 19-room mansion here, had anything to do with the slaying yesterday of Malcolm X.

Malcolm, the former No. 2 man of the Muslims who defected and set up a rival movement, was a "victim of his own preaching," Muhammad said at two news conferences.

"I don't have any knowledge of anyone trying to kill Malcolm," he said. "We have never resorted to no such thing as violence."

He said of Thomas Hagan, a suspect in the New York slaying: "He is a stranger to us." Hagan has been identified as Talmadge Hayer of Paterson, N. J.

Seated on a carved, upholstered chair in his 20-by-40-foot living room with silk-covered walls, he said that the Black Muslims were making their own investigation of the assassination to determine whether any of his followers had been involved.

Cassius Clay Guarded

The Chicago police posted a heavy guard around the red brick mansion, worth at least $50,000, and the three-garage brick coach house in the rear. They are on the South Side, near the University of Chicago.

Also under guard was Cassius Clay, the heavyweight boxing champion, who uses the name Muhammad Ali. His apartment here caught fire last night, just hours after the assassination in New York. The police discounted arson as the cause of the fire which started in the apartment below in the 30-apartment building.

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

1 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 2/23/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

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While Muhammad, who is 67 years old, was appearing before reporters and television crews at the news conferences in his oak-beamed living room, the Chicago police reported that they were informed last Jan. 29 by the Los Angeles police intelligence unit that Malcolm might be "killed publicly" here.

Report Made Public

This report was made at a news conference by Capt. William Duffy, head of the Chicago police intelligence division, and Lieut. Frank Heimoski, head of that division's subversion unit. Also present was Sgt. Edward McClellan of the intelligence divsion.

Their Los Angeles colleagues had kept Malcolm under surveillance and noticed a group of Black Muslims following him when he was in that city, the Chicago policemen said.

They said too that the Los Angeles police spotted the Black Muslims at the airport before Malcolm's departure for Chicago, and that the pilot insisted on a thorough search of the plane and the passengers' luggage before he would take off.

Sergeant McClellan guarded Malcolm during his stay at the Bismarck Hotel here. The leader of the splinter black nationalist movement told Sergeant McClellan that he had seen several Black Muslims in and near the Chicago airport and in front of the hotel.

Malcolm appeared on a television show conducted by Irving Kupcinet, a Chicago Sun-Times columnist. He said on the show that several attempts had been made on his life, and he told the columnist that he was so convinced he would be killed that he had a letter on his desk naming his suspected future killers.

Sergeant McClellan said today at the police headquarters news conference that Malcolm said Dec. 31 that he feared he was being stalked for death here, and the New York police were alerted.

According to Captain Duffy, New York police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation sent word overnight that at least six and possibly more supporters of Malcolm were en route from New York to Chicago, presumably to kill Muhammad. Others are being watched here, he added.

"It is a dangerous situation," Captain Duffy declared.

The police have a special elite unit, called the Task Force, on the job. The airport and bus and train terminals are being closely watched.

Other Sites Guarded

Police are guarding not only Elijah Muhammad's home, but also the office of his newspaper, Muhammad Speaks, and the headquarters, called the Mosque of Islam No. 2 and the connected University of Islam, said to be attended chiefly by pupils of high-school age. The school and the mosque are in the same area as the residence.

Behind the 19-room house, on a driveway and in the garages were a Cadillac, two Buicks and a Mercury station wagon.

Reporters were admitted to the news conference in two separate groups after a long cold wait on the concrete porch. In an anteroom two Negroes frisked all of them for weapons.

In the living room, whose bay window fronts on the 4800 block of South Woodlawn Street, there was a jade-green wall-to-wall carpet. The silk wallpaper was white.

The beige - upholstered furniture was covered with plastic covers. There was a large marble fireplace and a combination radio - television - phonograph. Fruit was on a table and there were three plastic potted plants.

The bric-a-brac was Japanese. On one wall hung what appeared to be an oil painting of Muhammad, done when he was younger. A framed symbolic device with an Arabic inscription was on another wall.

Muhammad wore a fez embellished with a half-moon, stars and suns in gold braid. He wore a blue suit, a white shirt and a blue tie. His expression was bland, his voice almost inaudible, and he spoke with an indefinable accent.

At his first news conference, according to The Chicago Daily News, Muhammad said his Black Muslims would fight back if attacked by Malcolm's nationalists. The newspaper also quoted him as saying:

"I don't feel disturbed about that in the very least. We are innocent of Malcolm's death. It doesn't matter if there are 800 or 8,000 of them."

Flanked by four attendants, the leader began the second conference this way: "I have a few words to say and these are the words."

He expressed shock on hearing of Malcolm's death, describing him as a man he had known for quite a few years. But he added that last year, when the split developed, was "kind of bitter for us."

"Malcolm broke off from the brotherhood and upset us all," he said. He declared that Malcolm "left on his own terms," which he defined as the necessity for violence and arms, whereas in 34 years "we have never resorted to arms."

Asked if his life had been threatened now, he said it had been threatened "many times," and currently "no more than I have had."

He denied having had any premonition of Malcolm's murder, saying, "A hypocrite is not to be killed." Instead, he asserted the Black Muslim punishment was "spiritual isolation."

"I hoped Allah would chastise him and bring him back on his knees," Muhammad said. "I am the man that taught Malcolm. I didn't teach him what he went for himself. As for what he had gone for himself, I didn't teach him that."

The Black Muslim leader said he suspected Malcolm tried to bomb his own house in Queens on Feb. 14. He said the evidence looked to me like he did the job himself."

A Muslim convention is scheduled here for Friday through Sunday, at which Muhammad is billed as the "messenger of Allah."

The police have been kept out at previous conventions here, but this time they intend to be present. They regard the Black Muslims as a group that would be "quickly exploited by subversives."

Muhammad said he had not

requested the police guard around his house today.

Edwin C. Berry, head of the Chicago Urban League, a Negro organization, issued a statement that said:

"I do not know what motivated the assassination of Malcolm X. It is a great tragedy. All of those who stood against him as well as his followers stand to lose by his violent death. While I disagreed with his philosophy I had great admiration for him.

"Malcolm had a great mind. His being driven into nationalist movements was a great mistake. It is too bad that his great mind and commitment could not have been used to help the movement. Such is the tragedy of a sick society."

About 6,000 Black Muslims are expected at the convention starting here Friday.

Associated Press Wirephoto

GUARD BLACK MUSLIM LEADER: Policemen in Chicago inspecting automobile yesterday at home of Elijah Muhammad, the leader of Black Muslim sect. In 1964 Elijah Muhammad broke with Malcolm X, who was slain on Sunday. Breach was never repaired.

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United Press International Telephoto

AT NEWS CONFERENCE: Elijah Muhammad, Black Muslim leader, in Chicago home yesterday. Behind him are, from left: Herbert Muhammad, his son; John Ali and James Shabazz, a minister. Elijah Muhammad said group was innocent in killing of Malcolm X.

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 2-22-65

b7C

FROM : SA [redacted] (43)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka
IS - MMI

On 2-21-65, the writer reviewed the NYCPD Complaint Report on the murder of the subject as made available by Chief of NYCPD Detectives [redacted] The report reflected the following information:

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2-21-65; 3:10 pm; 34th Pct., NYCPD; UF 61 # 993; Homicide; Audubon Ballroom, 654 W. 166th St., NYC.

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Patrolman [redacted] 34th Pct., advised that MALCOLM X, Negro male age 39, Hotel Theresa, Suite 128, 7th Ave. and 125th St., NYC, while on the stage of the Audubon Ballroom was shot and killed by unknown person(s). Pronounced dead on arrival by Dr. J.A. COLLINS, Vanderbilt Clinic. Wife BETTY present and advised.

The 34th Det. Squad Case Book reflects that this homicide is 34th Squad case number 1022.

This Case Book also reflects that under 34th Squad case numbers 1024 and 1025, UF # 61-995 and UF # 61-996, that [redacted] and [redacted] were complainants in a felonious assault.

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Malcolm X Slain by Gunmen

The Feud That Led To Death

By Robert W. White
Of the Herald Tribune Staff

A long-brewing feud between Elijah Muhammad, spiritual leader of the Black Muslims, and his heir-apparent, Malcolm X, boiled over 14 months ago when Malcolm X stood on a platform in New York and shouted his exultation over the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

"Chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad!" he shouted from the stage of Manhattan Center.

SHOCK

Elijah Muhammad, declaring the Black Muslims were shocked "with the rest of the world" at the assassination, promptly imposed complete silence on the man who had been his principal spokesman. Ninety days later, on March 8, 1964, Malcolm X announced his departure from the ranks of the Black Muslims to organize a Black Nationalist movement of his own.

Yesterday, the chickens did, indeed, come home to roost. Police declared the assassination of Malcolm X to be the "result of a long-standing feud between the followers of Elijah Muhammad and the people who broke away from him, headed by Malcolm X."

STRUGGLE

Outwardly, the difference between the two leaders which came to such a violent climax yesterday was based on a difference of belief as to how the Negro might be led to victory in his struggle for equality. To those of a more worldly, not to say cynical, turn of mind, it may have been a simple, brutal struggle for power.

Certainly, Malcolm X believed himself and his aims to be throttled by the program laid down by the man who styled himself the "Messenger of Allah."

Elijah Muhammad preached nonviolence—although there were those who were convinced he didn't sincerely believe in it. He was opposed to

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

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EDITION LATE CITY

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integration, propagating instead the ideal of a separate black nation in America, with its own army, its own government, its own flag. How and where it was to operate, and how it was to function side by side with a white nation, were matters never fully enunciated.

By the time he had been a follower of Elijah Muhammad for 12 years, Malcolm X had come to reject all this as impractical. He could not see the merit of respect for a law when he believed that the law was designed and functioned only for the benefit of the white man. Seeing the Negro subjected to violence by the white man, time after time and in increasing measure in the South, he came to the conviction that the Negro must be ready to counter with violence of his own.

One of the first things he did, upon his renunciation of the Black Muslims, was to announce that his new movement would include the organization of rifle clubs—"self-defense units" ready to "execute on the spot" those who abused Negroes.

APPROACH

He also made overtures, although not very successful ones, to the leaders of the civil rights movement. He found them wary, dubious of what association with him might do to the progress they felt they were making.

The overtures were a part of the difference in approach between Malcolm X and his one time leader. Elijah Muhammad had rejected as wholly contrary to the principles of the Black Muslim movement his disciple's idea of infiltrating the white man's power structure.

Move into the white man's politics in the Ghettos, in New York, in Chicago, in Philadelphia, in Los Angeles, wherever those ghettos exist, Malcolm X urged. He wanted the Muslims to exercise all the political privileges the whites allowed them, but to do it to their own advantage.

Elijah Muhammad would have none of this. He was a prophet who had fathered a religion, not a political movement.

NOT SO BIG

How much of a religion it was—or is—is a matter of strict secrecy, so far as its numbers are concerned. Close observers, however, have dismissed estimates ranging from 50,000 to 250,000 as either "hysterical," if coming from critics of the movement, or "braggadocio," if coming from adherents departing from the oath of secrecy.

A more realistic estimate, say these observers, would be less than 10,000, a figure supported by statements of erstwhile followers who have left the fold. One of these declared in a recent magazine article that the Muslims manage to give the impression of large membership by importing members from neighboring cities to attend important functions.

What about the Black Nationalists, officially titled the Organization of Afro-American Unity? Probably fewer than 1,000, say the observers, and there is little or no evidence to dispute this.

Malcolm X's movement is less than a year old, and its leader has spent a lot of time out of the country. He had just returned fro ma trip to England before a bomb was thrown into his house in East Elmhurst, Queens, a few days ago. He spent five months on tour of Africa and Europe.

The Black Muslims, moreover, are a religious movement, with all the appeal such a movement holds. They maintain mosques intsead of churches, the communicants worship Allah. The leaders persist in saying the Black Muslims are a part of the worldwide Islamic religion, with its probably 500 million followers; but recognized Islamic leaders in the United States deny this.

The appeal of Malcolm X has placed much less emphasis on religion, although even after his abandonment of the Messenger of Allah, he continued to declare himself to be a Muslim, and his adherents also refer to their meeting places as mosques.

It was his plan to go beyond the restrictions on recruitment inherent in a religious appeal. He once said he needed the Negro intellectual and the Negro who was not looking so much for a faith as a way to vent his anger.

"The Negroes are angry," he said. "I should say, they are angrier (after what he called the failures of 1963 in civil rights), and I am the angriest."

There was no possibility that the two movements, the Black Muslims and the Black Nationalists, could exist in

Associated Press wirephoto

ONE SUSPECT, Thomas Hagan, was wounded in the left thigh by supporters of the murdered Malcolm X yesterday. Here he is at Jewish Memorial Hospital.

peace together. In the month's that followed Malcolm X's establishment of his separatist group, there were increasing signs of open rivalry.

Last November, on the eve of Malcolm X's return from a trip abroad which included a visit to Mecca, Henry X and Joseph X, named by Elijah Muhammed as the Black Muslim leaders here, denounced him.

"A self-serving hypocrite consumed by a passion for personal power," they called him. They predicted he could not succeed without the strength of the Black Muslim movement, and they scorned reports he had sent back that he had won the official support of the World Muslim Council, the supreme religious body of the Moslem world.

Recently, Malcolm X issued a series of charges that his life had been declared forfeit by Elijah Muhammed. He said police and the FBI were aware of this death threat but had neglected to provide him sufficient protection. The statement to burn his house with a fire bomb was a part of all this, he charged.

A black Muslim spokesman challenged this. The spokesman pointed out that the Black Muslims had won a court action to evict Malcolm from the house, giving them possession, and asked: "Would we burn our own house?"

That the controversy might be taking on violent overtones became apparent as early as last June, when six men arrested in Harlem for having two guns in their car proved to be Malcolm X's men. He explained they were returning from a visit to his home in Queens, where they had gone to reassure themselves that he was safe after hearing that a group of Black Muslims planned to kill him.

The struggle has also had an aspect familiar to any outbreak of controversy in the ranks of a fervent religious or political movement, the ranging of kinsman against kinsman.

Two of Elijah Muhammad's sons have quit the Black Muslims since the break last March, although one said he planned to join no other movement, and in Detroit, Wilfred X, brother of Malcolm X, was still head of Black Muslim Mosque No. 1. He was reported to be in seclusion, and it was not known whether he had had word of his brother's death.

As 400 in Ballroom Watch

Police Rescue One Suspect

By Jimmy Breslin

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Up in the front of the ballroom, on the stage, somebody was saying, "Malcolm is a man who would give his life for you." Then the people, 400 of them, the best crowd Malcolm X has had in a long time, got up from their wooden folding chairs and clapped for 45 seconds while Malcolm X came to the rostrum and stood there, ready to talk.

The air was clear of smoke and the Sunday afternoon sun came through the thin drapes on the windows that looked out onto Broadway. Malcolm arranged some papers on the lectern, which came up to his chest. The applause stopped and the people sat down and Malcolm X's goateed face looked up and he said, "A Salaam Alaikem," and the crowd murmured its response of "peace be with you also," and then the two lead-off men made their move.

PERFECT TARGET

They were in a middle row and they stood up and started pushing each other and one of them was saying, "Get your hands out of my pocket. Stop messing with my pocket." Malcolm X's bodyguards started to move toward them to break it up and up on the stage, Malcolm stepped out from behind the lectern and he was saying, "Now, brothers, break it up. Let's cool it." He stood there, alone on the stage, with one hand up in the air and he was a perfect target and a man — police say he was Thomas Hagan—ran down the aisle with a shotgun and the ones with him were already shooting when the shotgun was right in front of Malcolm X and both barrels raked him.

Malcolm X went straight back and the sound of his head slamming onto the wooden floor was mixed with the screams and he lay on his back on the stage of an old ballroom on 166th Street and Broadway and he died while two others in the crowd fired their guns, a big-slugged .45 and a .38.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Herald Tribune

EDITION Late City

DATE 2/22/65

PAGE 1

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

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CAREFUL PLANNING

Malcolm X's people pulled out guns and began firing back and now bullets thudded into walls all over the room. It was a murder in front of 400 people, a murder done in afternoon sunlight in an old dance hall, and it was planned and executed with the help of people Malcolm knew and considered his followers.

Malcolm was the head of the Organization for Afro-American Unity. It is a small organization, but its goal is to fight against and try to lure members away from the Black Muslims. But Black Muslims, sworn to kill Malcolm X, had been trying to infiltrate his movement for some time. Yesterday, after months of waiting, they had him set up. Somebody let the Muslim murderers carry weapons and the bomb into the meeting. Malcolm's bodyguards were at the doors, even turning away white newsmen. But one of them did not turn away the people who came in with guns to kill Malcolm X.

It was carefully planned, with as many as five of them passing into the audience at the Audubon Ballroom. Three did the shooting. There was also a diversionary fire bomb which was lit and ready to go off in the back of the hall when somebody saw it and snuffed it out with a coat.

One of the murderers got away clean. He ran out a side door of the building. The others bolted for the back of the ballroom, firing guns and running. They started down the stairs to the street, followed by a crowd of Malcolm's people. Hagan, the only one anybody seemed sure of, was caught on the sidewalk. He was caught and shot and kicked and thrown to the ground and he was going to be killed on the sidewalk by a mob when police threw themselves into the crowd and saved his life. Hagan was taken to Bellevue Hospital where he was put in the prison ward, which was sealed off with a dozen uniformed police.

Police held Reuben Francis, of 871 E. 179th St., the Bronx, for illegal possession of a .45 automatic. They said Francis, one of Malcolm X's faction, drew the .45 and shot the 22-year-old Hagan in the leg, breaking his thigh bone.

Two spectators, William Harris, wounded in the stomach, and William Parker, shot in the foot, were taken to the hospital by police. The identity of the man who went out the side door and got away was known to police and they combed Harlem for him last night.

Whoever he is, and whoever was with him, accomplished exactly what they had been sworn to do. They had come to the Audubon Ballroom, this old wooden-floored dance hall, and they murdered Malcolm X and then ran from the place while his 37-year-old wife Betty was screaming, "They're killing my husband." Then she turned and ran back to the stage and bent over him.

People were milling around and crying and moaning and out on the street there was a roar while the mob tried to overturn the radio car Hagan had been put into by police. Twenty minutes after the shooting, four policemen came in with a stretcher and Malcolm X was put on it. The stretcher had wheels and it was carried downstairs and out on the sidewalk Malcolm X's followers surrounded it and they screamed, "Get out of the way or we kill you" while it was wheeled across Broadway and to the emergency entrance of Columbia Presbyterian Hospital.

At the hospital, white-coated interns came from everywhere and some of them grabbed the stretcher and pushed it onto an elevator and others bent over the body and began to work on it while they were walking. Upstairs, in the third-floor emergency operating room, more of them waited.

The white hands that Malcolm X had preached so much hatred about clawed at his blood-soaked clothes and touched his body. One of the white hands clamped an ether mask over his face. Another white hand, holding a scalpel, came at his chest. Other white hands worked at the chest as it opened and they massaged Malcolm X's heart. The operating room was filled with doctors and nurses, and they were all busy and working quickly, but it was all meaningless. The bullets had done the job on Malcolm X.

Downstairs, in an office in the hospital, a man came in and said, "The gentleman you know as Malcolm X is dead. I'm not sure of the time. He was dead or dead-appearing as he was brought in here. He was shot several times. In the chest. Once in the cheek. His family was present when he died. There were no words passed before he died."

Across the street, in the Audubon Ballroom, Thomas Renaghan, the inspector in charge of detectives for the North of Manhattan, chewed on a cigar and walked hurriedly around while police technical men crawled over the room. What was to become one of the heaviest homicide investigations this city has ever seen was under way.

ONE HOUR LATER

For this was a murder within the radical Negro movement and one murder could lead to a round of them. Malcolm X was not dead one hour when police received a report that six of his followers had left New York City for Chicago so they could kill Elijah Muhammed, who heads the Black Muslims.

And then, right away, the word ran through Harlem about a Muslim named Captain Joseph.

"Captain Joseph is a popular man right now," one of Malcolm's followers was saying. "We just put him Number One on the hit parade."

Captain Joseph is heavy-set and he is a Muslim strong-arm man who frequents their restaurant, The Temple Number Seven on 116th Street and Lenox Avenue. The restaurant was closed last night and police were all over the area. They were all over every other area in Harlem, too. Green buses carrying Tactical Patrol Force teams rolled into Harlem immediately yesterday and by nightfall the streets were being patrolled in near-riot force.

On Seventh Avenue and 125th Street gatherings of any size were broken up immediately with Lloyd Sealey, the captain in charge of the precinct, walking the beat himself.

"All right, gentlemen," Sealey kept telling any group which tried to form, "please move on." The club in his hand spun on the end of the leather thongs and he stood there and the crowd would immediately melt.

"Oh, it's quiet," Sealey was saying. "You can see that for yourself."

"They don't want riots, they want revenge on individuals," somebody said to Sealey.

He shrugged. "We'll just keep working at it and let's get through the next couple of nights," he said.

Many people thought of this as impossible. Malcolm X was a leader without a following of any numbers. He was a 30-year-old ex-pimp, narcotics pusher and convict who preached violence against the white man but had not raised a hand in violence in years and his reputation came from white newspaper men who built him into an illusion. But he did have a group, however small, close to him, and last night that group was looking for revenge.

Leon 4X Ameer, one of his followers, called from Boston and promised "massive retaliation." And everywhere else, Malcolm's followers kept saying, "Just stay on your toes and you'll be covering some good murders."

So the violence Malcolm X preached so much about came about with his own death, and if there is more violence, it was his death that set it off.

He was a shallow, uneducated guy who was known as "Big Red" around 125th Street and he was a nonentity until a television producer found him in 1957. He gave Malcolm a chance to talk, and if there is one thing Malcolm X could do, it was talk against the white man. His words, hitting a white nation which was just starting to put "Civil Rights" into its vocabulary, frightened people. Newspapers grabbed him up and made him a national name. In 1961 and '62, Malcolm X was hated and feared by whites. And loved by many Negroes. Not for his views. They wouldn't stand still for his establishment of a separate Negro state or for this violence he called for. But they loved him because he made the whites nervous and caused them to back off, and when they did this, it made it easier for the established Negro organizations, the Urban League and the NAACP, to strike bargains.

"Malcolm makes CORE look conservative," the Negroes would laugh.

Herald Tribune—UPI

A SERMON OF VIOLENCE: While stunned Black Nationalists mill about, two policemen from the 34th Precinct carry Malcolm X from the Audubon Ballroom, where he was making a speech, to Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center across the street, where he was pronounced dead. In the story below, Dick Schaap, who spent hours chatting with Malcolm X in Harlem, examines the man and the myth he spawned.

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.

CLIPPING FROM THE
NY Journal American
EDITION Sunday
DATE 2/23/64
PAGE 4
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DATE 2/3/84 BY 8269 THEL/ WEB/dlr

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'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 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 violence.

"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."

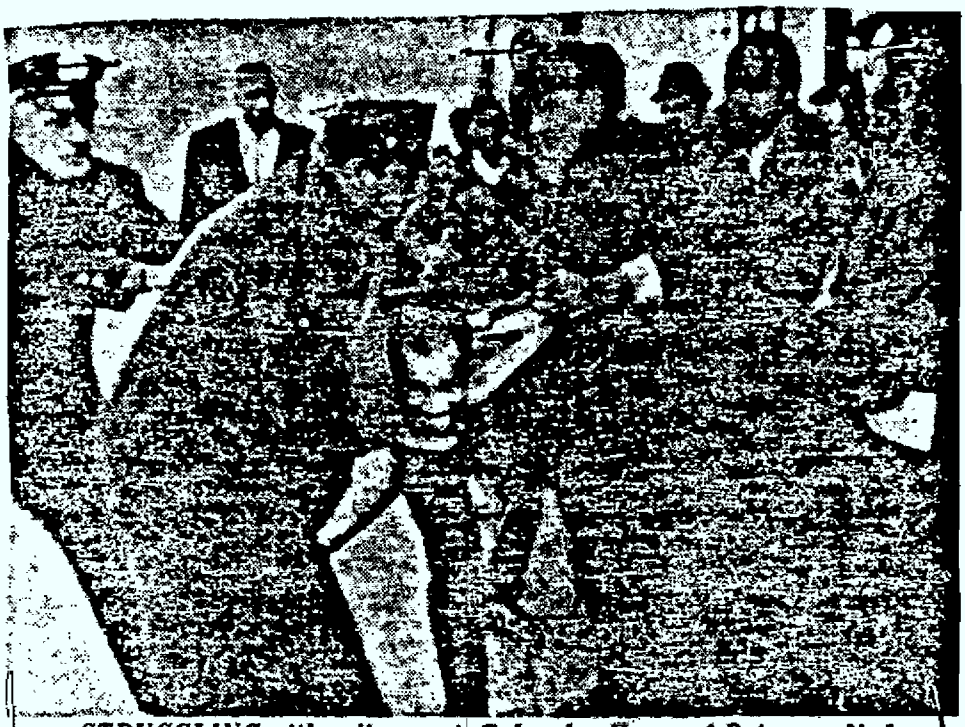
"If it's necessary to form a Black Nationalist party—or a Black Nationalist army—we'll form it," he thundered. "It's going to be a year of ballots or bullets. And if ballots won't work, bullets will."

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."

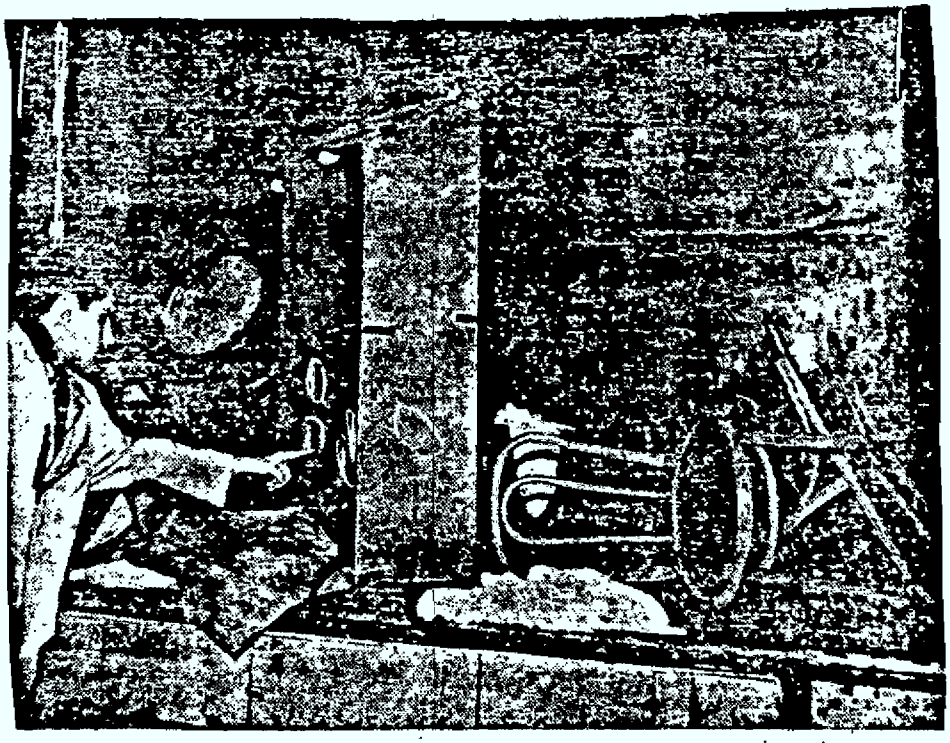
One of his last major statements came in October of last year when he denounced Elijah Muhammed as a "religious faker," and officially broke with him.

Malcolm also rejected black racism as a doctrine, declaring that he "recognized all men as brothers." 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

The Life & Hates of Malcolm X

By WILLIAM RICE

President Kennedy's assassination was a case of "chickens coming home to roost," Malcolm X said at the time. Yesterday chickens came home to him.

He was born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925, in an Omaha, Neb. hospital. His mother was Louise and his father the Rev. Earl Little.

None of his father's Christian godliness rubbed off on the youngster, only the parent's "back to Africa" teachings derived from Marcus Garvey, at that time the most controversial Negro on earth.

Bitter Memories

His first memory, Malcolm said, was of white men setting fire to his home, of his father firing a gun at the arsonists as his mother clutched a baby in her arms.

His father died when Malcolm was 6, the victim of murderers who bashed in his head and laid the still breathing body on trolley tracks, Malcolm said.

His childhood was fed on hate—of the white man who called him "nigger," of the white policemen who arrested him.

He admittedly used and pushed dope, pimped, stole. It was while serving time in 1947 in Concord, Mass., for a larceny that he "converted to Islam."

From then on his name was X. "I have no last name," he said. "Just a name some white man gave one of my ancestors a long time ago.

"I'd rather be called nigger."

He had embraced the sect of Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslims.

A Black Racist

For the next 16 years—until the "prophet" Muhammad suspended him, allegedly for his chickens statement—Malcolm was the most oft-quoted spokesman for the sect, which some claim to have a membership of more than 100,000.

He also became one of the most controversial and one of the most powerful American Negroes. He preached black supremacy, revolution, hate.

As "minister" of the ~~New York~~

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY News

EDITION Final

DATE 2-22-65

PAGE 4

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Malcolm X getting out of car in front of his Queens home after it was bombed last week.

Muslim Mosque No. 7 and the East Coast leader of the cult, he attracted large crowds when he spoke. He made many friends and many enemies.

Always in the background were his wife, Betty, 37; his children, Attilah, 6; Qubulah, 4; Hyasah, 2, and Faimilah, 5 months.

He was well read, and a forceful speaker who could whip his audience into a frenzy. Although he never finished the eighth grade, he had the manner of a college man.

Grew Too Big

Muhammad said the Muslims expelled Malcolm because of the Kennedy statement. Insiders knew it was because he had grown too big. On March 8 he announced formation of his own "black nationalist" movement.

He shocked the nation by urging Negroes to form rifle clubs and to "fight back in self defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly attacked."

"There can be no revolution without bloodshed," he said. Yesterday was proof he was right.

Hatred Was His Pitch . . . And Hatred His Undoing

By Dick Schaap
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

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 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 death yesterday, at 39, was the ultimate irony. Malcolm Little, later Big Red, later Malcolm Shabazz, finally Malcolm X, was shot to death by Negroes.

He hated whites. He insisted he hated whites. But, somehow, it was hard to believe him. We would sit in his office on the mezzanine of the Hotel Theresa, the long bare room that served as headquarters for his new Organization for Afro-American Unity, and he would talk about how much he hated whites, how they were doomed, how the day of the white devils had passed. But, always, on his face, there was the slight smile, the ironic smile that mocked his words even when he was making the most outrageous statements. It was his pitch, his hatred for the white man, but it never seemed to be his conviction.

I never saw Malcolm X treat a white man unkindly. In the balcony of the As-

More on HATRED—P 5

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Herald Tribune

EDITION Late City

DATE 2/22/65

PAGE 1+5

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FBI—NEW YORK [redacted]

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sembly chamber in Albany, he was soft and gentle to the white police guards who surrounded him. In a loft above a theater on 125th Street 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 made his money by giving speeches at Harvard and Yale and Queens College and dozens of other campuses where the students are predominantly white.

There were people in Harlem who felt he was completely a fraud. "All he cares about is Malcolm X and money," a man told me in a bar on 7th Avenue late one night. "He doesn't care at all about the problems of the Negro in general."

HE CARED

It was too easy an answer. He did care. He was genuinely infuriated by the problems of the Negro in America. But 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 of the same question.

He loved Elijah Muhammad with a fierce love that no 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.

He converted Cassius Clay to the Muslim movement, and when he was still in the movement, he could say of Clay: "He has a wonderful native intelligence. He knows. He understands." And then, after the split, when Clay stuck with Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm could say: "He's just a boy. He doesn't know what he's doing. He's being used."

EARLY LIFE

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 Rev. Little's home shortly before Malcolm was born, and later, sitting in the Theresa, 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 school class, and when he was six his home was burned down. A year later, his father was killed, found dead under a street car. Malcolm always insisted that his father had been lynched.

BAD YEARS

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, and if a Negro wanted a white woman, he could arrange that, too. He was only a teen-ager, but he moved fast. He was making perhaps $2,000 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.

THE MUSLIMS

One of his brothers was already a Black Muslim minister, working for Elijah Muhammad in New York, and in 1952, when Malcolm was released from prison, he went to work for the movement in Detroit. He had spent much of his time in prison studying history and studying language, learning the words that would make him so spellbinding a missionary for the Muslims.

He worked in Detroit for two years, then came to New York to head up Muslim Mosque No. 7, at 102 W. 116th St., in 1954. For three years no one heard much about him. Then, in 1957, a Muslim brother named Johnson Hinton was hurt in a battle with policemen from the 28th Precinct in Harlem. A large, rebellious crowd gathered outside Harlem Hospital, where Hinton lay critically injured. "If the brother dies," Malcolm X announced to the crowd, "the world will be set on fire." And then, quietly, with a wave of his hand, he got the crowd to disperse. (Hinton survived.)

POWER

Steve Kennedy, the police commissioner in 1957, said then: "He has too much power for one man."

Malcolm had 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 1950's 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 1960's, and his words carried strong weight in "Muhammad Speaks," the official Black Muslim publication.

SPOKESMAN

In 1962, when a plane carrying a group of people from Atlanta, Ga., crashed in Paris, Malcolm went on radio and went through the streets, saying, "God did it. God punished the crackers." He seemed frightened then, and there were rumors that his followers and Elijah 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. Many Negroes in Harlem, always skeptical of Malcolm's power, said that he was a creation of the white press, and in many ways, he was.

But he seemed to symbolize—this tall, sturdy, dignified man who did not smoke or drink or swear or chase women after he became a Muslim—the potential explosiveness of the Negro revolution in the United States. Even if he didn't have a solid organization, even if he didn't have a huge following, he had eloquence, he had an ability to state the problem and he was willing to talk. He completely overshadowed his leader, Elijah Muhammad.

A THREAT

By the middle of 1963 it was obvious to any one 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.

NEW SETUP

He returned to New York last summer and he set up the Muslim Mosque, Inc., in the 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 part-time 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, yesterday, after all his sermons of hatred for the white man, he died at the hands of Negroes. He might have smiled at the irony.

Malcolm X's Changing Ideas

May, 1960: "We're going to build our own society here in the United States. We're going to have our own all-black state."

July 21, 1962: The white man is "a devil, an adversary who opposes your freedom . . . a walking talking devil, the one with the guilty blue eyes, whom Allah will destroy."

April 21, 1963: "I'm a religious man, a Muslim, and am interested only in representing the honorable Elijah Muhammad in whatever he instructs me to do."

June 15, 1963: "Integration doesn't solve your problems. It is given out by token to hand-picked, bourgeois, Uncle Tom Negroes."

June 23, 1963: "An integrated cup of coffee doesn't pay for 400 years of slave labor."

June 29, 1963: The white liberal is "an old blue-eyed fox. You run away from that old blue-eyed wolf in Alabama and you get up here and find yourselves in the hands of a blue-eyed fox. . . . A white conservative is like a rattlesnake, he'll give you some warning, let you know where he stands. But the liberal is a fox and he'll cozy up to you and say he wants to be your friend." The major civil rights leaders "have white hearts and white brains and they wish they had white skins. You hear them in church singing 'Wash me, Jesus, white as snow'."

Sept. 22, 1963: "A cup of coffee is strong when it is black. When you mix it with cream it only dilutes it."

Dec. 1, 1963: Discussing the assassination of President Kennedy, he said that he "never foresaw that the chickens would come home to roost so soon." He added: "Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad."

Dec. 4, 1963: After he was suspended for making the remark about the assassination, Malcolm said, "Anything that Mr. Muhammad does is all right with me; I believe absolutely in his wisdom and his authority."

March 22, 1964: "It's time for you and me to let the government know it's ballots —or bullets."

June 15, 1964: "Muhammad was nobody until I came to New York as his emissary."

June 15, 1964: Discussing recent threats on his life, Malcolm said he was sure they had been made by the Black Muslims, and added: "There is no people in the United States more able to carry out this threat than the Black Muslims. I know. I taught them myself."

June 29, 1964: "Elijah [Muhammad] spends his time denouncing white persons and my followers. Why doesn't he denounce the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils? Why doesn't he send followers to Mississippi and Florida to help the Negro and white civil rights volunteers who are trying to better things there?"

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Herald Tribune

EDITION Late City

DATE 2/22/65

PAGE 5

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105-8999-5869

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Muslim Insiders Tell Power Fight of Malcolm, Chicagoan

BY GEORGE MURRAY

When Malcolm X was read out of the Black Muslim cult 14 months ago, the world of "white devils" was told it was because of a slur of the late President Kennedy.

But insiders felt the fiery leader's excommunication resulted from his loss of a power struggle with Raymond Sharrief, a Chicagoan.

Sharrief is the son-in-law of Elijah Muhammad, who as The Messenger of Allah heads the cult. Sharrief is also commander of the Black Muslim's secret army, known as The Fruit of Islam.

Malcolm X was heir apparent to the 68-year-old Messenger and Sharrief envied his eminence. Malcolm made frequent trips to Chicago and had won the loyalties of Muslims here.

Reports spread on Chicago's south side that the Sharrief faction was looking for an excuse to dump the dour, scowling, but glib Malcolm X.

Elijah Sees Influence

The Sharrief faction had the ear of Elijah Muhammed, whose principal home is here at 4847 Woodlawn, and convinced the aging Messenger that Malcolm X sought to supplant him.

Elijah saw the influence wielded by Malcolm. The New Yorker had become virtually the official spokesman for the Negro sect. He had made the nation aware of the Black Muslims as Muhammad, the frail and mystical Messenger, had never succeeded in doing.

Malcolm X had done more than rise to a position of personal eminence. He had laid the groundwork for what could be interpreted as an ideological split with Elijah Muhammad when he proposed that the Black Muslims participate in civil rights struggles and in political contests.

Mocking Speech on Tragedy

President Kennedy was shot to death in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963. On Dec. 1, Malcolm X made his mocking speech about the tragedy. He told a gathering of his followers that Kennedy's death was a case of "the chickens coming home to roost." Malcolm X added:

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

Three days later Elijah Muhammad in Chicago told the press he would suspend "indefinitely" the man who had been regarded as his spiritual heir. Muhammad said Malcolm had not been speaking for the Black Muslims and that:

"We, with the world, are very shocked at the assassination of our President."

Announces Own Group

Two months after this the cult assembled for its national convention. Malcolm said he phoned Muhammad and asked for a clarification of his status. The leader sent him a letter, Malcolm said, that left the question unanswered.

At this point Malcolm X announced he was going to found an organization based not on a religious idea such as the Black Muslims but upon "black nationalism." He said:

"I am going to join in the fight wherever Negroes ask for my help."

Malcolm X claimed he believed the time had come for a militant Negro group to take the offensive away from civil rights organizations and to try to rally Negroes to the banner of total separation from white America.

On March 8, 1964, Malcolm X announced organization of the politically oriented Black Nationalist party. Before he was 40, altho he never had finished the 8th grade, he had risen to be one of the nation's most powerful spokesmen for his race.

From then on, unhampered by the mystique and metaphysics of Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X preached black supremacy, revolution, and hate. He shocked the nation by urging Negroes to form rifle clubs and to "fight back whenever and wherever the Negro is being unjustly attacked."

Malcolm X toured Europe and Africa, arousing his followers with his battle cry, "There can be no revolution without bloodshed."

Claims Father Murdered

Malcolm's father, the Rev. Earl Little, was living in Omaha on May 19, 1925, when the boy was born—one of 11 children—to Louise Little. His father was a follower of the "back to Africa" teachings of Marcus Garvey of Chicago, then one of the most controversial Negroes on earth.

Malcolm later said his father died when he was six, the victim of murderers who bashed in his head.

Malcolm said his childhood was fed on hate, of the white man who called him "nigger" and of the white policemen who arrested him. He admittedly used and pushed dope, pimped, and stole. While serving time in 1947 in Concord, Mass., for larceny, he "converted to Islam."

Well Read, Forceful

Malcolm's life thereafter, as he told the story, was pure as far as the lesser vices were concerned. He did not smoke, drink, nor eat pork. His wife, Betty, and his four children constituted his private life. His public life was devoted to the cause of Elijah Muhammad.

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CHICAGO'S AMERICAN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 2-22-65
Edition: DIAMOND FINAL
Author:
Editor: LUKE CARROLL
Title: MALCOLM X

Character: 100-33593
or
Classification: CHICAGO
Submitting Office:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/8/84 BY 62-ATTLE

115-9997-5868

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Malcolm was a forceful speaker who could whip his audience into a frenzy. Off the platform he was quiet, reserved, and thoughtful.

As "minister" of the New York Muslim Mosque No. 7, and as east coast leader of the cult, Malcolm X attracted large crowds. He made many friends and enemies.

Knew of Rivalries

Then came the break with Elijah Muhammad, and Malcolm X, who had said he would rather be called "nigger" than by the last name which "some white man gave one of my ancestors long ago," was on his own.

Malcolm X knew the rivalries within Elijah Muhammad's cult. From the time he broke with the Messenger of Allah, Malcolm said he knew too much to be allowed to live. Three days before he was shot to death he announced that he was marked for execution.

One of his followers hinted at repercussions in the wake of Malcolm's assassination when he said that Malcolm's men might possibly blame his death on "the white man's refusal to believe Malcolm was really in danger."

(AP Wirephoto)

MALCOLM X

The 15 Seconds of Murder: Shots, a Bomb, and Despair

Welton Smith, a freelance writer and a student of the Black Muslim and Black Nationalist movements, was attending the meeting in Audubon Hall yesterday as an observer. He is the author of several newspaper and magazine articles on the activities of the two groups and their leaders.

By Welton Smith

When Malcolm X stood on the podium, his first words were, "A salaam alaikem" ("Peace be unto you"). Most of the audience replied, "Wa alaikem salaam" ("And unto you, peace").

There was a pause, then a man sitting in about the middle of the auditorium and wearing a black overcoat stood up and yelled at a man sitting next to him, "Get your hand off my pockets, don't be messing with my pockets."

I heard Malcolm say, "Now, now brothers, break it up." His voice was subdued, almost weary.

Suddenly, the movements of the man in the overcoat became fast and jerky. Then the sound of gunshots came from in front of him. Another man had pulled a revolver and fired at the stage where Malcolm stood, and I saw Malcolm stagger backward.

I was pushed to the floor by people rushing for cover. There were screams and curses all about me. Through the gunfire and shouting came the shrill, high-pitched voice of a woman, "Oh God, don't let them kill him! Dammit, don't let Malcolm be hurt! Oh, God, kill these bastards!"

All this had taken place within 15 seconds. As I got up from the floor, the man in the overcoat was turning to run for the exit. Two men started toward him. He fired a shot at them and started running for the door. He was screaming, "Don't mess with me. Out of my way."

A BOMB

I felt myself moving toward him. I don't know why. He was about 20 feet from me at this point. I picked up a chair, I suppose to throw at him. Just as I did, I saw him fire at someone in the crowd who had moved in his direction about eight feet away. I also saw a bomb—it was stuffed in a black sock with a burning fuse coming out of the opening—lying on the floor about 30 feet away.

For the first time, I was actually terrified.

People were screaming and moaning. I heard some woman on the other side of the room say, "Oh black folks, black folks, why you got to kill each other? Oh black folks, is we ever going to quit?"

I was terrified and hurt and tired. I tried to yell out that there was a bomb, but I couldn't speak. I looked at two young black girls who were no more than 6 years old. They were on the floor being shielded by their mother. When I looked at their faces, when I saw that they were scared and trembling, I got up and ran toward the bomb.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Herald Tribune

EDITION Late City

DATE 2/22/64

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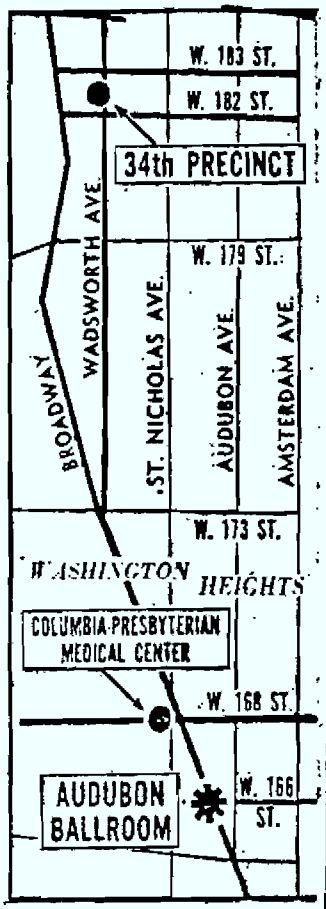

Herald Tribune—LUBOFF

Locating the Audubon Ballroom, where Malcolm X was shot, the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center, where he was pronounced dead, and the 34th Precinct, where the suspects were arrested.

I took off my overcoat and smothered the fuse. Then it occurred to me that I had no idea what kind of bomb it was. Was it a gasoline bomb? I didn't know.

I dashed around the auditorium looking for water. One man apparently thought I was rushing at him, and picked up a chair to defend himself. I said, "There's a bomb, help me find some water!" He just stood there holding the chair.

I found a pitcher of water and doused the bomb. Then I started looking around the auditorium to see if there were any more bombs. A huge black woman, tears streaming from her eyes, came up to me. "Go see about him," she said. "You go see about Malcolm. I'll look for them things." She grabbed the pitcher of water and started looking.

Malcolm was stretched out on his back on the stage. There were eight people bending over him. Other members of his group were keeping people off the stage. As I approached, one of them yelled to the crowd, "Get back from the stage. Don't come near the stage."

A young Japanese woman who was bending over Malcolm said, "He's still alive. His heart's still beating." The people in the crowd who had been moving toward the stage showed no signs of relief. The screaming had subsided, but people were still moaning. Some of the men paced about, muttering, "Lord, Lord goddam."

DESPAIR

One of them said, "There ain't no goddam hope for our people in this lousy country. You got to fight them lousy whites and fight the stupid niggahs too. There ain't no goddam hope."

Some of the members of Malcolm's group paced disgustedly on the stage, a few feet from where Malcolm was lying. "We should have searched everybody who came in here," one of them said. "We should have looked in every goddam cranny of this place for anything that might have hurt Malcolm."

An old woman with a thick West Indian accent said, "Don't you men-folk let them get away with it. They done hurt Malcolm, and don't you let them get away with it. They can't stop us. And the white man can't stop us. We know the white man put them up to it, and don't you let them get away with it."

Four policemen came in with a stretcher and took Malcolm through the crowd. As they carried him out the door on a stretcher, some of the women started to wail. One of the women said, "Lord, I don't think he going to make it. He always use to speak to you whenever he left a place. I hope he don't die, but I don't think he going to make. . . ."

When they took Malcolm away there was a lot of moaning in the room. An old man turned to me and said, "What we going to do now, brother, what we 'spose to do?"

There were about 150 people still in the auditorium. They wandered about, stumbling over chairs and muttering to each other or to themselves.

SUSPICION

"I know the cops had a hand in it," one of the men told me. "Look, I been coming up here to these meetings whenever Malcolm called them, and every time I been up here there's been at least five cops standing in front of this place. But today there was only one. One cop. And look how long it took the cops to get up to the hall after this happened. It must have been 10 minutes. And it took the ambulance almost half an hour to come from the hospital right across the street. Now you tell me that this wasn't nothing but coincidence."

When the people finally started to leave, they looked as if they were in a daze. Malcolm had said that he would unveil his program for the total liberation of the black man in the United States. And the people who were leaving, many of them still crying, had just seen Malcolm X shot dead by black men.

Gunned Down as He Addresses Rally; 3 Men Wounded

By JOHN MALLON, HENRY MACHIRELLA and LEEDS MOBERLEY

A week after he was fire-bombed out of his Queens home, Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X was shot to death shortly after 3 P.M. yesterday as he started to address a Washington Heights rally of some 400 of his devoted followers.

Three other men were wounded in the wild burst of firing from at least three weapons—a .38 and a .45 automatic pistol and a sawed-off shotgun—although only the shotgun was recovered. One of the wounded was identified by witnesses as one of the killers, but the role of the others was not clear. Nor was it established how any of them got their wounds.

Police believed the murder detail consisted of at least five men, and every available witness was being questioned last night at the Wadsworth Ave. station.

Malcolm's followers were quick to accuse the Black Muslims, whom he had blamed for the bombing of his home. Half a dozen of his bodyguards were reported last night to be en route to Chicago to wreak vengeance on Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims. Police were unable to confirm the report but an alert was out.

Denies That Black Muslims Are Responsible

Elijah's New York spokesman, James X, denied the Black Muslims were responsible for the shooting, as he had previously denied responsibility for the bombing.

Malcolm's wife, Betty Shabazz, said last night at a brief press conference in George's Nightspot, 103-04 Astoria Blvd., East Elmhurst, Queens, that her husband "knew he would be killed some day." But she only shook her head when newsmen asked who the killers were. She also said that although she was present when the assassins struck, she did not see the shooting—which contradicted earlier reports.

Meanwhile, as a precaution against possible clashes between the Muslims and Malcolm's Afro-American Union—which he set up when he broke with the Muslims last year—the police asked the Muslims to close their Harlem mosques last night, including Mosque No. 7 at 102 W. 118th St., where Malcolm used to be the head man. The Muslims complied.

Scene of the assassination was the Audubon Ballroom at 166th St. and Broadway. An introductory speaker who immediately preceded Malcolm on the rostrum had just told the faithful:

"Malcolm is a man who would give his life for you. There aren't

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY News

EDITION Final

DATE 2-22-65

PAGE 3

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 3267 TIME/ WEG/SQ

105-8999-5866

SEARCHED [redacted]
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many men who would lay down their lives for you."

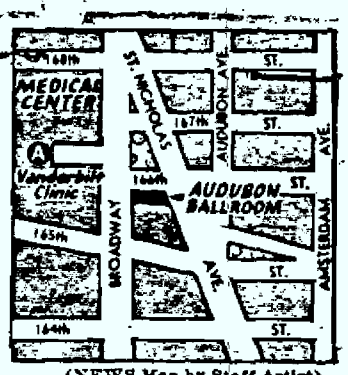
Then Malcolm stepped forward to a thunderous ovation. When the cheering died out, he spoke three words — "Brothers and Sisters" — and got no further.

Scuffle Breaks Out At Back of Hall

Witnesses reported that a scuffle, apparently a diversionary maneuver, broke out in the back of the hall, and at the same time, two men, both about 5 feet 6, arose in the audience and moved briskly down the aisle toward the stage. Then a third man came running after them.

"Just a minute, brothers," Malcolm said, and the next instant the place was pandemonium. A phalanx of bodyguards was ranged in front of their leader, facing the audience, but they had no time to intercept the gunmen. The men opened fire from a distance of about eight feet; the terrified faithful dropped to the floor as bullets whizzed and ricocheted, and Malcolm X fell mortally wounded.

When the shooting stopped and the men started out, the crowd went into action. Police arrived just in time to rescue them from a howling mob of about 150 who caught them as they reached the street and, amid screams of "Kill them! Kill them!" were punching and pummeling them unmercifully.



(NEWS Map by Staff Artist)
Malcolm X was shot in Audubon Ballroom. He died moments later in Vanderbilt Clinic (A).

Malcolm, a 39-year-old 6-footer with a slim athletic build, was wheeled on a stretcher bed to the Vanderbilt Clinic of Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center, 200 feet away, but attempts to revive him were futile and he was pronounced dead at 3:30 P. M.

A hospital spokesman, reporting that Malcolm had been shot several times in the chest and face, said he was "medically dead" when he reached the clinic's third-floor emergency room.

Because of expected heightened tension between the warring Black Nationalist groups — Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity and Elijah Muhammad's Chicago-based Black Muslims — Police Commissioner Murphy ordered extra police and mobile units into the area.

Ever since Malcolm X defected from the Black Muslims a year ago, he has been charging the Muslims with plotting to kill him.

A week ago yesterday, when he and his family were fire-bombed out of the East Elmhurst house, he intimated the job was done by the Black Muslims.

The Black Muslims said Malcolm X had done the bombing himself in a grab for publicity.

Moments before the shooting two radio patrolmen were talking outside the hall to a sergeant. Moments after the shots rang out from the hall, the doors burst open, the policemen said, and two dozen screaming persons emerged, on the heels of two men. The mob screamed, "Kill them, don't let them get away."

The two men, Negroes, were overtaken by the shouting mob. Both were taking a beating when the cops moved in and rescued them. The men were put into a police car and rushed from the scene.

Alarm Sent Out For 1963 Oldsmobile

The shots and shouts also were heard by Sgt. Alvin Aranoff and Patrolman Louis Angelos, both of the W. 152d St. precinct, who were driving by.

They saw that the mob, which had now swelled to more than 100, was beating and stomping third man, later identified as Thomas Hagan, 22, who had bullet wound in the leg.

The crowd was shouting, "Kill him, kill him. He's the one who shot Malcolm."

As the cops tried to rescue Hagan, the mob turned on them. Aranoff backed them off by firing a shot in the air, then he and the patrolman whisked the wounded man to the Wadsworth St. station house.

The suspect would say nothing other than to give his name and age. Who had shot him and whether he was one of Malcolm's followers or one of the assassins could not be learned. A loaded .45 clip and $30 were found in his pockets.

He was taken to Jewish Memorial Hospital, at 196th St. and Broadway, where each of two persons who witnessed the shooting said, when asked if Hagan was the killer, "I think he is."

Acting Chief Inspector Harry Taylor describing the shooting.

Hagan later was transferred to the Bellevue Hospital prison ward.

The other two men rescued by the cops were taken to Columbia-Presbyterian Hospital, where they were identified as Willie Harris, and William Parker, of 23-05 30th Ave., Astoria, Queens.

A short time after the shooting, police sent out an alarm for a 1963 blue Oldsmobile with license number-1 G 2220. It was learned the car was registered in the name of Muslim Mosque, 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst.

The address is that of the house where Malcolm X and his family were routed from their beds by Molotov cocktails last week. In the past week Malcolm X had moved out after being ordered evicted. The house had been a subject of dispute between the rival black nationalist groups since Malcolm X defected from the Muslims.

After the hail of bullets, Malcolm X was placed on a stretcher. A rolling bed was brought from Columbia-Presbyterian and he was wheeled 200 yards diagonally across Broadway to the emergency room.

Wife Is Hysterical; Photographers Threatened

He was followed by his weeping, hysterical wife and a group of his closest followers. When photographers sought to take pictures of Mrs. Malcolm X, the Black Nationalists moved toward the lensmen and yelled, "Put them down."

Mrs. Malcolm X and a small group got into Malcolm's white Dodge and drove to the hospital. They were there when the pronouncement came that Malcolm X was dead.

The body later was transferred to the City Morgue.

Malcolm X's lawyer, Assemblyman Percy Sutton, said Malcolm X's wife—whom he referred to as Sister Betty — had reported that her husband's car and briefcase were missing. It was not known from where they disappeared.

The wife, he said, was staying with friends in Queens. He described Malcolm X as "practically destitute" and uninsured.

Deputy Detective Inspector Thomas Renaghan, in charge of the Sixth Division, said that Malcolm was shot at close range with both .45 and .38 pistols.

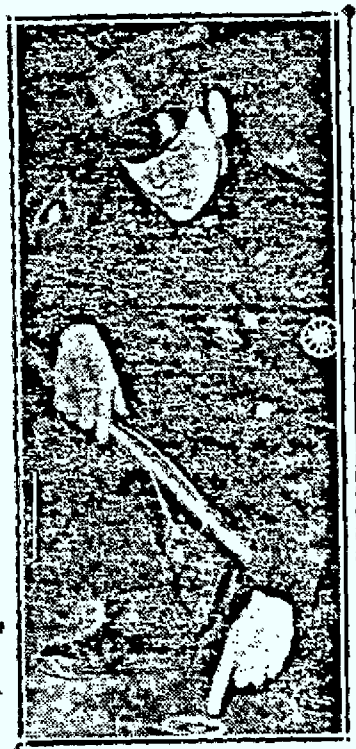
Immediately after the shots were fired at Malcolm, someone dashed up the center aisle, firing additional shots. Police said they were not able to determine immediately whether that person was an assailant or a follower of Malcolm chasing the assassins.

A spent bullet was found in the hallway leading to the street.

Four Guards Standing Just Below Platform

Police said that four of Malcolm's guards were standing just below the platform when he was hit. They were among the two dozen screaming persons who chased the attackers into the street and started tearing them apart.

Describing the scene, Acting Chief Inspector Harry Taylor of Manhattan North, said: "He had just walked up to the stage, raised his hand in Muslim greeting and said: 'Salaam, Aleikem.' (Peace be with you.) There was scuffling in the ballroom." The shooting followed.



(NEWS foto by John Peodincuk)

Patrolman Al Sullivan shows where a bullet hit floor after ricocheting from wall.

Police found a sawed-off shotgun behind the stage of the ballroom. Both the stock and barrel had been shortened. The weapon was wrapped in a man's dark gray jacket. It was not known whether the shotgun had been used in the shooting.

Commenting on the fatal gunning of the Black Nationalist leader, Sanford Garelick, assistant chief police inspector in charge of the Central Office of Bureaus and Squads, 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 Malcom X."

Seeking Shelter From Assailants

That Malcolm X feared for his life was evident in his actions of Saturday. Apparently seeking to hide from any asailants, he checked into the New York Hilton shortly after 4 P.M. He was accompanied by two Negro men.

Taking the $18-a-day Room 1206, he registered as M. Shabazz, of 2090 Seventh Ave., which is the address of Harlem's Hotel Theresa. He said he would stay at the Hilton for two days.

At 10 P.M. three Negro men showed up in the lobby and started to question a bellhop about Malcolm X's whereabouts.

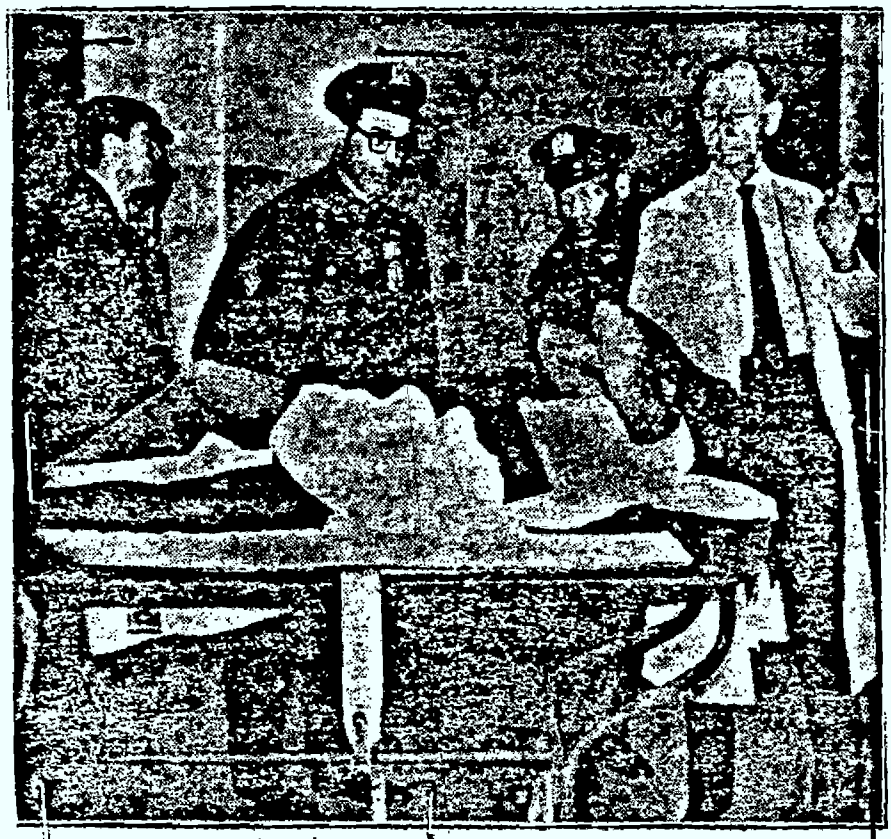
Receiving no information, they stayed around for an hour. The bellhop alerted the hotel's security men, and the three were closely watched until they left.

At 7 A.M. yesterday Negro employes arriving at the hotel were questioned about the location of Malcolm X's room by a Negro man. The questioner got no information.

Malcolm X at a recent speaking engagement.

(UPI foto)

Malcolm X (foto left) is removed on stretcher from Audubon Ballroom.



(NEWS foto by Judd Mehlman)

Thomas Hagan (foto right) is wheeled into Jewish Memorial Hospital.

Malcolm's wife, Betty (right), stands sobbing outside Audubon Ballroom after her husband was assassinated yesterday.

(NEWS foto by Judd Mehlman)

Cop restrains Thomas Hagan, wounded in leg during ~~melee in~~ Audubon Ballroom, at Jewish Memorial Hospital.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

About to Name His Killers

(Special to CHICAGO'S AMERICAN)

NEW YORK—Black Nationalist Leader Malcolm X died in a hail of bullets on the stage of the Audubon ballroom in upper Manhattan because he was about to name publicly the men assigned to kill him.

Malcolm's attorney, Manhattan Assemblyman Percy Sutton, during an interview with the New York Journal-American, confirmed that this was the motive.

"He said he intended to name the picked assassins at the rally," Sutton declared. "He realized he was a marked man and he planned to identify the killers by name. The police already had their names."

Shot 12 Times

But before he could speak these names during an address to 400 of his followers, Malcolm X, 39, was silenced by 12 bullets fired into his slender body from .45 caliber revolvers and a European-made revolver. Pellets from a sawed-off shotgun also struck him.

As the Negro leader lay dying, his wife, Betty, 29, reached into a pocket of his suit and extracted a piece of paper. Purportedly the names of the men who were to assassinate him were written on that paper.

Wife Hits Police, Press

After her formal identification of the body today, the victim's widow commented:

"The police and press were unfair. No one believed what he said. They never took him seriously, even after the bombing of our home. They said he did it himself.

"Now, what are they going to do—say that he shot himself?"

Refused Protection

Police said they had offered protection to Malcolm X several times in the last 3 weeks, but had been refused.

A Harlem funeral home director said services for Malcolm X are planned for 9 a. m. Saturday, despite a Muslim belief that the sun should not set twice on the body of a believer. The funeral could create another potentially explosive situation.

At least five men, all suspected of being followers of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, with whom Malcolm X split last year, are believed to have been involved in the killing.

File Murder Charge

One of the suspected assassins is in custody. A homicide charge was filed against him.

He was identified from fingerprints in the Federal Bureau of Investigation files as Talmadge Hayer, alias Thomas Hayer, 22, of 347 Marshall st., Paterson, N. J. Hayer has a police record.

Shot once in the leg by one of Malcolm's bodyguards as he tried to flee, Hayer was rescued by two policemen from a howling mob, which was beating and kicking him.

Hayer told detectives his name was Thomas Hagen and would say no more. He has been charged with homicide and is under police guard in the Bellevue hospital prison ward.

"He is a Black Muslim," said Deputy Detective Inspector Thomas Renaghan.

That Malcolm was prepared to identify the men chosen to kill him was further attested to by high police officials. They would neither confirm nor deny however Sutton's statement that they had been given the names of the assassins by the fiery Negro leader whose Elmhurst Queens home was firebombed Feb. 14.

Compliment His Courage

"My philosophy was different than Malcolm's," said Sutton, a former official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He added: "But I had to compliment him on his courage. I was riding uptown with him last Friday and I said, 'Malcolm, you have a lot of guts riding around the city like this.' He said to me, 'When your time comes, your time comes, and only Allah knows when that time [illegible]

"We told Malcolm he was a marked man, but he laughed and told us he knew just as much as we did," the police department spokesman said. "He did not trust us any more than he trusted the Black Muslims."

With Malcolm, the son of an Omaha minister now dead, police in both New York and Chicago had another worry that Black Nationalists' would attempt to avenge their leader's death.

Send Out Alarm

Police sent out an alarm for a 1963 blue Oldsmobile that reportedly was bound for Chicago, where Elijah Muhammad makes his headquarters, with six of Malcolm's followers.

New York police also had extra men patroling Harlem last night and the Black Muslim restaurant at 116th street and Lenox avenue, known as Muhammad's Temple No. 7 restaurant. This restaurant had been closed shortly after the assassination at the request of authorities.

The net apparently began closing Saturday around the man who had publicly exalted at the assassination of President Kennedy 15 months ago.

Try to Find Room

A security officer at the New York Hilton hotel where Malcolm spent part of Saturday and Sunday, told the Journal-American that he could identify Hayer as one of three Negroes who circulated about the hotel Saturday night, trying to find out what room Malcolm occupied.

Hated by some, revered by others, and an enigma to many, the last hours in the life of the man born Malcolm Little began at 4:10 p. m. Saturday when he checked into the Hilton.

He registered under the name of Malcolm Shabazz and gave his address as 2090 7th av., which is the Hotel Theresa, where Malcolm had his Black Nationalist headquarters.

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

I

CHICAGO'S AMERICAN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 2-22-65
Edition:
Author: DIAMOND FINAL
Editor:
Title: LUKE CARROLL

MALCOLM X

Character: 100-33593
or
Classification: CHICAGO
Submitting Office:

105-8999-5865

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269THE/WEB/dd

Except for dinner Saturday night in the hotel's Bourbon room, Malcolm stayed in his room. He checked out the Hilton at about 1 p. m. Sunday and was driven to the Audubon ballroom at 166th street and Broadway.

Elated at Progress

What was billed as the Organization for Afro-American Unity rally began at 2 p. m. The audience was the largest Malcolm had drawn in a couple of years. "Malcolm was quite elated at the progress of his movement," Sutton reported.

"He was particularly pleased at having been barred from France. He viewed it as a sign that his movement was enjoying popularity among the African community in France," Sutton added.

At approximately 2:15 p. m., Malcolm was introduced as "a man who would give his life for you." He stepped forward to the stage rostrum and fiddled with some papers while his audience applauded for 45 seconds.

"Peace Be With You"

"A Salaam Alaikem," Malcolm said. The crowd responded, "Peace be with you, also."

A 21-year-old machinist's helper who refused to give his name told what happened next.

"I was sitting toward the back and near me two men jumped up and started pushing each other. One of them shouted, 'Get you hand out of my pocket.' Malcolm raised his hand and said, 'Hold it, hold it, let's cool it now, brothers.'"

With the bulk of the audience and Malcolm's bodyguards who were seated just below the stage distracted by the scuffling in back, two men ran down the aisle. One of them — police believe it was Hayer — held the .45 caliber revolver. The second man cradled the sawed-off shotgun.

Sound Like Explosion

"I was looking at Malcolm and he was smiling," said a 37-year-old housewife who identified herself only as Dorothy. "There was what sounded like an explosion. I was sitting towards the front on the right side and I just sat frozen in my seat. I looked at Malcolm and there was blood running out of his guatee."

And then, the woman went on, "he just toppled over the rostrum."

Police estimate that 32 shots in all were fired within the hall. People fell to the floor or bolted for the exits. Malcolm's wife was screaming. "They're killing my husband, they're killing my husband." She has four children, the youngest of whom is 6, and she is pregnant with here fifth.

Ran to Stage

She ran to the stage and fell to her knees beside her dying husband. Hayer, waving his revolver now, ran toward the back exit. Reuben Francis, 33, of 871 E. 179th st., Bronx, one of Malcolm's bodyguards, wounded Hayer in the leg.

Hayer stumbled out onto Broadway. Police Sgt. Alvin Aronoss and Patrolman Louis Angelos, attracted by the shots, saw Hayer as they pulled up near the ballroom.

Kick, Punch Him

"He saw us," Sgt. Aronoss related. "And he started shouting: 'I'm shot, help me, help me.' Dozens of people were around him, punching him and kicking him. He had a lump on his face and his head was bloody. Angelos and I pushed our way in."

Sgt. Aronoss continued:

"The crowd was screaming, 'Kill him, lynch him'! We were getting pushed around ourselves. I felt that the prisoner would be taken away from us, so I drew my revolver and fired a warning shot into the air. This gave us time to get the man into the car."

A few minutes later Malcolm X was wheeled on a stretcher to an emergency room in Columbia Presbyterian hospital. A team of doctors and nurses labored over him but as one physician said later, "He was dead when he entered the hospital."

Taken to Morgue

Eventually the body was taken to the Bellevue hospital morgue. Dr. Milton Halpern, chief medical examiner, reported that Malcom's body bore 16 wounds. Of these, 12 were made by bullets. Two of the slugs, Halpern reported, entered the left eye. The other four wounds, he said, resulted from the shotgun pellets.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

GUNMEN KILL MALCOLM X

BLACK NATIONALIST IS SHOT AT RALLY IN N.Y.

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

1

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: 3 STAR FINAL
Author: WALTER BILITZ
Editor: W.D. MAXWELL
Title: MALCOLM X
Character: 100-33593
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

105-8999

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED
FBI — NEW [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269JHE/WEB/DD

105-8999-5864

Charge Wounded Suspect with the Slaying

BY WALTER BILITZ

(Pictures on back page)

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

New York, Feb. 21—Malcolm X, the fiery black nationalist leader, was shot and killed this afternoon at an uptown rally in Manhattan.

Police believe five men participated in the assassination and they held two suspects, one of whom, Thomas Hagan, 22, a Negro, was charged with the slaying.

Police Capt. Paul Glaser said the lanky 39-year-old Malcolm was cut down by Hagan with a blast from a sawed-off, double-barreled shotgun as he was addressing 400 members of his own sect, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, in the Audubon ballroom in the Washington Heights section north of Harlem. The organization was founded by Malcolm after he was ousted from the Black Muslims, an extremist group headed by Elijah Muhammad of Chicago.

Suspect Shot in Leg

Capt. Glaser said Hagan was shot in the leg by one of Malcolm's followers, Reuben Francis, who was charged with illegal possession of a pistol. Hagan's left leg was broken, apparently by kicks when he was set upon by members of the audience immediately after the shooting. Hagan was being held under guard in the prison ward of Bellevue hospital.

Malcolm X

Eight to 10 shots were fired, according to police.

Malcolm was placed on an improvised stretcher and rushed to nearby Vanderbilt clinic of Columbia-Presbyterian medical center, where he died.

Police blamed the slaying on a feud between Malcolm X and the Black Muslim movement.

Authorities said they had found a cartridge case with four unused .45 caliber bullets in Hagan's pocket.

Two Other Men Wounded

Two other Negroes, described as "apparent spectators" by a police official, were also shot. They were described as William Harris, wounded seriously in the abdomen, and William Parker, shot in a foot. Both were taken to Columbia-Presbyterian medical center.

Police said there was a scuffle in the rear of the hall just before the shooting, "possibly to divert attention so that those who were after Malcolm X had a clear shot." Police said that shots were fired from three guns.

Police later found a shotgun, wrapped in a dark gray jacket, behind the stage.

Only last Sunday three gasoline bombs were thrown into the living room of Malcolm's home in Queens. The brick dwelling was severely damaged but the nationalist leader and his wife and four daughters, all asleep at the time, escaped uninjured.

Immediately following the shooting, the ballroom at 166th street and Audubon avenue, was a bedlam of screaming confusion.

"Would Give His Life"

It was 3 p. m. when Malcolm rose to address the audience in the ballroom where he held weekly meetings.

One of his followers climbed on the rostrum and told the audience, "Malcolm is a man who would give his life for you. There aren't many men who would lay down their lives for you."

Malcolm stepped to the rostrum and received a thunderous ovation.

He said, "Brothers and sisters . . . then shots rang thru the auditorium. Many of the 400 persons in the auditorium fell to the floor.

Wife Sees Malcolm Fall

Malcolm's wife, Betty, watched Malcolm topple on the rostrum. She ran hysterically thru the auditorium, located in a three-story building, and screamed, "They're killing my husband."

Hugh Simpson, a radio reporter who was sitting in the front row, said he saw one man firing a gun from under his coat and running backward toward the door.

A woman who would identify herself only as a registered nurse said she had seen "two men rushing toward the stage and firing from underneath their coats"—one wearing a tweed coat.

Shot in Chest, Cheek

A spokesman at the medical center said that Malcolm had been brought into the emergency room "either dead or in a death-appearing state."

The spokesman said the victim died of gunshot wounds. "The wounds were centered in his chest and I believe one was in his cheek," he said. It was reported Malcolm was shot seven times.

His followers trailed the hospital-bound party up the avenue to the hospital, where they stood around waiting for word of their fallen leader. Some of them cried and others swore vengeance on Malcolm's assassins when word filtered out to the street that Malcolm was dead.

Police mixed with the crowd that gathered outside the ballroom building, and took away several Negro men, apparently for questioning as witnesses.

Asst. Chief Police Inspector Sanford Garelick told newsmen: "This is the result, it would seem, of a long standing feud between the followers of Elijah Muhammad and the people who broke away from him, headed by Malcolm X."

Ready to Name Assailants

State Assemblyman Percy Sutton, attorney for Malcolm X, said the Negro leader had planned during his speech today to "reveal the names of those who were trying to kill him." Sutton said the names had been given to police.

Jimmy X, a leader of the Black Muslims in Harlem, was picked up by detectives and taken to the police station for questioning. He denied knowing anything about the assassination.

Police also issued an alarm for a blue Oldsmobile auto registered in the name of the Muslim Mosque in East Elmhurst, Queens.

Policemen were advised to approach the vehicle's occupants with caution and not touch it so that possible fingerprints might be preserved.

Tells About Threats

After last Sunday's bombing, Malcolm disclosed that he and his wife had been receiving telephone threats daily for some time. He said the attack could have been committed by the Black Muslims, the Ku Klux Klan or related extremist groups. Earlier this month, he had been in Selma, Ala., where he had denounced the Klan.

"It [the bombing] doesn't frighten me," he said. "It doesn't quiet me down in any way or shut me up."

The modest home had 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 had demanded that Malcolm vacate it when he broke with them to found his own nationalist group.

Last Thursday Malcolm called on the state department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to investigate what he called a "conspiracy against me, at home, and abroad."

He pointed out that he had been barred from France earlier this month, and charged that there was an attempt to cover up the fire-bombing of his home.

Elijah Muhammad suspended

Malcolm as his heir apparent in the Black Muslims late in 1963 for statements he made regarding the assassination of President Kennedy. Malcolm had said it was a case of "the chickens coming home to roost."

Setting up his own organization, Malcolm announced he would recruit Negro intellectuals who could not accept the Muslim religion, but who favored separation of the races in the United States.

The result of his efforts produced bitter recriminations between him and the Black Muslims.

(AP Wirephoto)

Police Sgt. Alvin Aronoff grips arms of Thomas Hagen, 22, suspect in slaying of Malcolm X. Hagan was taken to Jewish Memorial hospital, where he was treated for a bullet wound and a broken leg.

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[AP Wirephoto]

Police and members of Organization of Afro-American Unity grapple with Thomas Hagan, 22, after he allegedly shot Malcolm X, leader of the militant Negro sect. One man keeps a grip on Hagan's collar as suspect, altho himself wounded, struggles to escape. Hagan was charged with the killing. This scuffle took place outside where slaying occurred.

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[AP Wirephoto]

Followers of Malcolm X attempt to aid mortally wounded leader on stage of ballroom in Manhattan after he was cut down by assassins' bullets. He had begun to address 400 of his Organization of Afro-American Unity members when the shooting started, ca screaming melee. Several persons were wounded, includ pects seized by police.

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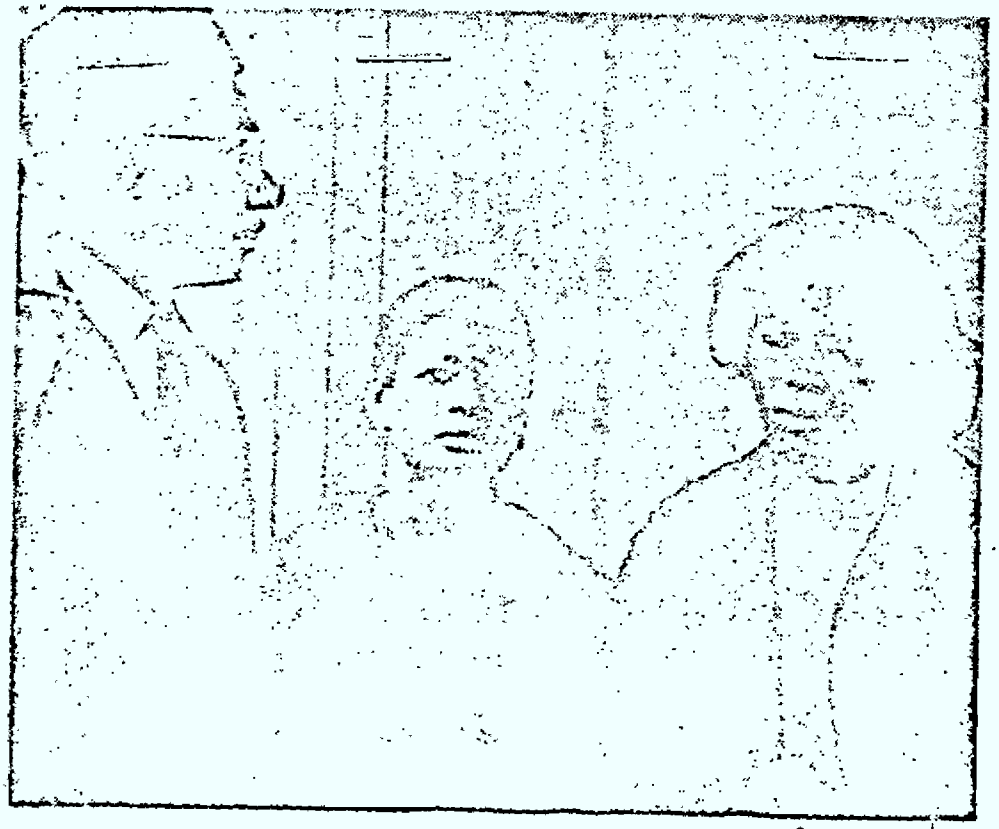

[UPI Telephoto]

Malcolm X's widow, Betty (right), in crowd outside building where her husband was shot and killed while addressing meeting of his followers in New York City.

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Carried from Ballroom

(UPI Telephoto)

Malcolm X is carried from ballroom in Manhattan after he was fatally shot.

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FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

My Men Didn't Do It, Says Muslim Chief

TELL MALCOLM X THREATS HERE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269JHE/WEB/dd

Assassination Motive Told

Guarded During January Visit

Malcom X, assassinated Black Nationalist leader, feared an attempt would be made on his life when he visited Chicago 3 weeks ago, police disclosed today.

He was heavily guarded during his stay here Jan. 30, and on several occasions he pointed out to police that he was being followed by men he said he recognized as Black Muslims.

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

1 CHICAGO'S AMERICAN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 2-22-65
Edition:
Author: DIAMOND FINAL
Editor:
Title: LUKE CARROLL
MALCOLM X
Character: 100-33593
or
Classification: CHICAGO
Submitting Office:

105-8999-5863

SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FBI — NEW YORK

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Shock, but No Regret

Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, held a closely guarded press conference in his three-story $100,000 mansion at 4847 Woodlawn av. today, during which he expressed shock—but no regret—over Malcolm's death.

He denied that any of his followers could have been involved in the assassination, and said the annual national meeting of the Muslims, scheduled for this week-end in the Coliseum, will go on as planned.

The FBI has warned Chicago police that six followers of Malcolm, who was thrown out of the Muslim movement by Muhammad in 1963, are believed headed for this city to avenge their leader's death.

Guard Muslim Property

Heavy guards have been placed around Mahammad's home, and at Islam Mosque No. 2 and the University of Islam at 5335 Greenwood av., as well as business places known to be frequented by Muslim followers.

The estimated 50 newsmen who gathered outside Muhammad's home were permitted to enter in groups of 4, and were meticulously searched by Muhammad's personal bodyguards, known as the Fruit of Islam.

The home is entered thru two multiple-locked doors. One door is opened at a time and relocked before the second is opened.

". . . Victim of Himself"

Muhammad told newsmen he had no idea why Malcolm was shot, and described him as "a victim of his own violent philosophy."

"I had hoped Malcolm would have repented and come back on his knees, but he did not," Muhammad said. "He was a man of violence."

He termed 1964 "a bitter year" for the Black Muslims, saying:

"Malcolm broke off the friendship from the Brotherhood of Islam, and that upset us because he was such a good brother. But after we discussed the disobedience of his act we gave him the choice to make a better brother, but he went out on his own."

No Mention at Parley

He said he would not mention the assassination during the annual meeting Friday and Sunday in the Coliseum.

He said he, himself, had been threatened many times, but he has not asked for police protection.

Before Malcolm came to Chicago from Los Angeles Jan. 30 it was learned that a threat had been made on his life, and police were told here that a group of Muslims had vowed to kill him publicly, according to Capt. William Duffy and Sgt. Edward McClellan of the police intelligence unit.

Plane Bomb Search

Malcolm's plane was delayed in leaving Los Angeles while a bomb search was made of baggage.

When he arrived at O'Hare airport he was met by Sgt. McClellan, who stayed with Malcolm during his visit here.

McClellan said Malcolm told him at the airport and later in front of the Bismarck hotel that he noticed he was being followed by persons he identified as Muslims.

"He told me he feared for his life, and people were tailing him from all over the country, to kill him," McClellan said.

Outline Safeguards

Duffy, McClellan and Lt. Frank Heimoski outlined for newsmen the precautions being taken today to guard Muhammad and to protect the convention meeting this week-end.

The FBI was able to identify only two of the men believed to be headed here. They were Donald Washington and Omar Ahmed. Both were said to be wearing Pakistani hats similar to the hat worn by Muhammad Ayub Khan, president of Pakistan.

Ahmed, the godfather of one of Malcolm's children, is 31. He is tall and heavily built. His head is shaved, but he wears a thin mustache.

Leaders Rally at Home

Leaders of the sect rushed to their prophet's home last night to confer on the slaying. The group had difficulty in reaching Muslims in New York City and no statement was to be made until Muhammad was able to talk to his leaders there.

Muhammad's son, Herbert Muhammad, said, however, that no sect members were involved and promised coöperation with the police.

Young Muhammad said none of the three arrested after Malcolm's slaying in New York City were listed in the sect's membership files.

Fire in Clay's Home

In an apparent coincidence, fire struck the apartment of Cassius Clay, heavyweight boxing champion and a member of Muhammad's sect. The champion, who uses the name Muhammad Ali as a Muslim, was dining out at the time the fire began in his apartment at 7036 Cregier av.

The fire apparently started in the second-floor apartment directly below Clay's apartment. Firemen fought the blaze for more than an hour. Lt. Joseph Mildice, lieutenant from the Grand Crossing police district, finally found the occupant, Carl Elliott, 37.

Taken to the Burnside detective headquarters, Elliott said he had discovered the mattress in his bedroom smoldering when he returned home. He called the fire department and fled the building after failing in attempts to smother the fire with his coat or throw the mattress out the window.

The cause of the fire was listed as accidental, but both police and fire department arson units planned a close study of the burned-out apartments today.

Clay, and his wife, Sonji, arrived while the fire was still burning. Mrs. Clay burst into tears when one of her husband's trainers brought her a suitcase and said, "This is all that is left."

Mrs. Clay was wearing a silver chinchilla coat and a white cocktail dress and seated in a new red Cadillac convertible. She said she and Clay had been at a night club and restaurant.

The loss included four other fur coats, jewelry, and clothing, she said. Clay's championship belt was one of the few items not damaged.

Sets Loss at $4,000

Clay talked to reporters and police and fire investigators in an adjoining entrance after a trainer ordered him to get out of the wind and cold.

When asked to estimate the loss, he answered "Bout a little ol' $4,000." The official estimate was $6,000 loss to both apartments, but Mrs. Clay placed it higher.

The champion added, "I'm worth a million dollars and I'm looking for a $100,000 home to buy." Clay then said, "It's a good thing they didn't burn down my $100,000 mansion." He said he had lived in the 3½-room apartment about 4 months.

Clay said he was "shocked and surprised" at the news of Malcolm's slaying, but doubted that the apartment fire was in retribution for the death or that he had anything to fear from Malcolm's followers.

FD-350 (Rev. 7-18-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

There Are Three Who Will Remember

One man hurled himself to the floor and heard "a rapid succession of shots."

Another heard a woman's terrified scream: "They've shot him. They've shot him."

A third remembers somebody "running backward toward the door and firing at the same time."

Witnesses' Memories

These images of terror were etched unforgettably today on the minds of three witnesses to the slaying of Malcolm X.

A moment before the shooting, said a 21-year-old machinist, a man seated about eight rows from the stage shouted "someone's got his hand in my pocket." The machinist continued:

"The last thing Malcolm said was 'Just a minute brother.' A scuffle started. Shots were fired. I figured it was an assassination attempt and threw myself to the floor.

Woman Yells

"As I hit the floor, I heard a rapid succession of shots. A woman yelled, 'They've shot Malcolm.'

"The ballroom erupted into bedlam and one of Malcolm's bodyguards said 'Let's get those bastards.' More shots were fired and two men seemed to be trying to fight their way out."

The machinist refused to disclose his name. "I don't want whoever shot Malcolm to shoot me," he declared.

Stanley Scott, a United Press International reporter, said Malcolm started speaking after receiving a second ovation from the 400 spectators. Then Scott said:

Guards Rush In

"A man off to my left shouted, 'Get out of my pocket' and several burly guards rushed to the commotion that followed.

"Malcolm, from the microphone, had just begun his address with the words 'Brothers and sisters.' He interrupted himself to maintain order. 'Take it easy. OK now, take it easy,' he said.

"Those were his last words. What sounded like 20 or 30 shots rang out. Men and women, clutching small children, ducked to the floor and crawled under tables as the rapid firing continued.

Audience Stunned

"Malcolm was sprawled on the platform, bleeding profusely. The audience, at first stunned and paralyzed, began streaming toward the rear exit, stampeding down the flight of stairs there and into the street."

Scott said Malcolm's wife, Betty, "ran about screaming hysterically, 'they're killing my husband.'"

Meanwhile, Scott said, Malcolm's followers seized two men and were yelling "Kill them, kill them," until an eight-man police flying squad wrestled the pair free.

Recalls Remark

Hugh Simpson, a WMCA radio reporter, also heard the "disturbance about eight rows back." Simpson recalled Malcolm saying, "Be cool now, don't get excited."

Simpson heard "this muffled sound." He saw Malcolm totter backwards over some chairs. "And everybody was shouting and I saw one man behind me firing a gun from under his coat behind me."

Simpson said the man was "firing like he was in some Western, running backward toward the door and firing at the same time."

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

2 N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 THE/ WEB/ad

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: METRO
Author:
Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-8999-5862
SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FEB 23 19[redacted]
FBI—NEW YORK [redacted]

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FD-350 (Rev. 7-18-63)

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Malcolm X—in Life, as in Death, the Center of Violence

By ROBERT LAIRD
Of the World-Telegram Staff

Violent. Violent words, violent emotions—and a violent death. This was Malcolm X.

He was born 39 years ago in Omaha, Nebr., one of 10 children of the Rev. Earl and Louise Little. By the time he was 5, white racists had burned down two of his family's homes, one in Omaha and a second in Lansing, Mich.

His father, a Baptist minister and a disciple of back-to-Africa leader Marcus Garvey, was killed when Malcolm was 6. His skull was crushed with a bludgeon and his body dumped onto streetcar tracks, Malcolm recalled.

Malcolm ran away from home at 11 and, after a career that led him through the small-time rackets world of Harlem, ended up in prison in 1945 after a burglary conviction.

Converted in Prison

It was then that his life was changed. While in prison he converted to the militant Black Muslim sect.

He became a rabid member of the sect, swearing off cigarets, alcohol, and the narcotics to which he was addicted. He began a program of self-education—his formal schooling ended with the eighth grade—that was later to aid him in his role of eloquent black racist spokesman.

Released from prison in 1952, he became a formal member of Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims. He dropped the name Little—"just a name some white man gave one of my ancestors long ago"—and added the mystical X.

A dynamic organizer and a charismatic leader, Malcolm rose swiftly in the white-hating sect, taking charge of the New York Mosque No. 7 and moving up to second-in-command behind the Chicago-based Muhammad.

Most Powerful

But there were those who thought the tall, slender, sandy-haired Malcolm was second in name only, that he was really the Black Muslims' most powerful figure.

By the early 1960s he had overshadowed Muhammad in the public's mind as the personification of Black Muslim extremism. Whenever the dignified bespectacled Malcolm mounted the speaker's rostrum before an audience of his followers, a troubled press and nation listened.

In 1962, after a jetliner crashed outside of Paris and killed 121 leading citizens of Atlanta, Ga., the nation listened when Malcolm told 1500 followers the same night:

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

3 N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269TP-1 LCE B/dd

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: METRO
Author: ROBERT LAIRD
Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-8999-5861

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FEB 23 1965
FBI—NEW [redacted]

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"I would like to announce a very beautiful thing that happened . . . Somebody came and told me that (God) has really answered our prayers and dropped an airplane with over 120 white people on it. We call on our God—he gets rid of 120 of them at one whoop."

Breaks With Muslims

The nation listened again when, after the assassination of President Kennedy, Malcolm told another audience:

"The chickens have come home to roost . . . Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad. They've always made me glad."

It was ostensibly because of this remark that the Black Muslims broke with Malcolm, although many observers believed it was really because of the power struggle with Muhammad.

In March of last year the split became official and Malcolm went on to form his own Black Nationalist group.

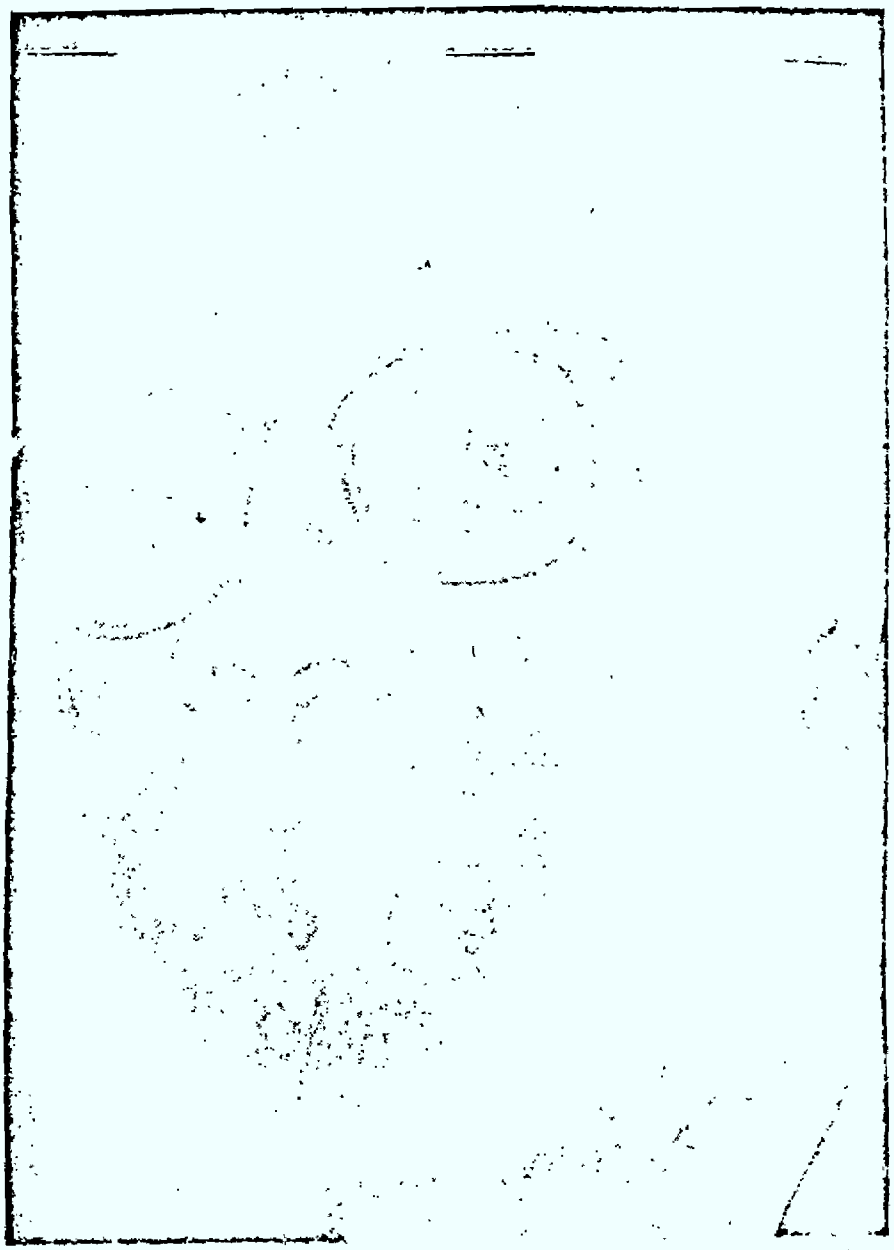
The months that followed brought a kalcidoscope of events.

Threats on Life

There was a series of threats on his life so that he traveled constantly with a bodyguard; there was his widely publicized call for Negroes to form self-protective "rifle clubs"; a pilgrimage to Mecca; a court battle over his Black Muslim-owned home in East Elmhurst; an attempted entry into France and a poorly received tour of Great Britain; the fire-bombing last Sunday of the Queens home.

And yesterday, death.

About death Malcolm X said on July 27, 1963: "We are all going to die and the only thing is to die honorably, which you can do if you take an enemy with you."



Malcolm X

FD-350 (Rev. 7-18-63)

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COPS BLANKET HARLEM

Fear Revenge for Malcolm X

By TOM COLLINS and PAUL MESKIL

Of the World-Telegram Staff

Hundreds of extra police blanketed Harlem today to prevent a war between Black Muslims and followers of Malcolm X, the fiery Black Nationalist leader who was shot dead in front of 400 persons yesterday.

Police set up a special command post in Mt. Morris Park, Mt. Morris Ave. between 119th and 124th St. In the recreation room of the Park Department building, police manned newly installed telephones and radios that put them in almost instant touch with every policeman in Harlem. Outside the building, waiting for trouble calls, were a tow-truck, two emergency trucks,

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

1 N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269JHE/WEB/ad

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: METRO
Author: T. COLLINS, P. MESKI
Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-39932
Submitting Office: NYO

[X] Being Investigated

105-8999-5860
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FEB 2 1 19 [redacted]
FBI — NEW YO
[redacted]

a communications truck and two trucks loaded with wooden barricades.

This same emergency procedure was followed during last summer's riots.

At least five men took part in the well-planned execution inside the Audubon Ballroom, 564 W. 166th St. While two of them created a diversion in the middle of the crowded hall, three rushed the rostrum where Malcolm was standing and riddled him with a sawed-off shotgun and two pistols.

A man identified as one of the killers was rescued by police from a lynch mob and charged with homicide. The other four escaped, possibly in a car driven by a sixth assassin. More than 100 detectives have been assigned to track down the fugitives.

Police also are investigating a report that six of Malcolm's bodyguards left for Chicago last night to kill Elijah Muhammad, head of the nationwide Black Muslim cult.

Chicago police placed "intensive patrols" in the vicinity of Elijah Muhammad's home and Black Muslim headquarters. Detectives were posted at airports and railroad stations to watch incoming planes and trains. State police and highway patrols between New York and Chicago also were alerted.

Blamed for Fire-Bombing

On several occasions Malcolm accused Elijah of marking him for death. He blamed his former boss for numerous alleged attempts to kill him and for the fire-bombing of Malcolm's East Elmhurst home a week before the murder.

Assemblyman Percy Sutton, Malcolm's lawyer, said Malcolm had planned to disclose "the names of those who were trying to kill him" at yesterday's rally. But he never got a chance.

It was reported, however, that Malcolm had given police a list of names of suspected assassins.

On seven occasions within the past month, Malcolm was offered police protection. Each time, he declined the offer. Before yesterday's rally, he was asked again if he wanted a police bodyguard and again he refused.

No Police Inside

"We can take care of anything ourselves," he told a detective. According to police officials, a patrolman was stationed outside the ballroom but no police were inside because it was a private rally for Malcolm's followers.

The rally got under way with an introductory speech by a Black Nationalist official who said: "Malcolm is a man who would give his life for you. There aren't many men who would lay down their lives for you."

Then, a few minutes after 3 p.m., the man who called himself Malcolm X stepped to the rostrum. When the applause and cheering died down, the tall, bearded extremist raised his right hand and said:

"Salaam alaikem (Peace be unto you)."

The audience answered "Alaikem salaam (And unto you peace)."

At this point a Negro man in a black overcoat stood up in the middle of the auditorium and shouted at a man seated next to him: "Get your hand off my pockets. Don't be messing with my pockets."

The Last Words

The other man also got up. All eyes turned toward them as they yelled insults and curses.

"Now, now brothers break it up," Malcolm said. Two or three of his bodyguards started down the aisles to quiet the disturbance. Above the commotion, Malcolm's voice rang out:

"Brothers and sisters—"

Those were his last words. Two men rushed at the rostrum from either side, pulling pistols from their topcoats. A third man followed with a sawed-off, double-barreled shotgun. Bullets poured into Malcolm's head, chin and upper body. Both barrels of the shotgun roared. Ripped by at least 16 shotgun and pistol wounds he toppled over backward on the speaker's platform.

Screaming and yelling men, women and children ducked under seats and behind tables.

Hundreds of terrified spectators bolted for the front and side exits. A few men tried to grab the killers but the gunmen fired a volley of shots into the ceiling and walls as they ran for the doors.

Bystanders Wounded

A Malcolm lieutenant whipped out a revolver and shot one of the killers in the thigh, dropping him as he ran down an aisle. Two other men, apparently innocent bystanders, were wounded in the crossfire.

The wounded gunman was identified later as Talmadge Hayer, 22, whose last-known address was 347 Marshall St., Patterson, N. J. He was charged with homicide.

Police said he was shot by Reuben Francis, 33, of 871 E. 179th St., Bx. He was described as a shoe salesman and secretary-bodyguard to Malcolm.

Also wounded were William Harris, 51, 614 Oak Tree Pl., Bklyn., and William Parker, 36, 23-05 30th Ave., Astoria. Harris was wounded in the abdomen; Parker was hit in the right foot.

Mob Beats Him

As Hayer got up and limped to the front door, his gun was knocked out of his hands and a mob began beating and kicking him. His left leg was fractured by kicks.

Sgt. Alvin Aronoff and Patrolman Louis Angelos heard the gunfire, raced to the ballroom and fought through the crowd to Hayer's side.

"Help me, help me," he yelled. "I've been shot. They're trying to kill me."

As the crowd tried to take him away from the officers, Aronoff drew his revolver and fired a warning shot in the air. This gave him and Angelos time to drag Hayer to their patrol car. Angry men and women surrounded the car, beat on the doors and windows and tried to overturn it.

Another policeman on duty at the hall was roughed up by the mob. Malcolm was rushed to nearby Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center where surgeons opened his chest to massage his heart. But they were unable to revive him.

News Spreads Fast

In addition to the shotgun and pistol wounds in his chest and abdomen, there were two bullets in one of his eyes.

As news of the killing spread through Harlem like wind-whipped flames, small crowds gathered at major intersections under the watchful eyes of police. Patrolmen and detectives

moved into Harlem from precincts all over the city.

At 10:30 p.m., someone phoned police to report a man with a rifle on the roof of the Alhambra Theater, 126th St. and Seventh Ave. The theater roof overlooks a book store across the street which is a hangout for Negro nationalists. More than 50 men were standing in front of the book shop, discussing the murder.

Seventy-five policemen surrounded the theater, but no one was found on the roof or inside the building.

Resists Questioning

Hayer was sent to Bellevue Hospital's prison ward. A dozen patrolmen guarded his room as detectives questioned him throughout the night. He told them nothing, not even his right name, which was learned by a check of his fingerprints. He had been arrested at least once before, for possessing stolen property.

More than 200 persons were questioned during the night at the Wadsworth Ave. station, including Malcolm's followers and Black Muslim officials.

A confusing note was added by the appearance of James X, the man who succeeded Malcolm as leader of Black Muslim Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, and James 67 X, a Malcolm lieutenant.

"We offered this guy security," Assistant Chief Inspector Sanford Garelick said of the murder victim.

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

Black Muslim spokesmen here and in Chicago denied that the sect was responsible for the killing.

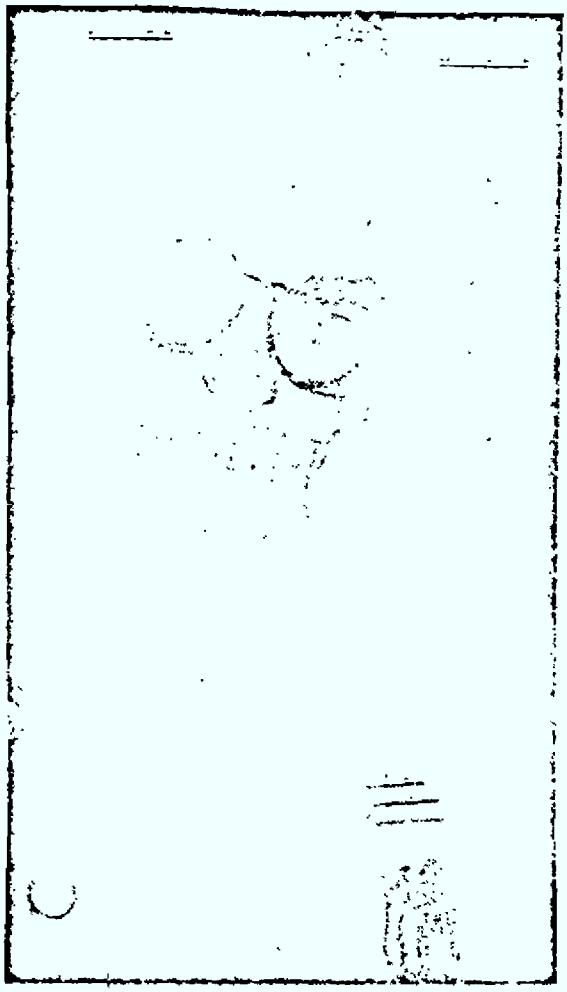

Photo by Wojtsow

Police Sgt. Alvin Aranoff, who helped capture one of the suspects, talks to reporters.

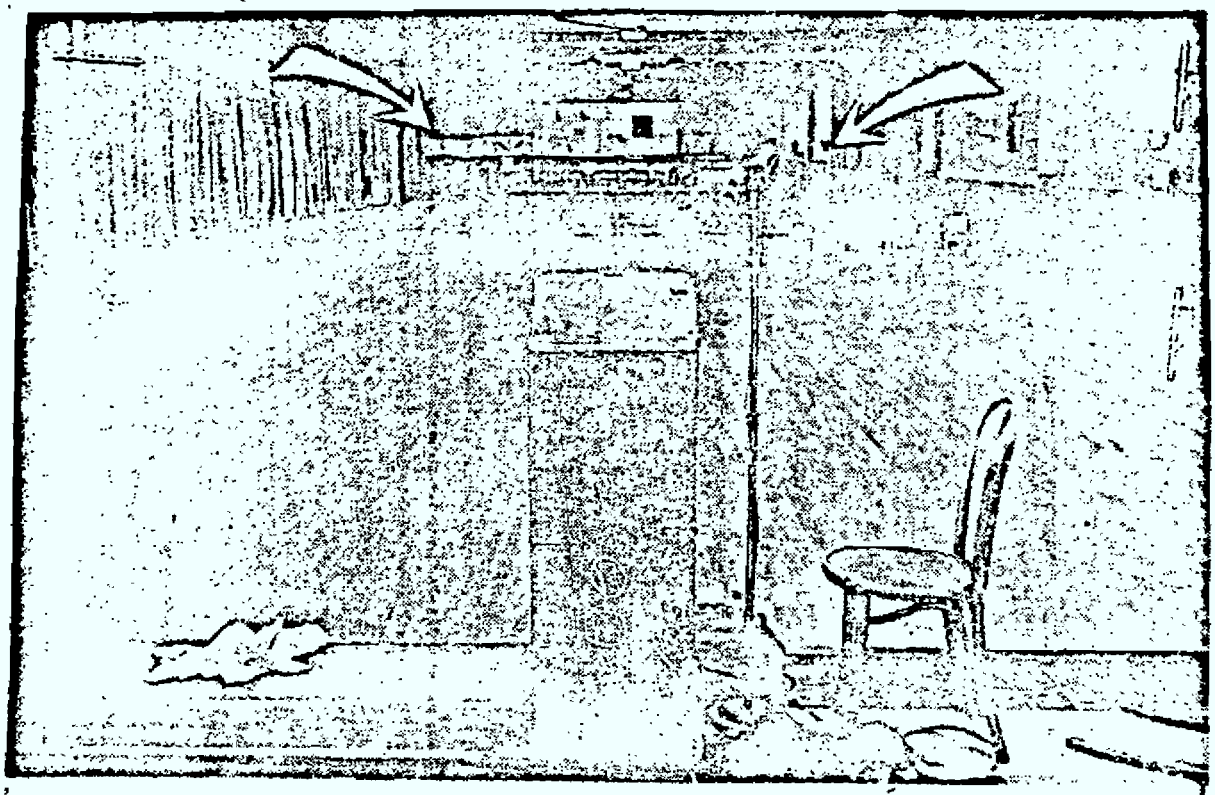

Photo by Wolfson

Malcolm X was standing on stage (foreground) when two men in the audience at the Audubon Ballroom created a diversion and three others entered by the rear doors (see arrows) and rushed the stage. Note bullet holes in the rostrum.

United Press International Photo

Followers of Malcolm X grab murder suspect Talmadge Hayer as police try to protect him.

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

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

OTHER MUSLIMS FEAR FOR LIVES

Slaying Is Seen as Part of Pattern of Violence

By ROBERT M. LIPSYTE

The murder of Malcolm X is an example of the mounting pattern of violence in the Black Muslim movement.

In the last six months, at least two Muslim defectors have been beaten in Boston. Kenneth Morton, an apostate Muslim, died of injuries sustained in a beating, and Benjamin Brown, a New York correction officer, was shot last January. Mr. Brown had left the movement to set up his own temple.

The most public of recent attacks was upon Leon 4X Ameer, a ranking Muslim official, in a Boston hotel lobby. Mr. Ameer, who did not renounce the movement until after a second beating, warned yesterday warned of probable violence between Negro factions, and upon whites, in the wake of Malcolm's death.

Open Warfare Predicted

In seclusion in Boston, with a blood clot in his head, Mr. Ameer said that "open warfare triggered by maximum retaliation for Malcolm" would be only the first order of business. Mr. Ameer, who left the movement last month, is now—with Malcolm gone—the highest ranking apostate Muslim official. Once Malcolm's bodyguard and chief karate instructor in New York, Mr. Ameer was more recently captain (military leader) of the newly formed New Haven mosque, and press secretary for Muhammad Ali (Cassius Clay, the heavyweight champion).

"If the white power structure thinks this is all going to be just another case of colored killing off other colored and they're going to sit back safely and watch it happen," he said, "they're in for a terrible surprise."

Ironically, less than three weeks ago, Malcolm told a reporter: "If my life is worth 3 cents, then Leon's is worth 2 cents."

Mr. Ameer, small, heavily muscled and 31 years old, was beaten last Christmas Day in the lobby of the Sherry-Biltmore Hotel in Boston. A passing detective collared four Muslims, including Clarence X Gill, captain of the Boston mosque, and they were all later convicted and fined. At the time of the beating.

On Christmas night Mr. Ameer was again attacked, this time in his hotel room. The next day Sgt. Edward Connely of the Boston Police found Mr. Ameer, unconscious in his bathtub, and rushed him to Boston City Hospital, where he remained in a coma for three days.

Variously charged with thievery and adultery by the Muslims—including Cassius Clay—Mr. Ameer denounced the organization. Since then he has received threatening phone calls, as has his wife and seven children in New Haven, and on two occasions escaped further attack only on the strength of the chain on his hotel room door.

"I know my life is worth nothing," Mr. Ameer said yesterday. "Last Monday, after Malcolm's house was bombed, I was with him, and he told me to be careful, never to come to New York without calling him first so he could have his man meet me."

Evidence Prepared

At that time, according to Mr. Ameer, Malcolm said that he was preparing to offer fresh evidence of financial links between Elijah Muhhamad, the Muslim leader, and the Ku Klux Klan and other rightist groups. Malcolm was also planning to testify that the Muslims were not a religious group, and therefore ineligible for certain tax exemptions.

"Malcolm was pretty concerned last week, because he knew that the Saviour's Day convention was coming up," said Mr. Ameer, "and the Muslims like to clean up loose ends and embarrassing people before they all get together."

The Saviour's Day convention honoring Allah, an annual meeting in which Mr. Muhammad and others address the assembled brothers and sisters, is scheduled for next weekend in Chicago. Mr. Ameer, a Muslim for nine years, was a frequent Judo and karate performer at conventions.

"Everything that happens to a black man in this country," Mr. Ameer said, "is attributed to the white man. This goes for the Muslims and for Malcolm's people."

Mr. Ameer predicted that fighting between the Negro factions would also lead to assaults upon whites—that the Muslims, "spooky with hate," would be emboldened by Malcolm's death to attack whites: that Malcolm's men might possibly blame his death upon the white man's "refusal to believe he was really in danger."

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

10 NEW YORK TIMES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 SAE/WEB/dd

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: ROBERT M. LIPSYTE
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-8999-5859

SEARCHED ...
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FEB ...
FBI — NEW YO[redacted]

67C

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

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Nationalist Group Left Leaderless by Murder

The Organization for Afro-American Unity was left leaderless yesterday by the murder of Malcolm X.

After his break with the Black Muslims of Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm founded a black nationalist organization, which was completely dominated by his personality and power. He was an authoritative leader who did not share his power.

James Shabazz, secretary to Malcolm, was considered the slain leader's closest associate. But there was no one in the organization with sufficient personal stature to be regarded as a logical successor.

Officials of the organization were not available for comment last night.

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

10 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: LATE CITY
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Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-8994-5858

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FILED
FBI — NEW YO[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 JHE/wet/clk

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

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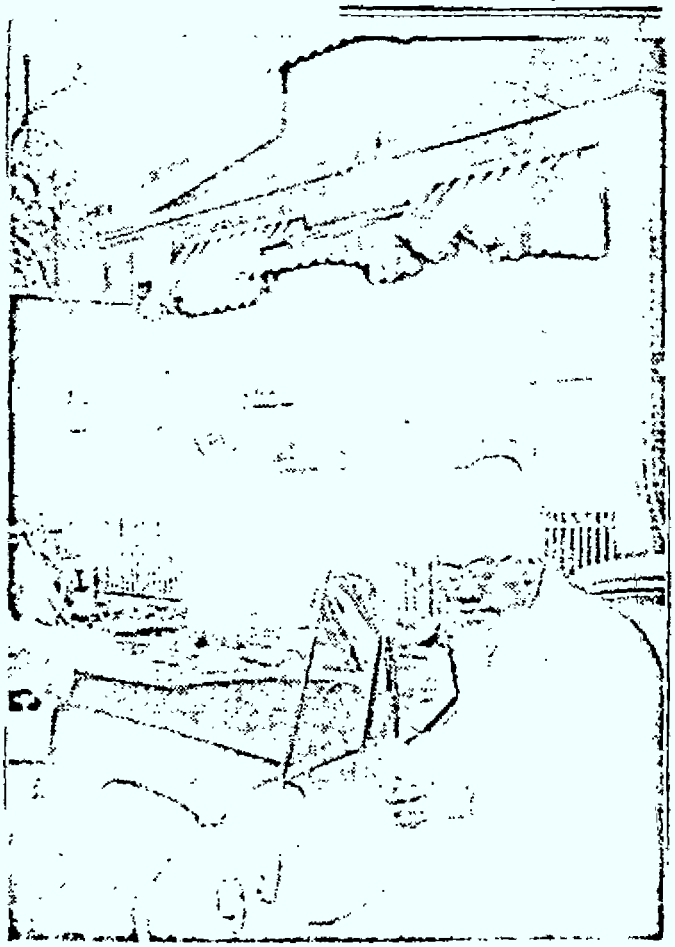
Malcolm Asked Gun Permit After Home Was Bombed

Malcolm X said last Friday that he had applied for a pistol permit to protect himself and his family.

At a news conference following the bombing of his home on Feb. 14, he declared: "I have reached the end of my rope, and I have gotten an application from the 28th Precinct to get a pistol. Whether or not they will let me have one I don't know, because I have a criminal record."

He had told the police by telephone that he was going to carry a pistol even though he had not received a permit.



United Press International

TARGET OF BOMBING: Malcolm X outside Queens home on Feb. 14 after series of firebombs had wrecked interior.

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

10 NEW YORK TIMES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 THE/WEB/
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Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-8999

[redacted]

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FBI — NEW YO[redacted]

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105-8999-5857

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

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Malcolm X Lived in 2 Worlds, White and Black, Both Bitter

By PHILIP BENJAMIN

He was Malcolm Little, alias Big Red, a marijuana-smoking, cocaine - sniffing, zoot - suited, hip - talking hoodlum when he went to prison in 1946.

When he went free seven years later he was Malcolm X, an ascetic, a Black Muslim, a highly articulate man who hated the white world—a world he never made, but by whose standards he said he had lived.

Yesterday the Black Nationalist leader, who broke away last year from the Black Muslims of Elijah Muhammad, was shot dead as he prepared to speak at a rally in Harlem.

"Christianity took me to prison and Islam brought me out," Malcolm X used to say. He had no apologies for his criminal record, he said, "because it was all done when I was part of the white man's Christian world."

He was born in Omaha, on May 19, 1925, the son of the Rev. Earl Little, a 6-foot, 4-inch man who preached the back - to - Africa movement of Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican Negro who died in 1940.

His mother was a West Indian whose father was white. From this "white devil" grandfather Malcolm X got his reddish-brown complexion and reddish-brown hair.

Told of Hate

"I hate every drop of that white rapist's blood that is in me," Malcolm once wrote.

The Little family, including 11 children, moved to Lansing, Mich. Malcolm's earliest vivid memory was seeing, at the age of 4, his house being burned to the ground by white racists. When he was 6 his father was killed under the wheels of a streetcar, Malcolm always believed his father had been murdered — first bludgeoned and then laid across the tracks.

The family broke up and Malcolm was sent to a state institution and was enrolled in the local public school at Mason, Mich. He was the only Negro student and his grades were among the highest in his class.

But after the eighth grade he left school and took a bus to Boston to live with a sister. In Boston and later in New York he drifted into the "cool" world; he drank, smoked marijuana and had an affair with a white woman. He became a waiter at Small's Paradise, a Harlem night club.

He was Big Red because he stood well over 6 feet and his hair was rust-colored. Big Red steered white men to Negro prostitutes and Negro men to white prostitutes; he sold marijuana, ran numbers, carried a pistol—in short, he was a hustler.

His cocaine habit cost him $20 a day and to support it he became a burglar. He was arrested in Boston after a series of burglaries there and was sent to the state prison at Charlestown. He was not quite 21 years old.

While he was in prison his sisters and brothers wrote to him about a "new" religion, Islam, preached to black men in the United States by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, formerly Elijah Poole. The core of his teaching was the superiority of the black man, who was the first man on earth; the whites came later, a "devil" race.

Malcolm began to correspond with Elijah Muhammad, and when he left prison he was a Black Muslim. He no longer bore the surname of Little, because, as with nearly all American Negro surnames, it belonged to the white slave owners.

He went to Chicago, where Elijah Muhammad had his headquarters and as eagerly as he had entered the "cool" world he entered the ascetic world. He gave up pork, tobacco, alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, gambling, dancing, movies, sports and promiscuity.

Elijah Muhammad recognized almost at once that he had in Malcolm a man of intelligence and authority. He sent him on speaking tours around the country, and eventually Malcolm came to New York to take over Mosque No. 7, then a small, voiceless and ineffectual group.

In ordinary conversation he was quiet, pleasant, articulate and even humorous. His accent was Midwestern. On the public platform his quality was cold fury; his eyes burned behind horn-rimmed glasses. In a few years he built up Mosque Seven in 1958 he married a member of the mosque, Sister Betty X, and they had four children.

He Was Once a Racist

By his own admission, he had once been a racist, an advocate of black separatism. But after he broke with Elijah Muhammad last year, he said he had turned away from racism. That break came after the assassination of President Kennedy. Malcolm X had said the assassination was a case of "chickens coming home to roost."

For this remark Elijah Muhammad suspended Malcolm X, and the break was never healed. Malcolm set up the Muslim Mosque, Inc., with headquarters at the Theresa Hotel at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue. Last year he went to Mecca as a pilgrim. There, he said, he had been impressed by the "brotherhood, the people of all races, all colors coming together as one."

Two weeks ago he visited Britain—on a passport issued to Malcolm Little—and went to Smethwick, a town near Birmingham with a large colored population. His tour of Smethwick was criticized by some residents as an attempt to fan racism.

His home in Queens was bombed a week ago, and he accused the Black Muslims of doing it.

Writing in the Saturday Evening Post last year he said: "Some of the followers of Elijah Muhammad would still consider it a first-rank honor to kill me. Also I know that any day, any night, I could die at the hands of some white devil racists . . . . 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 possibly fatal catastrophe."

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

10 NEW YORK TIMES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAIN
REIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY [illegible]

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: PHILIP BENJAMIN
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-[illegible]-5056

[redacted]

FBI — NEW YO[illegible]

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FD-350 (4-3-82)

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Malcolm X

The life and death of Malcolm X provides a discordant but typical theme for the times in which we live. He was a case history, as well as an extraordinary and twisted man, turning many true gifts to evil purpose.

At 4 he had seen his family home burned down by the Ku Klux Klan. He believed his father, a Baptist minister, was murdered. In Harlem he was a young racketeer in drugs, liquor and gambling, and a successful one until the police caught up with him. In prison he was converted to the Black Muslims, who preach hatred of the white man, Negro superiority and a reverse segregationism. He became known as Malcolm X, because he was sure that his family name of Little "had been taken from former white masters."

Malcolm X had the ingredients for leadership, but his ruthless and fanatical belief in violence not only set him apart from the responsible leaders of the civil rights movement and the overwhelming majority of Negroes. It also marked him for notoriety, and for a violent end.

It stood to reason that he could not remain Number 2 to Elijah Muhammad's Number 1 among the Black Muslims. So, last year, he broke away and started his own extremist movement, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, some of whose members saw him being gunned down yesterday in Manhattan.

Malcolm X's life was strangely and pitifully wasted. But this was because he did not seek to fit into society or into the life of his own people. He could not even come to terms with his fellow black extremists. The world he saw through those horn-rimmed glasses of his was distorted and dark. But he made it darker still with his exaltation of fanaticism.

Yesterday someone came out of that darkness that he spawned, and killed him. The murder of Malcolm X demands an investigation even if it was a fanatic's act, and the fringe of fanatics has no trouble acquiring weapons for violence. But this murder could easily touch off a war of vengeance of the kind he himself fomented. It will take alertness and vigilance on the part of the police, especially in view of the ease with which lethal weapons are available, to make sure that violence is avoided.

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

20 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author:
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

UNDER INVESTIGATION

105-8999-5855

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED
FOR [redacted]
FBI — NEW YO [redacted]

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269JHE/WGB/dd

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

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Malcolm Fought for Top Power In Muslim Movement, and Lost

By WILL LISSNER

Malcolm X split with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Chicago-based Black Muslim Movement, on March 8, 1964. Malcolm announced that he was organizing a politically oriented Black Nationalist party.

Until then he had been known as Minister Malcolm, Eastern leader of the Nation of Islam, the official name of the Black Muslims.

Malcolm, a glib but bitter spokesman for the American Negro sect, had risen to be the second most powerful figure in the black separatist movement. He had made the country aware of it.

But there was more involved than a struggle between Malcolm and Muhammad, insiders said. Reports emerged from the secret organization of a rivalry between Malcolm and Muhammad's son-in-law, Raymond Sharrief.

Sharrief, who as Supreme Captain commands the Fruit of Islam—all the male members of the movement—was as eager as Malcolm to be Muhammad's successor, the reports said.

But the immediate cause of Malcolm's difficulties was a mocking speech he made about the assassination of President Kennedy on Nov. 29, 1963.

Malcolm had told his followers at Manhattan Center that Mr. Kennedy's death was a case of "the chickens coming home to roost." Muhammad, incensed, suspended Malcolm. "We are very shocked at Mr. Kennedy's assassination," Muhammad said.

Reports spread that the movement's Chicago leaders had used Malcolm's speech about President Kennedy to "cut Malcolm down to size."

Power Struggle Fails

At first Malcolm pretended to be contrite. "Anything Mr. Muhammad does is all right with me," he said. "I believe absolutely in his wisdom and authority."

But by the time the cult was assembled for its national convention in February, 1964, Malcolm was waging a struggle for supreme power. It failed.

Therefore, he said, he was going to construct an organization based in New York that, unlike the Muslims, would take part in the civil rights struggles in the South and in political contests.

"I'm going to join in the fight wherever Negroes ask for my help," Malcolm said.

The split ended Malcolm's 15 years of association with the Muslim movement. An erstwhile Harlem racketeer, he had been converted to the cult in prison.

The Nation of Islam was a creature of the Great Depression. The cult was founded by an itinerant silk merchant

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

11 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: WILL LISSNER
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-4999-5854

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 SHE/WEB/DD

turned "prophet"—W. D. Fard, also an ex-convict.

Fard turned up in Detroit in the summer of 1930 and held meetings house to house. Soon there were enough followers to establish the first Temple of Islam. Fard wrote two manuals; founded a religious school, the University of Islam; set up the Muslim Girls Training Class, which gave a course in home economics, and founded the Fruit of Islam.

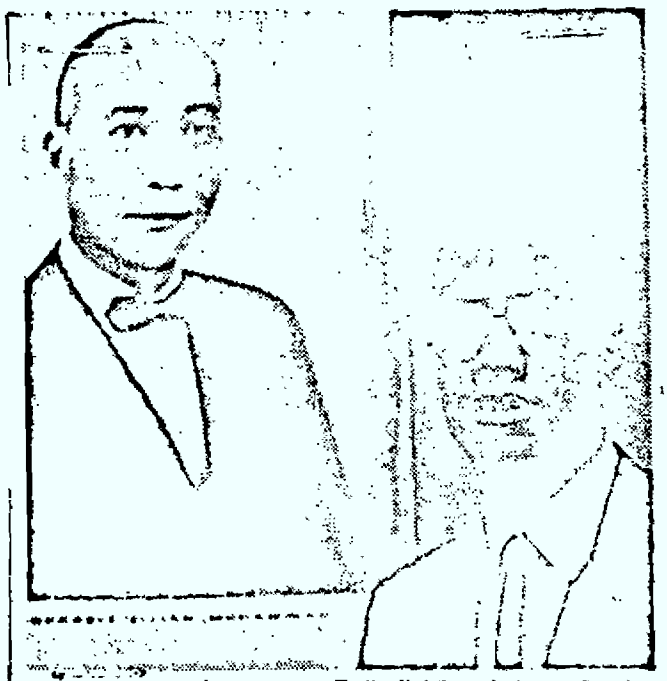
Fard also selected and trained a Minister of Islam and a corps of assistants to head the organization, according to C. Eric Lincoln, sociologist.

From the very first Fard had to deal with challengers to his unquestioned rule of the cult. The man who emerged as his successor was the unemployed son of a sharecropper, Elijah Poole.

New Leader Emerges

Poole and his family had gone from Georgia to Detroit in the nineteen-twenties. He was one of three brothers who entered the Black Muslims. He devoted himself with single mind to Fard's interests and, though opposed by more moderate leaders, he became Fard's chief lieutenant, signalized by Fard's changing his name to Muhammad. Fard by this time had some 8,000 followers.

In the power struggle of late spring, 1934, Poole-Muhammad chose the winning side and emerged the Minister of Islam. Fard disappeared without trace.



The New York Times (by Gertrude Samuels)

EARLIER: Malcolm X with portrait of Elijah Muhammad

In the early days Muhammad had to fight splinter groups that wanted to identify the Muslims with the American Constitution, or with Communism, or with Japanese militarist racial teachings, or with Ethiopian colonization schemes or the white antilabor right wing.

Muhammad fought them all. The Muslims began to decline. Muhammad was driven from Detroit by moderates in 1936. Setting up shop in the South-side Mosque in Chicago, he began to reshape the cult.

Under Muhammad's direction the Muslims, like the Father Divine, Daddy Grace and other cults among the Negroes, acquired a flourishing economic base. Apartment houses were acquired, groceries, restaurants, farms and all manner of small businesses.

Eventually the movement attracted some 100,000 members.

In the mid-fifties, a new phenomenon was apparent. The cult became chiefly attractive to young Negroes. A survey showed 80 per cent of the membership was between 17 and 34.

Then the Muslims reached out for more support among the American Negroes.

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

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Malcolm X Shot to Death at Rally Here

Three Other Negroes Wounded—One Is Held in Killing

By PETER KIHSS

Malcolm X, the 39-year-old leader of a militant black nationalist movement, was shot to death yesterday afternoon at a rally of his followers in a ballroom in Washington Heights.

The bearded Negro extremist had said only a few words of greeting when a fusillade rang out. The bullets knocked him over backward.

Shortly before midnight, a 22-year-old Negro, Thomas Hagan, was charged with the killing. The police rescued him from the ballroom crowd after he had been shot and beaten.

As the shots that killed Malcolm rang out, pandemonium broke out among the 400 Negroes in the Audubon Ballroom at 166th Street and Broadway. As men, women and children ducked under tables and flattened themselves on the floor, more shots were fired. Some witnesses said 30 shots had been fired.

3 Weapons Fired

The police said seven bullets had struck Malcolm. Three other Negroes were shot.

About two hours later the police said the shooting had apparently been a result of a feud between followers of Malcolm and members of the extremist group he broke with last year, the Black Muslims. However, the police declined to say whether Hagan is a Muslim.

The Medical Examiner's office said early this morning that a preliminary autopsy showed Malcolm had died of "multiple gunshot wounds." The office said that bullets of two different calibers as well as shotgun pellets had been removed from his body.

One police theory was that as many as five conspirators might have been involved, two creating a diversionary disturbance.

Hagan was shot in the left thigh and his left leg was broken, apparently by kicks. He was under treatment in the Bellevue Hospital prison ward last night; perhaps a dozen policemen were guarding him, according to the hospital's night superintendent.

The police said they had found a cartridge case with four unused .45-caliber shells in his pocket.

Two other Negroes, described as "apparent spectators" by Assistant Chief Inspector Harry Taylor, in command of Manhattan North uniformed police, also were shot. They were identified as William Harris, wounded seriously in the abdomen, and William Parker, shot in a foot. Both were taken to Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center, which is close to the ballroom.

Capt. Paul Glaser of the Police Department's Community Relations Bureau said early today that Hagan, using a double-barrelled shotgun with shortened barrels and stock, had killed Malcolm X.

Malcolm, a slim, reddish-haired six-footer with a gift for bitter eloquence against what he considered white exploitation of Negroes, broke in March, 1964, with the Black Muslim movement called the Nation of Islam, headed by Elijah Muhammad.

A weapon described as a 12-gauge shotgun was found behind the ballroom stage wrapped in a man's dark gray jacket.

As Hagan fired at Malcolm, Captain Glaser said, Reuben Francis, a follower of Malcolm, drew a .45-caliber automatic pistol and shot Hagan in the leg.

Francis, 33, of 871 East 179th Street, the Bronx, was charged with felonious assault and violation of the Sullivan Law.

Sanford Garelick, Assistant Chief Inspector in charge of the police Central Office Bureau and Squads, said at 5 P.M.—not quite two hours after the shooting—that "this is the result, it would seem, of a long-standing feud between the followers of Elijah Muhammad and the people who broke away from him, headed by Malcolm X."

At 7:30 P.M., Chief of Detectives Philip J. Walsh, who interrupted a vacation to join the hunt for the assassins, predicted "a long drawn-out investigation."

Muslim Denies Involvement

James X, New York spokesman for the Black Muslims, denied that his organization had had anything to do with the killing.

Just one week before the slaying, Malcolm was bombed out of the small brick home in East Elmhurst, Queens, where he had been living. James X suggested that Malcolm had set off firebombs himself "to get publicity."

Assemblyman Percy Sutton, Malcolm's lawyer, said the murdered leader had planned to disclose at yesterday's rally, "the names of those who were trying to kill him."

The police, Mr. Sutton said, have those names.

"Malcolm knew he would be killed," Mr. Sutton said outside the ballroom. "He told me so repeatedly—and as late as yesterday—that his life was in danger."

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

1 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: PETER KIHSS
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

☒ Being Investigated

105-8111-5853

SEARCHED
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FEB 18
FBI—NEW YORK

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Mr. Sutton added that Malcolm had taken to carrying a pistol "because he feared for his life" and had notified the police by telephone that he was doing so even though he did not have a permit. Assistant Chief Inspector Taylor, however, said Malcolm was unarmed when he was shot.

Chief Walsh said he believed "proper action was taken on all considerations of protection" for Malcolm, and "many of our requests in this connection were turned down."

Captain Glaser said that since Jan. 27 Malcolm had been offered police protection on seven different occasions, but had refused the guards each time.

Remarks Criticized

One factor in Malcolm's break with the Black Muslims was his comment on the assassination of President Kennedy. He called it a case of "chickens coming home to roost" and an outgrowth of violence that whites had used against Negroes. He was suspended by Elijah Muhammad and then started his own movement.

While the Nation of Islam searches for weapons anyone attending its meetings, Malcolm's new movement emphasized self-defense even with weapons. And so there was no search of anyone at yesterday's rally, a regular Sunday affair of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity. White persons were barred.

The Audubon Ballroom is in a two-story building on the south side of West 166th Street between Broadway and St. Nicholas Avenue, opposite a small park.

The meeting had been called for 2:30 P.M. in the second-floor hall, where 400 folding wooden chairs had been set up with two aisles going down the sides but no center aisle. At the back of the stage was a mural of a restful country scene.

'Would Give His Life'

Witnesses said one of the speakers who preceded Malcolm had asserted: "Malcolm is a man who would give his life for you."

Gene Simpson, a WMCA newsman, said he was sitting in the front row when Malcolm was introduced. He said Malcolm gave the traditional Arabic greeting, "Salaam Aleikum"—"peace be unto you."

"The crowd responded, 'Aleikum Salaam,'" Mr. Simpson said, "and then there was some disturbance about eight rows back. Everybody turned, and so did I, and then I heard Malcolm saying, 'Be cool now, don't get excited.'

"And then I heard this muffled sound, and I saw Malcolm hit with his hands still raised, and then he fell back over the chairs behind him. And everybody was shouting, and I saw one man firing a gun from under his coat behind me as I hit it (the floor) too.

"And he was firing like he was in some Western, running backward toward the door and firing at the same time."

Sharon Six X Shabazz, 19, of 217 Bainbridge Street, who said she was a member of Malcolm's organization, told this story:

"I think he only said 'Brothers and Sisters' when there was a commotion in the back of the room. I thought it was some rowdy drunks."

Some one ran toward the stage, she said, there were loud noises, and she saw blood on Malcolm's face.

"Then everybody started screaming and running and he fell down," she said. "There was blood on his chest, too."

Stanley Scott, a United Press International reporter, said he had been admitted with this admonition by a Malcolm lieutenant: "As a Negro, you will be allowed to enter as a citizen if you like, but you must remove your press badge."

After Malcolm stepped to the rostrum and said a few words, Mr. Scott reported, "there was a scuffle at the back of the auditorium, possibly to distract attention from the assassins."

"Shots rang out," Mr. Scott went on. "Men, women and children ran for cover. They stretched out on the floor and ducked under tables.

"His wife, Betty, who was in the audience, ran about screaming hysterically, 'They're killing my husband!'"

A woman who was wearing a green scarf and a black felt hat with little floral buds, and who would identify herself only as a registered nurse, said she had seen "two men rushing toward the stage and firing from underneath their coats." One, she said, wore a tweed coat.

Rushed to the Stage

"I rushed to the stage even while the firing was going on," she said. "I don't know how I got on the stage, but I threw myself down on who I thought was Malcolm—but it wasn't. I was willing to die for the man. I would have taken the bullets myself. Then I saw Malcolm, and the firing had stopped, and I tried to give him artificial respiration.

"I think he was dead then."

Witnesses differed on the number of shots fired; some said as many as 30. Assistant Chief Inspector Taylor estimated the number at nearer eight. Six shots hit Malcolm in the chest and one hit him on the chin; some of the shots struck Malcolm after piercing the plywood rostrum in front of him.

Sgt. Alvin Aronoff and Patrolman Louis Angelos, who were in a radio car, heard the shooting. Sergeant Aronoff said he and his partner got to the ballroom just in time to see four or five persons run out, followed by a mob of perhaps 150, many of them pummeling Hagan.

"I've been shot—help me!" he quoted Hagan as shouting. The sergeant said he fired a warning shot into the air to halt the crowd, then pushed Hagan into the police car and drove him to the Wadsworth Avenue station house. From there the wounded man was quickly taken to Jewish Memorial Hospital and later to the Bellevue prison ward.

"In the car, I found four unused .45 cartridges in Hagan's pocket," Sergeant Aronoff said.

Malcolm was placed on a stretcher and wheeled one block up Broadway to the Vanderbilt Clinic emergency entrance at 167th Street. It was about 3:15 P.M., a Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center spokesman said later, when he reached a third-floor emergency operating room.

A team of doctors cut through his chest to massage his heart. But Malcolm was "either dead or in a death-appearing state," the spokesman said. The effort was given up at 3:30 P.M.

"The person you know as Malcolm X is dead," the spokesman reported.

Malcolm's birth name was Malcolm Little. He considered it a "slave name" and abandoned it when he joined the Black Muslims. At the hospital he was first listed as "John Doe" because he had not been officially identified.

The other wounded men, in addition to Hagan, were believed to have been hit by random shots. Parker was described as being 36 years old and living at 23-05 Thirtieth Avenue, Astoria, Queens. Harris's age was given as 51, and his address as 614 Oak Tree Place, Brooklyn.

The police declined to discuss any suspects.

Patrolman Thomas Hoy, 22, said he had been stationed outside the 166th Street entrance when "I heard the shooting, and the place exploded." He rushed in, saw Malcolm lying on the stage and "grabbed a suspect" who, he said, some people were chasing.

"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.

At the station house later, one man said he had told investigators he believed the killers were "two short fellows, about 5 foot 6," who had been in the audience and who had walked toward the stage with their hands in their pockets.

This witness said he believed the men fired five or six shots from pistols when they were only about eight feet from Malcolm.

An alarm was issued for a 1963 blue Oldsmobile with a New York license plate 1G 2220. The police said the car was registered in the name of a Muslim Mosque, 23-11 97th Street, East Elmhurst, Queens, which was the address of the home Malcolm had occupied until it was burned. The Nation of Islam had him evicted by a Civil Court last week.

According to the police, Malcolm, his wife Betty and their four children moved last week into the Theresa Hotel, 125th Street and Seventh Avenue, and then into the New York Hilton Hotel, Avenue of the Americas and 53d Street. They checked out at noon yesterday, the police said.

The couple was married in January, 1958, in Lansing, Mich. The children are Attilah, 6; Quiblah, 4, and Lamumbah, 5 months, all daughters, and Llyasah, a son, 2.

The widow held a brief press conference last night at George's Supper Club, 103-04 Astoria Boulevard, East Elmhurst. She said her husband had received telephone calls at the Hilton Saturday night and yesterday morning saying he had "better wake up before it's too late."

Malcolm's widow, who stayed at an undisclosed site in Elmhurst under police protection last night, was not questioned by the police on the killing.

Assemblyman Sutton, the family lawyer, said:

"Malcolm X died broke, without even an insurance policy. Every penny that he received from books, magazine articles and so on was assigned to the Black Muslims before he broke with them, and after that to the Muslim Mosque, Inc."—the sect Malcolm set up at the Theresa Hotel.

Extra policemen were on duty in Harlem and upper Manhattan yesterday and last night.

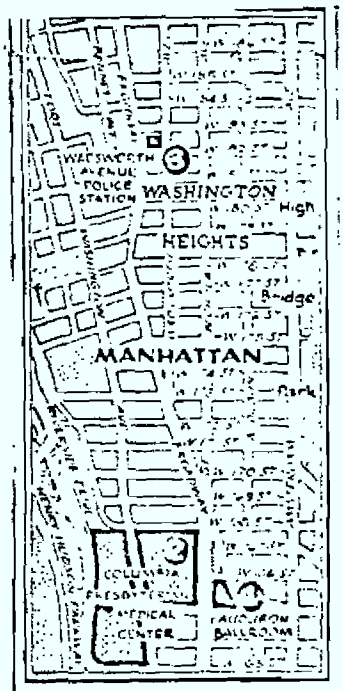
At 7:15 P.M. the police left the ballroom. Three cleaning women scrubbed blood off the stage, and overturned chairs were cleared away.

Musical instruments were placed on the stage and a dance sponsored by the Metro Associates, of 230 Tompkins Avenue, Brooklyn, went on as scheduled at 11 P.M.

The New York Times

ARRESTED AFTER SHOOTING: Thomas Hagan at hospital with Sgt. Alvin Aronoff, who saved him from crowd.

AFTER SHOOTING: Scene outside Audubon Ballroom, 166th Street and Broadway, following shooting of Malcolm X. Negro nationalist leader was dead on arrival at hospital.



The New York Times Feb. 22, 1965

MALCOLM X SLAIN: He was shot at Audubon Ballroom (1), and taken to Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center (2). Injured suspect went to police precinct (3), later to Bellevue Hospital.

United Press International

Malcolm X being taken to hospital from Audubon Ballroom yesterday after he was shot while addressing a meeting

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

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm and the Muslims

By TED POSTON

Malcolm X predicted his own murder nearly a year ago.

"They've got to kill me," he told this writer on March 10, 1964—two days after he publicly broke with Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad—"they can't afford to let me live."

And last Monday, in the same Audubon Ballroom in which he was slain yesterday, he repeated the prediction in different words to New York Post reporter Kenneth Gross. Discussing the fire-bombing of his home the day before, he said:

"They will make another attempt on my life . . . I'm waking up the black Americans to the great Muslim menace. And they don't think they can let me keep living. They've got to try again."

In his first prediction, Malcolm X said his death had been ordered by his former associates "because I know too much; I know where the bodies are buried. And if they press me, I'll exhume some."

To reporter Gross, he said: "The reason they have to get me is that I know all about the deals between the Muslims and the Ku Klux Klan and George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party."

Neither statement told the whole story.

For behind the split between Malcolm and his former Black Muslim associates was a bitter internal fight for succession to the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, the ailing 68-year-old, self-styled "Messenger of Allah," and for control of the million dollars in real estate, small business enterprises and cash owned by the Muslims.

The principal rivals for that leadership—until Dec. 4, 1963, when Malcolm X was "suspended" for his "chickens coming home to roost" remarks after the assassination of President Kennedy—had been Malcolm and Raymond Sharrief, Muhammad's son-in-law and head of the Muslim's paramilitary organization, the judo-trained Fruit of Islam.

Muhammad has six sons, most of whom headed Nation of Islam Mosques in various cities where the Muslims flourished, but none with the national power of Sharrief, whose dedicated, well-disciplined Fruit of Islam members policed the cult's morality laws, punished all infractions and conducted all Muslim trials as judge, jurors and prosecutors.

Dr. Eric Lincoln, whose study, "Black Muslims in

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

15 NEW YORK POST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269THE/WEB/dd

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: TED POSTON
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-8999-5852
SEARCHED.... INDEXED
SERIALIZED.. [redacted]
FEB 2 3 1965
FBI—NEW YOR[redacted]
[redacted]

America." pinned the popular name, Black Muslims, on what Muhammad calls the Nation of Islam, says that no accused Muslim is allowed to produce witnesses or even testify in his own behalf after charges are filed by the Fruit of Islam.

The enmity between Sharrief and Malcolm, whose followers claim was due to Sharrief's jealousy over the rapid rise and spell-binding abilities of a man who had joined the cult while in a Massachusetts prison, was intentified by the suspension—and later defection—of Malcolm.

And Malcolm, who had brought the soon-to-be heavyweight champion, Cassius Clay, into the Muslim ranks shortly before his suspension, scored notable, if not always well-publicized, victories, one after another.

Among them were these:

Last March, two weeks after Malcolm quit the Black Muslims, Wallace Muhammad, one of Elijah's elder and most influential sons, followed Malcolm out of the sect, taking with him Hassan Sharrief, favorite son of Malcolm's bitter rival.

And just last month, Akbar Muhammad, a 25-year-old student of Islamic law at Al Azhar University in Cairo, announced that he had quit the Black Muslims shortly after Malcolm X had visited the Egyptian capital. Abkar said that he knew of at least 300 other Muslims who had also followed Malcolm X out of the Muslems.

But Malcolm X scored an even greater psychological victory when, on one of his many trips to Mecca, Saudia Arabia, in November, the World Moslem Council, founded in 1962 as the supreme religious body in the Moslem world, endorsed the defector's new movement.

And Malcolm X jubilantly cabled followers and Black Muslim waverers here that the Council, governed by 23 leading scholars from major Moslem countries, had promised to send certified teachers to countries, and promised to send certified teachers to elementary school in Detroit and "university" in Chicago.

BUT DESPITE HIS FREQUENT AND EXTENDED trips to Arab and African lands, the dissident Muslim leader never forgot his prediction of attempts on his life. He organized his own bodyguard.

Some were reported to be former members of the Fruit of Islam who had followed him out of the cult. Others were less disciplined but well armed with shotguns and rifles.

Early last June, seven of these armed followers were arrested in a gun-waving, auto chase at Logan Airport in Boston where they told police that three Muslims, mistakenly believing Malcolm was with them, had ambushed their car in the Callahan Tunnel and tried to kill them.

The next week, six other former Muslims, calling themselves Malcolm's "personal bodyguards," were arrested near the Shabezz Restaurant at Lenox Av. and 116th St. where Mosque No. 7, from which Malcolm was suspended as "minister," is located. Police said they had besieged loyal Muslims in the restaurant with two guns and knives after visiting Malcolm's home at 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst, Queens, in the mistaken belief that their leader had been harmed.

The violence became real on last June 28 when Fruit of Islam guards, protecting Muhammad during his address to 7,500 followers at the 369th Armory here, beat up a youth suspected of being "one of Malcolm's men." The youth, treated at Harlem Hospital, denied it.

The infuriated Malcolm then began a set of personal attacks on Muhammad himself. He challenged him to fight the racists and bigots in the South instead of other black men.

"Why doesn't he denounce the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils and George Lincoln Rockwell?" Malcolm demanded. "The answer is simple. He and the bigots area ll pretty much in the same camp."

Expanding the now open vendetta, Malcolm charged publicly that Muhammad, while posing as the Black Muslims' spiritual leader, had fathered several children by unwed women in his flock.

★ ★ ★

THE LIFE OF MALCOLM X WAS AS LURID, BY his own account last year in the Saturday Evening Post, as were the events leading up to his split with the Black Muslims and his death yesterday.

Born Malcolm Little 39 years ago in Omaha, Neb., the son of Rev. Earl Little, a follower of the Marcus Garvey Back-to-Africa movement, Malcolm and his

family home was burned by Kansas Klansmen and his father slain later by racists in Lansing, Mich. where the family had moved.

He left school after the eighth grade, was reared by relatives in Boston, he said, and was a procurer and a narcotics addict by the time he was 15. Known early as "Big Red," because of his then red hair and freckled light complexion, he said he became a big-time dope peddler and "hustler" in Harlem before being convicted of larceny and serving seven years in Boston.

"Still surviving "hustlers" around Harlem have challenged that part of the story, however.

But there were few doubts to be cast on his accomplishments after he joined the Black Muslims in prison 12 years ago and emerged to become their most effective organizer, orator and spokesman, outdoing his mentor Muhammad.

A skillful propagandist who knew the value of the shock statement, Malcolm found himself in demand as a lecturer at more than a score of universities, including Harvard and Yale. An equally skillful debater, he rudely vanquished most Negro spokesmen who dared appear with him on radio or television.

But his bark was often worse than his bite. He once urged Negroes to organize rifle clubs to protect themselves against hostile whites. But the only one he founded himself was his armed bodyguard—to protect him against what he thought were black former colleagues.

★ ★ ★

HE WAS A MAN WHOSE LIGHT EYES SEEMED to reflect an implacable hatred which often befuddled his opponents. But he was devoted to his wife, Betty X, a Detroit-born, Tuskegee-trained nurse whom he met in the Black Muslims, and with whom he lived with their four young children in East Elmhurst.

His metamorphasis after his split with Muhammad stunned friends and foes alike. He dropped his 12-year-proclaimed hatred for "all white devils," apologized to Negro leaders he had reviled, sought respectability but didn't seem to lose his militancy in the process.

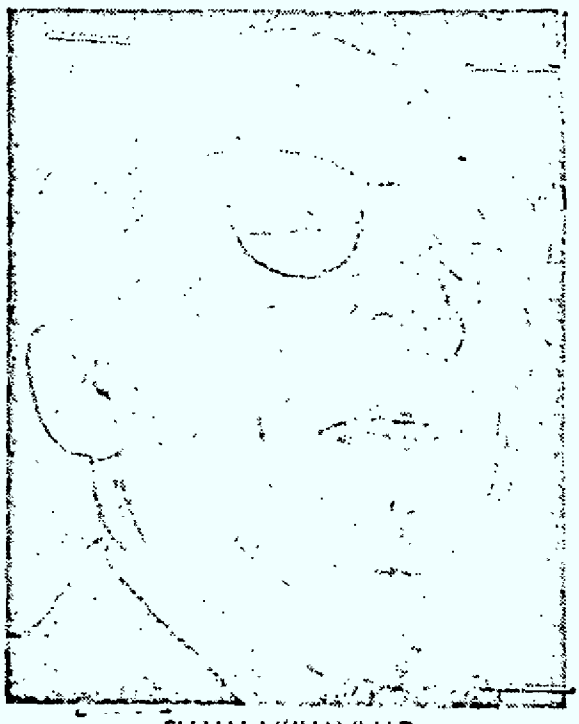
He sought acceptance as a civil rights leader. Recently he addressed a surprised Negro congregation in Selma, Ala. during the Rev. Martin Luther's voter registration drive.

Malcolm concluded his Saturday Evening Post article—a segment of his autobiography and probably the last major essay he ever wrote—with these words:

"They called me a racist . . . Once I was a racist—yes. But now I have turned my direction away from anything that's racist. So, some of the followers of Elijah Muhammad would still consider it a first-rank honor to kill me. Also I know that any day, any night, I could die at the hands of some white devil racists . . .

"But, if through telling this story of my life, I have spread any truth, then all the credit is due to Allah. Only the mistakes have been mine."

MALCOM X



ELIJAH MUHAMMAD

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

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Cops Seek Muslim Link in Killing

By DAVID MURRAY and RALPH BLUMENFELD

Did the Black Muslims murder Malcolm X?

The answer may lie with wounded suspect Talmadge Hayer, 22, who was rescued by police from an angry mob of Malcolm X followers just after the murder in Washington Heights yesterday.

Hayer, taken to Bellevue Hospital prison ward, refused to tell police anything but his age and an alias, "Thomas Hagan." Charged with homicide, he is the only firm suspect so far.

But police here and in Chicago were taking no chances. The FBI reported that six Malcolm X followers were headed to Chicago by various routes to avenge Malcolm's murder by killing Elijah Muhammad.

Chicago police had the 66-year-old Muslim leader under heavy guard.

It was not immediately established whether Hayer is a Muslim, but Asst. Chief Police Inspector Sanford Garelick 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."

Hayer was to be questioned further today on the identities of four alleged accomplices in the fatal shooting of the 39-year-old Black Nationalist leader, who died in the emergency room of the Vanderbilt Clinic of the Columbia Presbyterian Hospital about 30 minutes after he was shot yesterday at approximately 3:03 p.m.

Leader Quizzed

James 3X, Black Muslim leader here since Malcolm was expelled from the organization a year ago, was taken to the Wadsworth Av. station for questioning last night James denied Muslim responsibility in the shooting. Police also broadcast an alarm for a blue 1963 Oldsmobile sedan registered to a Queens Muslim mosque. The car, bearing New York license plate 1G-2220, was ordered held and examined for fingerprints when found.

There were several reports that Malcolm planned to disclose at yesterday's rally "the names of those who were trying to kill him." His lawyer, Assemblyman Percy Sutton, said the police have the names. Asked who Malcolm thought might kill him Sutton replied: "Elijah Muhammad and his followers."

Accused Muslims

Chicago TV reporter Irv Kupcinet said Malcolm had told him, "I've got their names written on a piece of paper if they ever try to do anything to me."

A detective who would not identify himself said Malcolm's wife, Betty, 37 "seemed very interested in getting papers out of his pocket" as he lay dying after

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

3 NEW YORK POST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269THE/ WEB/aa

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: D. MURRAY AND R. BLUMENFELD
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: 3U 100-399321
Submitting Office: NYO

[X] Being Investigated

105-8999-5851

SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FEB 23 1965
FBI — NEW YORK

[redacted]

Associated Press Photo

Hands to head, Talmadge Hayer is carred in police custody from Jewish Memorial Hospital en route to Bellevue

the fusillade of bullets at the Audubon Ballroom, 564 W. 166th St.

Malcolm had charged the Muslims with the bombing last Sunday of his home at 23-11 97th St., E. Elmhurst, Queens, leased to him by the national organization before his expulsion and reclaimed by the Muslims through a court order before the bombing.

Malcolm and his family—his wife is pregnant with their fifth child—stayed at the New York Hilton at 6th Av. and 53d St. until noon yesterday, when they checked out. They reportedi had been planning to move into Harlem's Hotel Theresa, where he had kept an office since splitting with Muhammad.

"We know we may be suspected in his assassination," Los Angeles Muslim chief John Shabazz said, "because he attempted to point the finger at us in everything that happened.

"But no follower of Elijah Muhammad could have been responsible for Malcolm X's death because tenets of the religion forbid carrying weapons or initiating violence."

Police based their tentative count of five participants in the assassination on eyewitness reports which said three men fired at Malcolm while two others created a diversion by scuffling in the rear of the ballroom.

Two witnesses identified Hayer, a slim six-footer with a thin mustache, as the assailant who sprayed bullets at Malcolm from a 12-guage shotgun with a shortened stock and sawed-off twin barrels. The shotgun was found about an hour after the murder wrapped in a coat and tying on the floor about 10 feet from the raised rostrum where Malcolm fell.

A second gunman was seen running out a side entrance of the ballroom, and a third disappeared in the confusion. Both were described as short and stocky Negroes, one light-skined one drak.

Estimates of the number of shots fired at Malcolm varied from 10 to 30.

Dr. Milton Helpern, chief medical examiner, reported after completing an autopsy at 2 a.m. that he had taken at least 12 bullets of different calibers from Malcolm's body and that there were about 16 wounds in all.

Death was caused by "multiple gunshot and pistol wounds of the chest and heart," Helpern said. There were no wounds of the face, as first reported. One bullet was taken from Malcolm's elbow, another from a finger.

Unarmed When Slain

A dozen of Malcolm's followers appeared shortly before 2 a.m. at the Wadsworth Av. station to claim his body. They usedoneofhi s lesser-known Muslim names, Malik Shabazz.

After a 15-minute conference with police, they said they were attempting to insure that Malcolm received an orthodox Muslim burial. A spokesman who refused to identify himself except to say he was from New Jersey said he and his group were Muslims but not followers of Malcolm.

"We just came here to see that he gets an orthodox Muslim funeral," he said. "We wanted some information so we could contact the family. We didn't get all the information we wanted but the police were very helpful."

Group Concerned

He said Muslim rites require that "the sun should not rise and set twice on the body of a dead Muslim." The group handed a letter to police at 4:30 to be handed over to Malcolm's widow telling of their concern over the proper religious observances and urging that the body be quickly buried. The letter would be handed over to Dr. Helpern, police said.

In Boston, Mrs. Ella Mae Collins, the older sister of Malcolm, said she spent yesterday

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with her brother in New York and he told her: "They are after me. They won't rest until they get me."

Mrs. Collins said her brother was "living in fear. He had been overwrought since his home was bombed. He carried a gun in his apartment and kept looking through the window shades.

"He had a premonition."

Chicago police said Malcolm may have been killed by members of Elijah Muhammad national Black Muslim organization because of his widely publicized split with the Chicago-based group a year ago.

Police here were close-mouthed about the possibility but Asst. Chief Inspector Sanford Garelick said:

Although he had made application for a gun permit, Malcolm was reported by police to have been unarmed when slain.

Capt. Philip Glasser said police had oeffred him protection seven different times since Jan. 27 but that Malcolm had turned it down each time—the last time three hours before his death.

"Every time he told us, in effect, 'I can take care of myself,'" Glasser said.

Hayer, charged with homicide, was himself shot in the left leg after the assassination, police said, by Malcolm X Lieutenant Reuben Francis, 33, of 871 E. 179th St., The Bronx. Francis was picked up outside the Hotel Theresa about an hour later and charged with possession of a firearm and felonious assault although police said he was not armed when arrested.

Secretary Arrives

James 67X, Malcolm's secretary, later arrived at the Wadsworth Av. station to counsel Francis.

The FBI fingerprint files in Washington identified Hayer as a man last arrested in New Jersey for possession of stolen property. His last known address was 347 Marshall St., Paterson, N. J.

The two men said to have created the diversionary scuffle just before Malcolm was shot were not identified.

Two other men, William Harris and William Parker, termed innocent bystanders by police, were taken to Columbia Presbyterian Hospital with bullet wounds. Harris, otherwise, unidentified, was in serious condition with wounds of the chest and abdomen. Parker, 36, of 23-05 30th Av., Queens, was shot in the right foot.

Asst. Chief Inspector Harry Taylor said as many of the 400 witnesses to the shooting as possible would be taken back to the ballroom to resume the positions they occupied at the time of the assassination in an effort to reconstruct the scene.

Police said 'a great many people" remained to be questioned, and Chief of Detectives Philip Walsh told reporters:

"This is going to be a very extensive investigation. We want to nail this whole thing down and make sure we find out exactly who broke any laws. The questioning will probably continue through Monday."

The reaction to Malcolm's death in Harlem was one of mute shock. People gathered on street corners in smal clusters to discuss it and police assigned reinforcements in case of possible demonstrations, but there were none. The community remained quiet through the night.

Aftermath of the assassination of Malcolm X: Followers try to comfort the black nationalist leader at left as he lies mortally wounded on stage of the Audubon Ballroom; his body is wheeled toward Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center by police in center photo.

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wounded Talmadge Hayer, beaten by Malcolm's followers, struggles with police who drag him from the scene. Hagan has been charged with homicide.

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

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For Malcolm's Widow, Only His Work Is Left

By CARL J. PELLECK

It was early in her grief, and for the widow of Malcolm X it was not yet time to begin her private mourning. First, she had to explain that her husband had not died in vain.

With a terrible finality, she said she had always known that he "would be killed some day."

It was late last night, just hours after she and one of her four small children stood by helplessly as the wild shots rang out cutting husband and father forever out of their lives.

Malcolm's widow — known in her husband's movements as Mrs. Shabazz — sat next to her lawyer, Manhattan Democratic Asemblyman Percy Sutton, at a press conference in George's Supper Club, a Negro nightclub at 103-04 Astoria Blvd., East Elmhurst. The club is less than a mile from the house she and Malcolm had lived in until they were burned otu by fire bombs little more than a week ago.

"The magnitude of his work will be felt around the world," she said, proudly.

She was dry-eyed as she spoke, her composure carefully intact. Occasionally the reserve cracked and the tears broke through.

Then her sbs could be heard above the silence that paid tribute to her loss.

He Was Bitter

She tried to explain Malcolm's bitterness over the Black Muslims' charge that he tried to destroy his own home. "When that happened, he didn't fold up his arms and cry," she said.

And then she told of answering the phone in their room at the Hilton Hotel Saturday night and again yesterday morning when the caller warned that Malcolm "better wake up before it's too late."

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

2 NEW YORK POST

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: CA RL J. PELLECK
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-8777-5850

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FEB 23 1965
FBI — NEW YORK [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/dd

The police escorted him to his room, she said, and others stood guard elsewhere around the hotel.

As Mrs. Shabazz adjusted her green cloth coat and sat down, Sutton spoke up.

"Malcolm X had nothing: Malcolm X died broke, without even an insurance policy," Sutton said. "Every penny that he received from books, magazine articles and so on, was assigned to the Black Muslims before he broke with them and, after that, to the Moslem Mosque Inc. (Malcolm's own group)."

Unarmed When Killed

Suton explained that Malcolm ocasionally had either owned or carried a .25 caliber pistol or a rifle but that "he was unarmed on the stage when he was killed." Malcolm's wife said the police had denied his request for a pistol permit.

A police spokesman, Capt. Paul Glaser, said the police had offered Malcolm protection several times, but that he had refused. Glaser said protection has since been offered to Mrs. Shabazz, but that she also declined the offer.

Throughout the conference, Sutton referred to her as Sister Betty. It is the name she used when she first met Malcolm in 1958, when both belonged to the Black Muslims Mosque Number 7, and Malcolm was the head.

They married and took Shabazz for their family name. It means "The Wist One," or "The Greatest," a Muslim source explained. Malcolm had been born Malcolm Little, but gave up his last name when he became a Muslim.

The press conference ended and Sister Betty—expecting her fifth child—was briefly questioned by police.

As they left the club with Sutton, some of Malcolm's faithful checked under the hood of the car, and they drove off with a police car trailing behind.

Malcolm X with his wife, Betty, their three daughters and heavyweight champion Cassius Clay.

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

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The Sullen Witnesses

ALVIN DAVIS

They're an inarticulate, bitter people to begin with, but Malcolm X gave them language and told them to laugh at the mirthlessness of the white man. Then they saw him assassinated before their faces, by black men, and they turned cold-eyed beneath their astrakhan caps and above their scraggly chin pieces, and sullen.

The assassins had come as friends. They'd infiltrated the movement and simply walked into the hall. The question is who gets to them first, the police or Malcolm X's men, and how sullen is the mask of revenge?

I can't forget the face of the bodyguard who failed. A stocky man, moustached, in his 50s, nothing — except for his impassivity — like the shorn-headed, fleshless Fruit of Islam on the other side. He was staring straight ahead and muttering, "Kids . . . a couple of punk kids," like an old gunfighter who knew someday a punk kid would test him and they'd both go down.

The man near him was with the movement but not of it. He was sullen, too, and more direct with blame. "Malcolm knew the Muslims couldn't hold still for it," he was saying. "Elijah Muhammad has his two sons quit him and then they speak up for Malcolm. What do you think that does to a father? And then his people desert him all over town. He starts calling them newsboys 'cause all they're doing is selling 'Muhammad Speaks' on the street corners like some Jehovah's Witness. Malcolm knew it was coming."

* * *

There's no sullenness upstairs; the seedy old ballroom is bouncing with cops. The bloody footprints are still on the stage, and on the sick-green mural behind them, where the tropical palms meet the arctic pine forest, there are five chalked bullet holes. But the snare and the big bass drum in the corner are unmarked and the yellow-enameled piano is scarred only by the burns of hundreds of cigaret butts.

George Raft got his start as a young taxi dancer in that ballroom and Antonino Rocca will be coming back to wrestle there, and that's where

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

16 NEW YORK POST

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: ALVIN DAVIS
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-VIII-5849

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZE[redacted]
FEB 23 19[redacted]
FBI—NEW YO[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269JHE/WEB/DD

Malcolm X climbed on the bandstand, got out the words "Salaam alcikum . . . Brothers and Sisters" and where the sawed-off, double-barreled shotgun went off in his face.

In the storefront synagogue directly below, the old men were waiting for evening prayers. They heard the shotgun, like a small bomb, then the revolver bullets, like firecrackers. In the huge movie palace next door, the manager heard the shots too but the movie was called "El Padre Pistolas," Father Pistols, and he let it pass.

* * *

The sign in the Hotel Theresa says Muslim Mosque, Malcolm X, Room 128. And at the door upstairs, in front of a map of the U.S. superimposed on a map of Africa, stood another sullen guard, wisp-bearded too, and turbaned in caracul. Here, where Malcolm had held so many interviews—there are still those who insist he's wholly a creation of the white press—the guard was saying, in a heavy West Indian accent, "Go away, brother. This is no time for the press to make capital of this terrible thing."

"I'm not from the press," said the solemn, light-skinned man in the black chesterfield. He handed over a business card. The guard showed amazing restraint. "And this is no time," he said, "for us to talk to an undertaker, either."

* * *

The crowd at the police station wasn't sullen; it was excited. White teenagers, loud, tinny transistors held to their ears, their eyes glued to a station house door. All the lights were on, but at the squad room, on the second floor, the shades were drawn.

It was so like another scene after another assassination not so long ago. Reporters and TV men scurrying around. Detectives padding in and out. But the reporters were kept downstairs and the detectives were close-mouthed, and nobody seemed to mind. Every man in that station house knew there was revenge to fear, not from one disturbed man, but from 400 sullen followers who were there when it happened.

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

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18 NEW YORK POST

The Murder of Malcolm X

There will be those who say coldly that he chose to live by the sword, and must have been prepared to die by it. We differed sharply with Malcolm X on many issues but the circumstances of his murder represent another tragic trial for our city. That he was, according to initial reports, the victim of fratricidal factionalism within the Muslim movement is a grotesque ending to his stormy life. It is especially poignant because even his sharpest critics recognized his brilliance — often wild, unpredictable and eccentric, but nevertheless possessing promise that now must remain unrealized.

In retrospect, many of his followers must ask themselves whether the tones of frenzy and fury in which he often spoke produced their brutal echo in the acts of his murderers. But the rest of us must also ask ourselves how a man of such talent and imagination was so deeply alienated by our society. In this final episode there are lessons for all of us that we can dimly begin to perceive at this moment.

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author:
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

[X] Being Investigated

105-8999-5848

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 THE/WEB/dd

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FEB 23 1965
FBI — NEW YO[redacted]

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FD-350 (4-3-62)

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Malcolm X—Man of Violence

(N. Y. Times-Chicago Tribune Service)

New York, Feb. 21—He was Malcolm Little, alias Big Red, a marijuana-smoking, cocaine-sniffing, zoot-suited, hip-talking hoodlum when he went to prison in 1946.

When he went free seven years later, he was Malcolm X, an ascetic, a Black Muslim, a highly articulate man who hated the white world—a world he never made but by whose standards he said he had to live.

Grandfather Was White

He was born in Omaha, May 19, 1925, the son of Rev. Earl Little, a Baptist, who preached the Back-to-Africa movement of Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican Negro who died in 1940.

His mother was a West Indian whose father was white. "I hate every drop of that white rapist's blood that is in me," Malcolm once wrote.

The Little family, including 11 children, moved to Lansing, Mich. Malcolm's earliest vivid memory was seeing, at the age of 4, his house being burned to the ground by white racists. When he was 6, his father was killed under the wheels of a streetcar.

The family broke up and Malcolm was sent to a state institution. After the 8th grade, he left school and went to Boston to live with a sister. In Boston, and later in New York City, he drifted into the "cool" world; he drank, smoked marijuana, and entered into a liaison with a white woman.

Drug Habit Expensive

Malcolm, or Big Red, steered white men to Negro prostitutes and Negro men to white prostitutes; he sold marijuana, ran numbers, and carried a pistol.

A cocaine habit cost him $20 a day to support. Arrested in Boston after a series of burglaries, he was sent to the state prison at Charlestown. He was not quite 21.

Leaves as Malcolm X

While in prison, his sisters and brothers wrote to him about the religion, Islam, preached to black men in the United States by Elijah Muhammad, formerly Elijah Poole. The core of his teaching was the superiority of the black man, who, he maintained, was the first man on earth; the white man came later, a "devil race."

Malcolm began to correspond with Muhammad, and when he left prison he was a Black Muslim and he no longer bore the surname of Little.

He went to Chicago where Elijah Muhammad had his headquarters. He gave up pork, tobacco, alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, gambling, dancing, movies, sports, and women.

Elijah Muhammad recognized immediately that he had in Malcolm X a man of intelligence and authority. He sent him on speaking tours thruput the country. Eventually, Malcolm came to New York City to take over Mosque No. 7, a small, voiceless, and ineffectual group.

Builds Up Mosque

In ordinary conversation he was quiet, pleasant, articulate, and even humorous. His accent was midwestern. On the public platform his quality was cold fury; his eyes burned behind horn-rimmed glasses. In a few years he built up Mosque 7. In 1958, he married a member of the mosque, Sister Betty X, with whom he had four children.

By his own admission, he had once been a racist, an advocate of black separatism. But last year, after he broke with Elijah Muhammad, he said he had turned away from racism.

Last year he went to Mecca as a pilgrim; there, he said, he had been impressed by the "brotherhood, the people of all races, all colors coming together as one."

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

2

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 2/22/65
Edition: 3 STAR FINAL
Author:
Editor: W. D. MAXWELL
Title:

MALCOLM X

Character:
or 100-33593
Classification:
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

Under Investigation

105-[illegible]-3847

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FEB 6 1965
FBI — NEW YORK [redacted]

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8249 SHE/LWB/DD

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) DATE: 2/22/65

FROM : SA [redacted] (#43) b7C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X
SM - MMI

The following information was obtained by the writer from
b7D [redacted] ON 2/21/65:

b7C CAPTURE OF THOMAS HAGEN:

At 3:00 PM, 2/21/65, Sgt. [redacted] was on patrol at Broadway and 165th Street, NYC, when he heard shots comming from the Audubon Ballroom. He went to the 166th Street entrance of the Ballroom where he saw people emerging and shouting "MALCOLM has been shotm don't let him get away" [redacted] got out of his car and ran to the Ballroom where he grabbed [redacted] HAGEN, Negro/Male, age 22, who had been shot in the leg. When [redacted] attempted to put HAGEN into the police car the crowd attempted to take HAGEN away. [redacted] fired one shot into the air, and warned the crowd to stay away. HAGEN was taken to the 34th Pct., where he was removed by ambulance to Jewish Memorial Hospital. A 45 caliber automatic clip with four unspent cartridges was found in HAGEN's pocket.

b7C
b7D

OTHER PERSONS WOUNDED:

b7C [redacted] Taken to Columbia Presbyterian Hospital.

[redacted] Taken to Columbia Presbyterian Hospital. No descriptive data available. Extent of injury unknown.

WITNESSES:

b7C [redacted]

They were in the Audubon Ballroom in [redacted] Malcolm was on the platform. TOM HAGEN had a gun in his hand.

105-8999-5846

DO NOT DESTROY - PENDING LITIGATION

CCO INDEX
P 1 + 2

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED
FBI - NEW YORK

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 THE/WEB/dd

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MALCOLM said," hold it, hold it". The witnesses dropped to the floor. They did not see HAGEN shoot. HAGEN ran out with gun in hand. One of MALCOLM'S followers fired 3 shots at HAGEN with an automatic pistol.

5:30 Pm HAGEN transferred to Bellevue Hospital.

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

ASSOCIATED PRESS RELEASE:

[redacted] Associated Press Headquarters, Manhattan advised:

b7C

Seven men alleged to be leaving Manhattan on way to Chicago, to assassinate ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, and [redacted] and MARTIN LUTHER KING. Some were going by plane and others by auto.

LICENSE NUMBERS:

b7D

The following numbers were given to [redacted] No reason was given, other that to stated that the vehicles were in the vicinity of the investigation.

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

Indices Search Slip
FD-160 (Rev. 10-1-60)

see att

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date 2/23/65

TO: CHIEF CLERK

Subject [redacted]

Aliases

Address	Birth Date	Birthplace	Race	Sex
[redacted]				☑ Male ☐ Female

☑ Exact Spelling
☑ All References
☐ Main Subversive Case Files Only
☐ Subversive References Only
☐ Main Criminal Case Files Only
☐ Criminal References Only
☐ Main Subversive (If no Main, list all Subversive References)
☐ Main Criminal (If no Main, list all Criminal References)
☐ Restrict to Locality of

File & Serial Number	Remarks	File & Serial Number	Remarks

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

b7c

Requested by	Squad	Extension	File No.
[redacted] b7c	43	[redacted]	105-8797

Searched by [redacted] (date)

Consolidated by (date)

Reviewed by

File Review Symbols

I - Identical
NI - Not identical
? - Not identifiable
U - Unavailable reference

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

p/c 3/8/84

Classified by 8269 THE/WEB/dd
Declassify on: OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] [redacted]

b7c
b2

[redacted] [redacted]

1 Memo 12-13-48
1 Comp. Form 12-1-48

b7c
b2

[redacted] [redacted]

b7c
b2

[redacted] [redacted]

b7c
b2

[redacted]

Memo

b1

CONFIDENTIAL

Indices Search Slip
FD-160 (Rev. 10-1-58)

TO: CHIEF CLERK

Date 2/23/65

Subject [redacted]

Aliases [redacted] b7c

Address [redacted] Birthplace Race Sex ☐ Male ☐ Female

☐ Exact Spelling
☑ All References
☐ Main Subversive Case Files Only
☐ Subversive References Only
☐ Main Criminal Case Files Only
☐ Criminal References Only
☐ Main Subversive (If no Main, list all Subversive References)
☐ Main Criminal (If no Main, list all Criminal References)
☐ Restrict to Locality of

File & Serial Number	Remarks	File & Serial Number	Remarks
[redacted]	2/53		
	b2 b7c		
[redacted]			
[redacted]	b7c		
cf & refs NI by DOB & address			
+ see att			
	b7c		b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 WEB/del

Requested by [redacted] Squad 43 Extension [redacted] File No. 115-8992

Searched by [redacted] 2-27-65 (date)

Consolidated by (date)

Reviewed by (date)

[redacted] b7c

File Review Symbols

I - Identical
NI - Not identical
? - Not identifiable
U - Unavailable reference

42

[redacted] 12/63 SEE SAC

alias of [redacted]

b2
b7C

[redacted] 11/60 SEE SAC

b2
b7C

[redacted] 6/62 [redacted]

aka of [redacted]

b2
b7C

[redacted] aka 9/61 [redacted]

b2
b7C

[redacted] 4/54 [redacted]

RE: [redacted]

Negro

b2
b7C

p7C

[redacted]

alias of [redacted]

b2
b7C

b2
b7C

[redacted] 2/50 [redacted]

Fug. alias of

[redacted]

b2
b7C

[redacted]

Alias of [redacted]

P.3C

[redacted] [redacted] b2
alias of b7c
[redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] [redacted] b2
b7c

[redacted] [redacted] b2
b7c

[redacted] [redacted] b2
b7c

[redacted] [redacted] b2
b7c

[redacted] [redacted] b2
b7c

[redacted] [redacted] b2
b7c

[redacted] was [redacted] b2
BN: [redacted] b7c

dc

[redacted] 7/60 [redacted] Nwspr.Clip.5/15/60 P.3

NY Herald Tribune

[redacted]

b2
b7C

[redacted] 2/59 [redacted] P. 107

b2
b7C

Referred to in BUTTE Summary Report
T.H. activities that division dated 10/31/58.

[redacted] #1 8/58

See [redacted] 3/53
3/53
6/53

[redacted]

CORRELATION MEMO DTD 8/29/58
NOT IDENTICAL WITH [redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

p5

[redacted] 7/58 [redacted] b2 b7c

[redacted]

[redacted] 2/58 [redacted] b2 b7c

s. 2 pg 32.

[redacted] [redacted] b2 b7c

p 3
12/53

[redacted]

[redacted] [redacted] b2 b7c

3/53

[redacted] [redacted] b2 b7c

s. 1748. Rpt. 3-15-52. Re. [redacted] pg. 14.

[redacted] 7/51 [redacted] b2 b7c

[redacted]

pbc

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AUG 1 4 1950

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S.75, p.4, Cleveland rep. 8/7/50

[redacted]

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comp. form 6-15-50

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lt. 9-25-50
lt. 9-22-50

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[redacted]

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s4128 pg.1 - memo 10-24-49

[redacted]

b2
b7C

lt. 9-28-49
lt. 10-4-49

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b2
b7C

[redacted] p36

b2
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[redacted]

b2
b7C

p8c

[redacted]

s. 49 p. 21
s. 54 p. 3
s. 69 p. 103

b2
b7C

[redacted]

C45 s 2 p 12

b2
b7C

[redacted]

Bklyn., NY

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b2
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S. 179 [redacted]

b2
b7C
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[redacted]

s 51 p 16

b2
b7C

[redacted]

alias of [redacted]

b2
b7C

p9

Malcolm X Slain To Silence Him—The Reason Why

[The Quick, Stormy Life—And Death—of Malcolm X: Picture Story—Page 13; More Photos and Stories—Pages 4-5].

By ALFRED ROBBINS, MIKE PEARL and RICHARD BARR
Journal-American Staff Writers

Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X died in a hail of bullets on the stage of the Audubon Ballroom in Upper Manhattan because he was about to name publicly the men assigned to kill him.

That this was the motive for the assassination of the 39-year-old exponent of a black separatist state was confirmed today by Malcolm's attorney and confidante Manhattan Assemblyman Percy Sutton, during an interview with The Journal-American.

"He said he intended to name the picked assassins at the rally in the Audubon Ballroom," Mr. Sutton declared.

"He realized he was a marked man, and he planned to identify the killers by name. The police already had their names.

HIT 16 TIMES

But before he could speak those names during an address to 400 of his follows, Malcolm was silenced by 12 bullets fired into his slender body from a .45-caliber revolver and a 7.65 European-made revolver. Four pellets from a sawed-off shotgun also struck him.

As the Negro leader lay dying, his wife, Betty, 29, reached into a pocket of his suit jacket and extracted a piece of paper. Reportedly, the names of the men who were to assassinate him are written on that paper.

At least five men—all suspected of being followers of

RUBIN FRANCIS
Malcolm Bodyguard Held
Journal-American Photo by Seymour Zoo

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Journal American

EDITION Latest Times

DATE 2/22/65

PAGE 1

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/dd

105-8999-5845

[redacted]

67C

Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims, with whom Malcolm had split last year—are believed to have been involved in the faultlessly executed killing.

One of the suspected assassins is in custody.

He was identified from FBI fingerprints as Talmadge Hayer, alias Thomas Hayer, 22, of 347 Marshall st., Paterson, N. J. He has a police record.

Shot once in the leg by one of Malcolm's bodyguards as he tried to flee from the bullet-riddled ballroom, Hayer was rescued by two policemen from a howling mob that was beating and kicking him outside the murder scene.

Hayer told detectives his name was Thomas Hagan, and would say no more. He has been charged with homicide and is under police guard in the Bellevue Hospital prison ward.

"He's a Black Muslim," said Deputy Detective Inspector Thomas Renaghan, in charge of Manhattan's Sixth Division.

SILENT ABOUT LIST

That Malcolm was prepared to identify the men chosen to kill him was further attested to by high police officials. They would neither confirm nor deny, however, Mr. Sutton's statement that they had been given the names of the assassins by the fiery Negroe leader, whose Elmhurst, Queens, home was fire-bombed on the morning of Feb. 14.

"My philosophy was different than Malcolm's," Mr. Sutton, a one-time NAACP official, remarked, "but I had to compliment him on his courage.

"I was riding uptown with him last Friday and I said, 'Malcolm, you have a lot of guts riding around the city like this.'

"And he said to me, 'When your time comes, your time comes, and only Allah knows when that time is.'"

Whether he was aware of it or not, the net began closing Saturday around the man who had publicly exulted after the assassination of President Kennedy 15 months ago.

A security officer at the New York Hilton, where Malcolm spent part of Saturday and yesterday, told The Journal-American that he could identify Hayer as one of three Negroes who circulated about the hotel Saturday night trying to find out what room the Black Nationalist leader occupied.

Said the security man, who asked that his name not be used:

"There's no question about it, that the fellow whose picture was on television (Hayer) is the same man who was here Saturday night and tried to talk with one of the bellhops.

"I remember him because as soon as I noticed what was happening, I took an interest and kept on watching him to see what would happen.

"When he noticed me he talked with the other two men who were with him, and then all three of them left.

"I didn't get too good a look at the other two, but I do remember that one (Hayer) and I would be able to identify him again anywhere."

While Malcolm's assassins stalked him, police were making one final, desparate effort to convince the bespectacled, goateed Negro firebrand that he needed their protection.

SPURNED POLICE

Twice Saturday evening, a police official disclosed, detectives visited Malcolm in his 12th-floor, $18-a-day room to ask if he wanted a police guard.

"I can take care of anything myself," Malcolm replied.

According to the police spokesman, the department learned in mid-January that an attempt was to be made on Malcolm's life. On five separate occasions prior to last Saturday, the slim, self-educated Black Nationalist Leader was asked if he wanted protection. He refused the offer each time.

"We told him he was a marked man, but he laughed and told us he knew just as much as we did," the department spokesman related.

"He didn't trust us anymore than he trusted the Black Muslims."

With Malcolm, son of an Omaha, Neb., minister, now dead, police in both New York and Chicago had another worry — that Black Nationalists would attempt to avenge their leader's death.

Right after the assassination, police sent out an alarm for

a 1962 blue Oldsmobile that reportedly was bound for Chicago, where Elijah Muhammad makes his headquarters, with six of Malcolm's followers.

Additionally, New York police had extra men patrolling Harlem last night. And the Black Muslim restaurant at 116th st. and Lenox ave., known as Muhammad's Temple No. 7 restaurant, was closed shortly after the assassination at the request of authorities.

According to Mr. Sutton, Malcolm's funeral will be held at 9 o'clock Saturday morning at a still unspecified auditorium in Harlem. The funeral itself will create another potentially explosive situation.

Hated by some, revered by others, and an enigma to many, the last hours of the life of the man born Malcolm Little began at 4:10 Saturday afternoon when he checked into the Hilton. He registered under the name of Malcolm Shabazz and gave his address as 2090 7th ave. This is the Hotel Theresa, where Malcolm had his Black Nationalist headquarters. .....

Except for dinner Saturday night in the hotel's Bourbon Room, Malcolm stayed inside his room. He checked out of the Hilton at approximately 1 o'clock yesterday afternoon and was driven to the Audubon Ballroom, at 166th st. and Broadway, across the street from the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center.

ELATED BY PROGRESS

What was billed as the Organization for Afro-American Unity rally began at 2 o'clock. The audience of 400 was the largest he had drawn in a couple of years.

"Malcolm was quite elated at the progress of his movement," Mr. Sutton said after his death. "He was particularly pleased at having been barred from France. He saw this as a sign that his movement was enjoying popularity among the African community in France."

It was approximately 3:15 when Malcolm was introduced as "a man who would give his life for you." He stepped forward to the rostrum set upon the stage and fiddled with some papers while his audience applauded him for 45 seconds.

"A Salaam Alaikem," he said.

The crowd responded, "peace be with you also."

A 21-year-old machinist's helper, who was present, but who refused to give his name told what happened next.

"I was sitting towards the back and near me two men

MALCOLM X, in one of last photos before death, spoke last Thursday to Hunter College group.
Journal-American Photo by Ed McKevitt

jumped up and started pushing each other. One of them shouted, 'Get your hand out of my pocket.'

"Molcolm raise his hands and said, 'Hold it, hold it, let's cool it now, brothers.'"

With the bulk of the audience and Malcolm's bodyguards, who were seated just below the stage, distracted by the scuffle in back, two men run down the aisle.

'LIKE AN EXPLOSION'

One of them—police believe it was Hayer—held the .45-caliber revolver. The second man cradled the sawed-off shotgun.

Apparently, a third assassin fired the 7.65 caliber revolver at the Negro extremist. But in the confusion he escaped detection by the eye witnesses.

"I was looking at Malcolm and he was smiling," said a 37-year-old housewife who identified herself only as Dorothy.

"Then there was what sounded like an explosion. I was sitting towards the front on the right side and I just sat frozen in my seat.

"I looked at Malcolm and there was blood running out of his goatee. And then he just toppled over behind the rostrum."

Police estimate that 32 shots in all were fired within the hall. People fell to the floor or bolted for the exits.

Malcolm's wife was screaming:

"They're killing my husband, they're killing my husband."

KNEELS BY HUSBAND

She has four children, the eldest of whom is 6, and she is one month pregnant with her fifth child. She ran to the stage and fell on her knees beside her husband's bullet-shattered form.

Hayer, waving his revolver now, ran towards a back exit. Reuben Francis, 33, of 871 E. 179th st., Bronx, one of Malcolm's bodyguards, fired a .45-caliber bullet into his leg. Hayer stumbled out onto Broadway.

Sgt. Alvin Aronoff and Ptl. Louis Angelos, both of the W. 152d st. precinct, attracted by the sound of shots, saw him as they pulled up near the ballroom.

"He saw us," Sgt. Aronoff related, "and he started shouting, 'I'm shot, help me, help me.' Dozens of people were around him, punching him, kicking him. He had a lump on his face and his head was bloody.

"Angelos and I pushed our way in," Sgt. Aronoff continued. "The crowd was screaming, 'Kill him, lynch him!' We were getting pushed around ourselves. I felt that the prisoner would be taken away from us. So I drew my revolver and fired a warning shot into the air. This gave us time to get the man into the car."

A few minutes later Malcolm X was wheeled on a stretcher to an emergency room in Columbia-Presbyterian. A team of doctors and nurses labored over him, but as one physician said later, he was dead when he entered the hospital.

TAKEN TO MORGUE

Eventually, the body was taken to the Bellevue Hospital morgue. Dr. Milton Helpern, chief medical examiner, reported that Maclolm's body bore 16 wounds.

Of these, 12 were made by bullets fired from the .45-caliber and 7.65 caliber revolvers. Two of the slugs, Dr. Helpern reported, entered the left eye. The other four wounds, he said, resulted from shotgun pellets.

Still in Columbia-Presbyterian today are two other men wounded by gunfire. They are Willie Harris, 51, of 614 Oak Tree pl., Bronx, and William Park, no age available of 23-05 30th ave., Astoria, Queens.

Police gave no indication that either one was involved in the assassination.

Reuben Francis, meanwhile, was charged with felonious assault in the shooting of Hayer, plus violation of the Sullivan Law.

Today, Capt. Joseph X, leader of the Black Muslims "elite corps" in New York, was asked if he had any comment on the assassination of Malcolm X.

"We know nothing about it," he replied. "It's unfortunate."

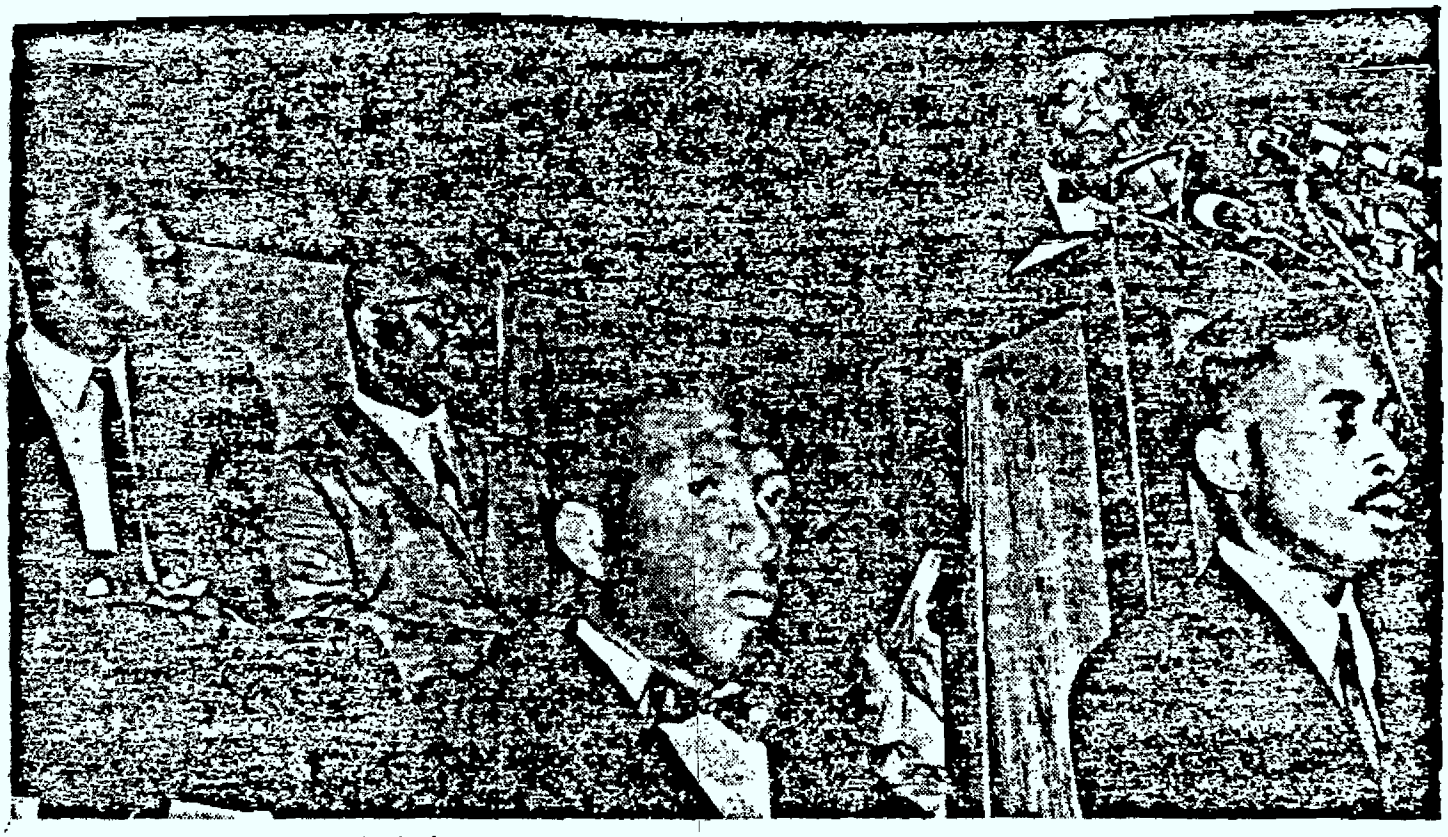
And uptown at the Audubon Ballroom last night, a Negro social organization from Brooklyn had its annual dance. The band played on the stage where Malcolm had been speaking when shot.

Visible were several white spots in the green walls, showing where bullets had struck.

There was no blood, however. Three cleaning women had spent an hour scrubbing it away.

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 . . .

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 . . .*

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DATE _____ BY _____

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 . . .*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 JHE/WEG/KD

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.*

UPI Photo

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DATE 2/8/84 BY 8226-9JHE/WEB/dd

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 2-21-65

FROM : SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE aka
IS-MMI

[redacted] advised [redacted] that he had received information that several men were leaving NYC for Chicago to kill ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. Plans were also made to kill [redacted] and MARTIN LUTHER KING. [redacted] was interested in learning if this information was true. b7C b7D

SA [redacted] contacted [redacted] at [redacted] on 2-21-65. [redacted] referred SA [redacted] advised that they received information from [redacted] that he considered not to reliable, that MALCOLM X's wife was holding a press conference that evening in Queens, NY. [redacted] said that the source said that some men including [redacted] were going to Chicago either by plane or car to kill ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and also plan to kill [redacted] and MARTIN LUTHER KING. Source said that KING was to be killed when the Statute of Liberty was supposed to be bombed. He also said that MALCOLM X was not suppose to be killed until 2 weeks from today but that the scheduled was moved ahead. b7C b7D

The Bureau [redacted] was advised of the above facts at 10:00 PM 2-21-65. b7C

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DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 THE/WEB/dd

105-8999-5844

SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FBI - NEW YORK [redacted]

b7C

b7C

[redacted]

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-107

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, (105-8999)

DATE: 2/21/65

FROM : SA [redacted] #43 b7c

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X
SM-MMI

At approximately 7:45 p.m., SA [redacted] advised that THOMAS HAGAN, age 22, a suspect in the shooting of MALCOLM X, earlier this date, was being detained in the Prison Ward at Bellevue Hospital under guard. SA [redacted] advised that HAGAN had one bullet in him which entered his left thigh which shattered the left thigh bone. Hospital plans called for putting HAGAN's left leg in traction and taking the bullet out thereafter. He was to be laid up for about one and one-half months. SA [redacted] advised that HAGAN would not talk to anyone and in fact would not utter a single word. He answered all questions by pointing to the left leg. An attempt was made to interview HAGAN by [redacted] Second Division, 13th Precinct, in the presence of SA [redacted] with negative results. b7c

About 8:29 p.m., SA [redacted] advised that HAGAN was at that time being put into traction and that SA [redacted] had learned from one of the doctors, that they would let the bullet stay in the leg for about two weeks, until such time as the bone would permit an operation. At the end of that time the bullet would be removed and a pin placed in HAGAN's left leg. SA [redacted] described HAGAN as follows: b7c

Race	Negro
Sex	Male
Age	22
Height	About 5'7"
Build	Medium
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown
Complexion	Medium
Characteristics	Small mustache, no beard, neat dresser, clean appearance

b7c ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
[redacted] DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269JHE/WEB/dd

(3)

105-8999-5843

SEARCHED... SERIALIZED... [redacted] INDEXED... FILED...
1965
FBI - NEW YORK

b7c

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MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-107

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NY (105-8999) DATE: 2/21/65

FROM : SA [redacted] b7c

SUBJECT: MALCOLM LITTLE
IS-MMI

At 8:00 pm SA [redacted] called from the 34th Sq. and advised that a Detective advised that he had heard a news broadcast to the effect that "they" (whom he took to mean members of Malcolm's group) were going to CG to "get Muhammad". No further details available to [redacted] b7c

The above was telephoned to Supv. [redacted] at the Bureau who agreed that CG should be called and advised to alert their sources and the PD. b7c

At 8:45 pm Supv. [redacted] at CG was advised of the above . He advised that the CG office had received calls from AP and NBC at O'HARE airport, CG asking if there was any truth to the rumor that 5 or 6 persons were on their way to CG to kill MUHAMMAD. CG has alerted their sources as well as the PD and is following this matter. b7c

[redacted] advised that NY would be advised of any pertinent info. [redacted] was preparing to call the Bureau with the above info. b7c

ADDENDUM

At 11:15 PM SA [redacted] CG, was telephonically advised as follows: A "tipster" of AP furnished info. that 2 persons going to CG to kill MUHAMMAD were [redacted] A brief description was furnished [redacted] b7c

Bureau advised by [redacted] b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 THE/WEB/dd

105-8999-5842

[redacted] b7c
(1)

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED ____ FILED
21
FBI - NEW YORK [redacted] b7c

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO DATE: 2/19/65

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-97078)

SUBJECT: SWP - NYL
IS - SWP

2 - San Francisco (RM)
(1 - 61-380)(SWP)
(1 - [redacted])
2 - Chicago (RM)
(1 - 65-645)(SWP)
(1 - [redacted])
3 - Minneapolis (RM)
(1 - 100-1246)(SWP)
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])

b2
b7C

[redacted] (44)
(44)
(44)
(

NY 100-97078

Copies Continued

[redacted] (44)
[redacted] (44)
[redacted] (44)
[redacted] (44)
[redacted] (44)
1 - New York (100-4013)(SWP NATIONAL) (44)
[redacted] (44)
[redacted] (44)
1 - New York (105-8999)(MALCOLM X)
[redacted] (44)
[redacted]

b2
b7c

b7c
b2

b2
b7D

On 1/22/65, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available for photographing material maintained in the office of the Organizer of the New York Local SWP, 116 University Place, NYC.

Extreme caution should be exercised in utilizing information furnished by [redacted] in order that the identity of this highly confidential source is not disclosed. b2 b7D

Included in the above material were the following minutes of Executive Committee meetings of the SWP, New York Local.

"N.Y. Exec. Comm. Minutes Oct. 26, 1964

"Present: [redacted] b7C

"Minutes: read and accepted

b7C "Request by [redacted] has requested the Exec. Comm. to organize a branch discussion of the Khrushev ouster and China's explosion of the A bomb.

[redacted] proposal that we recommend that the branch reject the request since the statement by the I.S. in next week's Militant and the coming forum by [redacted] will open the discussion on these events and since the pre-convention discussion will be openly shortly. Carried b7C

b7C "Youth Conference: [redacted] report that the Mid-West Conference was very successful. accepted

"Exec. Meeting Time: Vote taken by Exec. members established meeting time at 6:30 pm on monday.

"N.Y. branch Exec. Comm. Minutes November 9, 1964

"Present: [redacted] b7C

"Minutes: read and accepted

b7C "Election: [redacted] proposal that we schedule a report and discussion on the N.Y. election campaign for Dec. 3rd. carried

b7C "Uptown Committee: [redacted] proposal that an Uptown Committee be set up among the party comrades to meet on alternate thursdays uptown for the purpose of assisting the youth in their activities. carried
Tentative list of comrades: [redacted]
b7C

b7C "Branch Meeting: [redacted] proposal that the Nov. 26th branch meeting be cancelled. carried

"Time of
Exec. Meeting: retained at 6:30"

"NEW YORK BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMM. MINUTES Nov. 16 1964

b7C "Present: [redacted]

"Agenda read and approved

"Minutes read and approved

b7C "Membership [redacted] 7½ months arrears in dues. Recommend he be transferred to status of sympathyzer. approved.

b7C "Proposal that [redacted] be recommended for party membership approved.

b7c "Meeting hall - Request by [redacted] to rent hall Sat. Nov. 28 for FNP benefit social. Implications explained to [redacted] Also, security precautions explained to him. Motion to recommend branch grant request approved.

b7c "Forum [redacted] Report and discussion of drop in attendance and possible measures to remedy. Discussion to be continued next meeting.

b7c "Finances - [redacted] will make 3 month financial report to branch this week.

"REport and discussion of uptown newstand sales. And problems of servicing. No action taken.

"Report on uptown party committee. Meeting with comrades assigned held last Thursday. General agrreement reported. First meeting planned for Wednesday November 25, if approved by branch this Thursday. Authority to add personell upon consultation with uptown leadership approved. Informal recommendation to be made to uptown committee that [redacted] (Specifically,

b7c [redacted] approved."

"N.Y. Branch Exec. Comm. Minutes Nov. 30th 1964

b7c "Present: [redacted]

"Minutes: read and accepted

b7c "Congo demonstration: [redacted] proposal that we have a protest demonstration this saturday at 2 PM at the UN against US intervention in the Congo. Carried.

b7C "City Office [redacted] will function as the acting organizer while [redacted] is working the next few days. A ccptd.

b7C "Finance [redacted] proposal that we raise our sustaining fund pledge to the NO by 25% bringin it up to $250 a month. Carried.

b7C "Class: [redacted] is cheduled to give a class on Labor's Giant Step. It will tentatively be held on Saturdays at 3 or 4 pm and will extend for 4 or 5 sessions. Accepted.

b7C "Election Report [redacted] There will be an election report and discussion at the coming branch meeting. [redacted] will report on interesting experiences, [redacted] will report on financial and organizational aspects, and [redacted] will report on radio and TV time. Accepted.

b7C "New Year's Party [redacted] proposal that we have a New Year's Party thisyear thought it coincides with the YSA national convention in Chicago. Carried.

b7C "Forum - [redacted] Attempts are being made to schedule a forum with Malcolm X, tentatively for wednesday night, the 16th of Jan. Accepted.

"Uptown Committee - [redacted] - The first meeting of the uptown committee was held on the 25th, [redacted] gave a briefing on the Uptown YSA's activities and problems, and [redacted] Report accepted.

b7C

"N.Y. Branch Exec. Comm. Minutes December 7, 1964

b7C "Present: [redacted]

b7c "Branch Meeting: [redacted] proposal that we meet Dec 23rd but that we call off the branch meeting for the following week. carried

b7c "Forum: [redacted] -report that [redacted] will be working on the Forum Committee with the perspective of ultimately taking full charge. accepted

b7c "YSA report: [redacted] proppsal that [redacted] application for membership in the party be accepted pending a final discussion with [redacted] carried

b7c "Membership: [redacted] - proposal that [redacted] request for a two week L.O.A. beginning wednesday and [redacted] request for a L.O.A. from Dec. 18 to Jan 3, be accepted. carried

b7c "Pickett Line: [redacted] report that the pickett line was successfull and brought us a few contacts. accepted

b7c "Branch Conference: [redacted] Plenum is scheduled for the last week of January. Branch Conference is tentatively scheduled for Feb. 13th accepted"

"NEW YORK BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MINUTES
DECEMBER 21, 1964

b7c "Present: [redacted]
"Excused: [redacted]

"1 Minutes read and accepted

b7c "2 Membership; Report on Transfer of [redacted] from San Francisco.

b7c "3 Welfare strike; [redacted]

b7c "Welfare strike scheduled for Jan. 4 by SSEU. [redacted] have asked to participate in fraction meeting.

"Motion: Any interested members who feel they have a contribution to make be permitted to attend this fraction meeting tonight at 8p.m.

approved.

b7c "4 Jan. 7 Forum; [redacted]

"Report on organizational arrangements.

b7c "Request by [redacted] to make announcement on FNP activities.

b7c "Motion to refer [redacted] request to [redacted] for final decision. approved.

"report approved.

"5 Branch meeting to be held on Jan. 6 because of Malcolm meeting.

"approved.

"6 Report on Federation for Independent Political Action meeting

"Dec. 19 [redacted] b7c

[redacted] attended. Report that no concrete steps taken along lines of ind. Pol. Act.

"Report accepted.

"Meeting adjourned."

"Exec. Comm. Minutes Jan 4, 1965

b7c "Present: [redacted]

"Minutes: read and accepted

b7c "Union Situation: [redacted] motion that due to possible disadvantage to the involved comrades, a detailed discussion of the strike be deferred to a later date and that an informational report be made by the organizer at the branch meeting.
carried

b7c "Bolivian Letter: [redacted] report of a letter from the Bolivian Trotskyists appealing for financial contributions. Accepted

b7c "Forum: [redacted] Almost $660 spent on the Malcom X meeting so far. Subs will be sold at the beginning, single copies at the end. accepted

b7c "Art Pries Memorial: [redacted] report that it will begin this friday at 8:30

b7c "Social: [redacted] report that we netted $123.00 on the New Years Eve Party not including the leftover liquor. accepted

b7c "Plenum Social: [redacted] - it is tentatively scheduled for Jan. 30th. accepted

b7c "Membership: [redacted] proposal that we recommend acceptance of [redacted] application for a transfer to Detroit.
carried
proposal that we recommend acceptance of [redacted] application for membership.
carried

b7c "Pioneer: [redacted] Pioneer is moving to its new location at 9:30 this saturday. [redacted] accepts responsibility for organizing help. accepted

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"NEW YORK BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMM. MINUTES
JAN 11, 1965

b7C "Present: [redacted]

"Agenda read and approved

"Minutes read and approved

b7C "Education; Proposal that [redacted] class be open and announced to branch. Approved.

b7C "Forum - [redacted]
"560 attendance, $521 paid, 188 Negroes.
"We lost $50 on meeting.
"$63 worth of literature sold.
"Collection for Malcolm X, $174.

b7C "Membership - Proposal that [redacted] request for transfer to Chi. be granted. approved.

b7C "Proposal to inform branch of [redacted] transfer here fromm=Minn. without waiting for formal letter. approved.

b7C "Org. - Proposal by [redacted] that Organizer's subsidy be raised to $50 per week. approved.

b7C "Contacting - [redacted]
"Proposal that we organize a probe into Harlem by visiting live subscribers with selected comrades under [redacted] guidance. approved."

Inasmuch as the above material is set forth verbatim, the photographs are not being retained.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) DATE: 2/21/65

FROM : [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X LITTLE
SM - MMI

The following information is set out concerning information received regarding the murder of MALCOLM X. It should be noted that to establish liaison with the police in this matter, SA [redacted] was at the 34th Precinct of the NYCPD which was investigating the murder, telephone WA 3-4692 and SA [redacted] was at BSS, WO 4-1447. At 6:10 p.m. SA [redacted] advised at that time that the police knew of only one suspect to the killing. THOMAS HAGAN, who was supposed to have shot MALCOLM X during a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th and Broadway. HAGAN was arrested by [redacted] as he was [redacted] to leave the Audubon Ballroom. HAGAN had a .45 automatic clip in his pocket with 4 unspent shells in it and had been shot in the left leg. [redacted] were in the ballroom at the time the shooting took place.

b7C
b7D

b7D [redacted] that they saw HAGAN with a gun in his hand and MALCOLM X, who was on the stage speaking, suddenly called out "Hold it" and after this these two witnesses dropped to the floor and did not actually see MALCOLM shot but just before they dropped they saw HAGAN with the gun in hand pointing it at MALCOLM. The next they saw was HAGAN trying to run out of the ballroom with the gun in hand. As HAGAN ran out one of MALCOLM's group, then unidentified, shot three times at HAGAN with an automatic pistol. Apparently the police reasoned that one of these shots struck HAGAN in the leg. HAGAN did not have a pistol on him when [redacted] arrested him. [redacted] was on patrol on Broadway when he heard the shots from the ballroom and immediately proceeded to the ballroom where he saw people coming out shouting that MALCOLM had been shot some of whom were shouting "Don't let him get away" apparently referring to HAGAN.

b7C

105-8999-5840

b7C [redacted]
(3)

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FBI - NEW YORK

b7C

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Indices, NYO, on HAGAN were checked by SAS [redacted] and [redacted] with negative results. b7C

At 6:30 p.m. SA [redacted] calling from the 34th Pct., advised that he did not have much information at this time as things were rather confusing at the Precinct but the police advised him that MALCOLM died in 45" and was Dead on Arrival at the Vanderbilt Clinic of Presbyterian Hospital, 168th St. and Broadway. He advised that the police placed the shooting at about 3:10 p.m. At 6:35 p.m. the above information was furnished to Supervisor [redacted] at the Bureau. b7C

At 7:30 p.m. SA [redacted] advised that the [redacted] in addition to [redacted] had obtained two other witnesses, [redacted] Negro, male, age 69, and [redacted] and was shot in the foot by some of the flying shots. b7C b7D

Another individual [redacted] was also shot by flying bullets and both [redacted] and [redacted] were taken to [redacted] Columbia Presbyterian Hospital. No details concerning [redacted] were immediately available. b7C

At 7:30 p.m. SA [redacted] called and advised that two license numbers [redacted] as being in the area of the Audubon Ballroom [redacted] to the following individuals: [redacted] and [redacted] NY indices were checked and NK was called [redacted] their indices were negative. [redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted] b7C b7D

At 7:34 p.m. SA [redacted] advised from [redacted] that [redacted] and [redacted] were apparently shot by REEEN FRANCIS, one of MALCOLM's followers, (NY has case file) who fired three shots with an automatic pistol. b7C b7D

At 7:45 p.m. SA [redacted] advised that [redacted] had received information that the Associated Press claimed that the police reported that five of MALCOLM's followers left NY for Chicago to avenge MALCOLM's death. [redacted] advised that they did not give out this information. b7C b7D

At 7:50 p.m. all information not previously furnished to the Bureau was furnished to Supervisor [redacted] who advised that Bureau indices reflected information on [redacted] b7C

The Bureau could not identify any references with THOMAS HAGAN, although they had a file on [redacted] which subsequently proved to be non identical since this individual is white.

Chicago was telephonically contacted and is the subject of a separate memorandum by SA [redacted] concerning the possibility of MALCOLM's followers going to Chicago to avenge MALCOLM's murder. b7C

At 8:03 p.m. SA [redacted] calledd from Bellevue Hospital where suspect THOMAS HAGAN had been removed from the Jewish Memorial Hospital and was in a prison ward at Bellevue. SA [redacted] advised that HAGAN had been shot in the left thigh and the bone was shattered as a result of which he was going to be put in traction and would be confined to the hospital up to about six weeks. HAGAN has no attorney, has refused to talk and has had no visitors or telephone calls asking for his well-being. SA [redacted] advised that he offered Inspector [redacted] who was in charge of the NYCPD detail at the Bellevue Hospital, any assistance that he could render [redacted] in this matter and [redacted] asked SA [redacted] to see whether HAGAN would talk to him since he had refused to talk to the NYC police and HAGAN was noncommittal and refused to talk to SA [redacted] in the company of Inspector [redacted] They are not going to take the bullet out of his leg until two weeks so that the wound can heal somewhat. b7C

At 8:50 p.m. Supervisor [redacted] at the Bureau was advised that as a result of the anonymous telephone call to SA [redacted] of this office who was on duty on Division IV in the afternoon on 2/21/65, Agents [redacted] and [redacted] were able to contact one [redacted] and obtain a .45 calibre automatic gun which he said he got at the Audubon Ballroom immediately after the shooting of MALCOLM LITTLE. The details of this are set out in a separate FD-302 executed by SAS [redacted] and [redacted]

b7c

[redacted] advised that he would check with Asst. Dir. SULLIVAN and would call back and advise about furnishing this gun to the police. [redacted]

b7c
b7D
b7c

[redacted] called back about 9:05 p.m. and advised that Asst. Dir. SULLIVAN had authorized furnishing the police the gun immediately for their assistance in this homicide investigation and attempt to discreetly approach [redacted] and get him to agree to cooperate with the police since it was obvious his information and testimony would be essential, particularly if this gun is one which was identified as having shot MALCOLM.

b7c

At 9:25 p.m. SA [redacted] advised from the 34th Pct. that the plice had one of the guns, to wit, a .12 gauge sawed off double barrelled shotgun manufactured by J.C. Higgins, Model 1017 and also bearing the number 5100. It was unknown whether this was the serial number or not. He advised that this shotgun had been fired and left at the scene and it was believed by the police to have propelled 00 shot and which probably did most of the injury resulting in the death of MALCOLM LITTLE. Police advised that MALCOLM's body reflected 14 holes but will not know until an autopsy as to what bullets had hit him.

b7c

At 9:30 p.m. SA [redacted] called from [redacted] to advise that an Associated Press representative [redacted] that seven men were alleged to be leaving NYC by plane and auto to assassinate ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and MARTIN LUTHER KING and that [redacted] was also marked for assassination.

b7c
b7D

SA [redacted] contacted the Associated Press and prepared a separate memorandum on the details of this matter which was furnished to Chicago. As far as MARTIN LUTHER KING is concerned, the writer furnished this to Supervisor [redacted] to furnish Atlanta for its information. The reliability of this information is unknown. b7C

At 9:45 p.m. SA [redacted] called from Bellevue Hospital and advised that no identification was located on HAGAN by the police and no information about him was available. [redacted] of the BCI, NYCPD, had fingerprinted HAGAN. b7C

At 10:00 p.m. SA [redacted] called from the 34th Pct. and advised that the unsub who fired the shotgun at MALCOLM is a Negro, male, age 28, 6'2", 200#, heavy build, dark complexion, who wore a gray coat. He advised that [redacted] and [redacted] from information the police had gathered of the shooting, were apparently just spectators in the audience who were hit by stray shots and were not in any way involved in the shooting itself. b7C

At 10:15 p.m. [redacted] came to the office to obtain the .45 calibre automatic which Agents [redacted] and [redacted] had obtained from [redacted]. They were advised that the source desired his identity be kept confidential at this time and that we would attempt to prevail upon him to cooperate with the police. Inspector [redacted] advised that he did not desire that we attempt to approach this source at this time and preferred that we waited until we heard further from him to make such attempt as an approach at this time might so frighten this potential witness that he may disappear and make it difficult to reach at a later date. The writer advised that we desired to cooperate with the police on this matter and we would await their further advice and not contact this source with regard to cooperating with the police until we heard from the police. They were furnished the .45 automatic and receipt was obtained. b7C b7D

At 10:50 p.m. Supr [redacted] at the Bureau was brought up to date and furnished the information since the last contact and advised that after discussion between Asst. Dir. SULLIVAN and Mr. BELMONT, who had discussed the matter with the Director, that the NYO should give no further information b7C

[redacted] without clearing through the Bureau and particularly information from our informants. b7D

At 11:00 p.m. [redacted] advised [redacted] that the [redacted] called the [redacted] and advised they had picked up [redacted] (believed to be an MMI member from Philadelphia) who came to St. Luke's Hospital in Philadelphia with a broken arm and admitted being at the Audubon Ballroom when the shooting took place involving MALCOLM LITTLE. No further details were furnished at this time in this regard. b7C b7D

At 11:55 p.m. SA [redacted] advised that HAGAN would be charged with homicide of MALCOLM as they believe he was the individual who shot the .45 calibre automatic and ballistics had reported that a .45 slug had been found in MALCOLM's body. The police feel that shots from these four weapons were involved in the shooting at the Audubon Ballroom, to wit, .45 automatic pistol, 12 gauge sawed off double barrel shotgun and 9 mm automatic and a .32 calibre revolver, according to shells and slugs found at the scene. The other suspect who handled the shotgun was still unknown. b7C

REUBEN FRANCIS, member of MALCOLM's group, the MMI, was booked for felonious assault for shooting HAGAN. At least the police believe he shot HAGAN.

Malcolm X Denies He Is Bomber

Did Malcolm X have the East Elmhurst home he has been living in bombed in a move to get back at Muslims seeking to evict him from the home or was the bombing early Sunday morning the work of local Muslims done on the orders of Elijah Muhammad.

This question was being probed by local police this week as they stepped up their investigation into the bombing which wrecked the small brick house at 23-11 97th St., Elmhurst, forcing Malcolm, his wife, Betty, and four daughters to flee in their nightclothes.

Orders

Joseph X and scores of Muslims disputed Malcolm's contentions. "We own the place. He was going to be evicted. We have our money tied up there. Why would we bomb our own property?" Captain Joseph X, key local Muslim leader declared.

"My house was bombed by the Muslims on orders of Elijah Muhammad," the fiery Malcolm declared in addressing 700 persons at the Audebon Ballroom Monday night before leaving for Rochester Tuesday.

"If anybody can find where I bombed my own house they can put a bullet through my head," he added.

The question of ownership, however, was tossed to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court as Attorney Percy Sutton, Malcolm's lawyer, filed an appeal of the eviction order.

Listed

Malcolm contends that the house was a gift to him from the church while he was leader of the local Muslims while they contend that it was a church parsonage and since he is no longer their local minister, he must vacate. He had been ordered to vacate as of Jan. 31, and Judge Maurice Wahl this week denied a motion for a stay of the eviction pending the appeal. The house is in the name of the local Mosque of the Muslims.

Since the bombing, Malcolm and his family reportedly are living with friends in Queens while awaiting the court appeal and the fixing up of the house.

"New York Amsterdam News"
2/20/65
P. 19 C. 7

2 Xerox [redacted] 2/16/65
67C

105-8999-5839

SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED [redacted]

[redacted]

67C

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4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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

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☐ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
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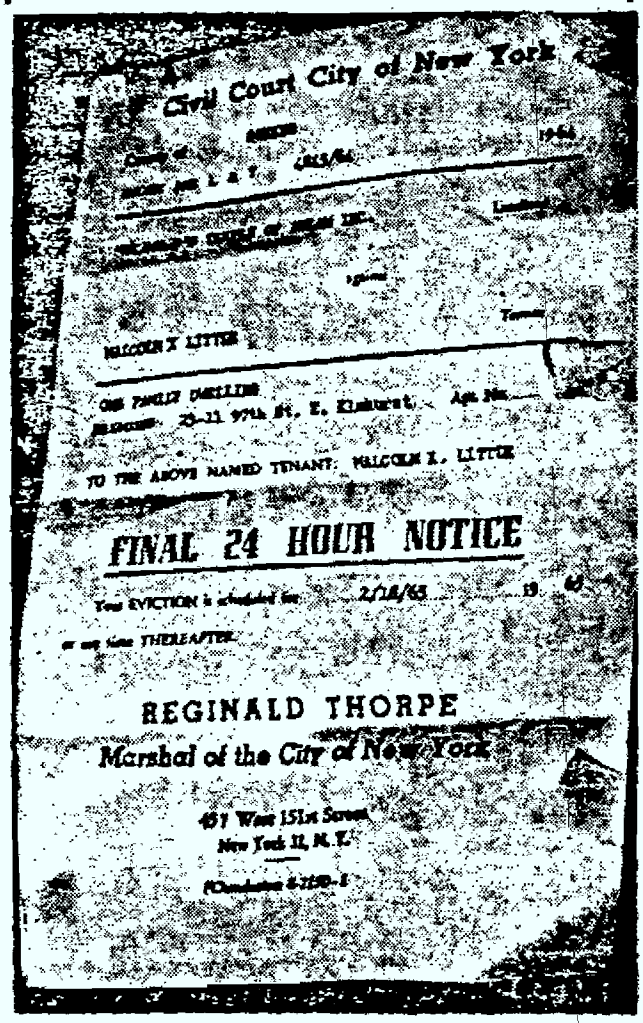
MOVING DAY



Civil Court City of New York

County of [illegible] 19[illegible]

[illegible] 4815/64

[illegible] Landlord

[illegible] Agent

MALCOLM X LITTLE Tenant

ONE FAMILY DWELLING

[illegible] 23-11 97th St., E. Elmhurst Apt. No.

TO THE ABOVE NAMED TENANT: MALCOLM X. LITTLE

FINAL 24 HOUR NOTICE

Your EVICTION is scheduled for 2/18/65 19 65

or any time THEREAFTER

REGINALD THORPE

Marshal of the City of New York

451 West 151st Street

New York 11, N.Y.

[illegible]

Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X and his family must leave home at 23-11 97th st., Elmhurst, Queens, today, according to this eviction notice hanging on front door. The house, owned by the Black Muslim Movement of Elijah Muhammed—from which group Malcolm X broke last year—was bombed Sunday. Journal-American Photo by John [illegible]

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY N. Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN

EDITION Latest Fun

DATE FEB 1 1965

PAGE 3

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

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DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269JHE/WEB/[illegible]

105-8999-5837

[redacted]

43

[redacted]

b7c

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

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

MALCOLM X MOVES, AVERTING CITY WRIT

Malcolm X outmaneuvered the city marshal yesterday morning and moved out of his East Elmhurst home before his former Black Muslim associates could formally evict him.

Malcolm and 15 members of his newly formed Black Nationalist group arrived at the fire-damaged house at 23-11 97th Street, Queens, shortly after 1 A.M. Within four hours, they had loaded the furnishings that survived Sunday's fire bombing into three station wagons and a small moving van.

When Reginald Thorpe, the city marshal arrived with his helpers and a court order for the eviction of Malcolm X Little at 8:45 A.M., he found both front and rear doors locked. Title to the house is held by the Black Muslims who obtained the court order calling on Malcolm to vacate it.

Later, Malcolm, visibly upset and with his family at his side, held a news conference in the second floor office of his Organization of Afro-American Unity in the Hotel Theresa at 7th Avenue and 125th Street.

He declared with anger that his house had been set afire by gasoline bombs thrown by "Black Muslims who are out to get me and anyone else who leaves the movement."

Malcolm said he and his attorney were demanding an immediate investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation into "the fire-bombing of my house." He also announced that he was filing an application for a pistol permit "to get a gun to protect myself and my family."

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

31 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 2/19/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author:
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

☒ Being Investigated

105-8999

[redacted]

b7c

105-8999-5836

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DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/LP

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153308) DATE: 2/17/65

FROM : SA [redacted] (43) b7c

SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY
IS-MISC.

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b7c
[redacted]

b2
[redacted]

b2
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b7D

1- [redacted] (43)
1- [redacted] (43)
1- [redacted] (43)
1- [redacted] (43)
1- [redacted] (43)
1- [redacted] (43)
1- [redacted] (43)
1- [redacted] (43)
1- [redacted] (43)
1- [redacted] (43)
1- [redacted] (43)
1-NY 105-8999 (MALCOLM X) (43)
1-NY 100-153308 (43)

[redacted] (43) b7c

105-8999-5835

Searched Indexed
Serialized [redacted] Filed
FEB 17 196[redacted]
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4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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105-8999-5835 pages 2-4

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FBI/DOJ

FD-350 (Rev. 7-18-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Bottle of Gasoline Found on a Dresser In Malcolm X Home

Detectives investigating the fire bombing of the East Elmhurst, Queens, home of Malcolm X said yesterday that a bottle containing gasoline had been found on a dresser.

They said the bottle had been found "intact and upright on top of a baby dresser" in the six-room house, which is the object of a dispute between Malcolm and his former Black Muslim associates here.

The small brick house at 23-11 97th Street was partially destroyed by what was described as a "firebomb attack" Sunday morning. Malcolm X, his wife and four children escaped.

Detectives of the Astoria 114th Squad said that Malcolm had said "he knew nothing about the bottle of gasoline" or how it had come to be placed on the dresser. The police said they had found traces of gasoline on articles and pieces of glass bottles and that this material was being examined.

Malcolm, who now heads a Black Nationalist group in Harlem, said yesterday that his wife had discovered "a whisky bottle containing gasoline on a dresser" and had pointed it out to the firemen.

"We knew it didn't belong there," Malcolm said, when reached by phone in Rochester. "We don't have whisky in our home."

Malcolm has charged that the fire was started by the Black Muslims, who hold title to the house and who want their former New York leader to vacate it. The Muslims, in turn, accuse Malcolm of setting the fire "to get publicity" and sympathy.

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

34 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 2/17/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author:
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

XX Being Investigated

105-8999-5834

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DATE 2/8/84 BY 8269JHE/WEB/dd

SAC, NEW YORK [redacted] b2 b7C 2-17-65

SA [redacted] (43) b7C

[redacted] et al, b7C
Bombing Matters; DGP - Conspiracy

In connection with the investigation of the fire bombing of the residence of MALCOLM X LITTLE, leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), on 2-14-65, the following information pertinent to this captioned matter was developed.

b7C
b2D

[redacted]

b7C

b2D
b7C

[redacted]

b2
b7C

1-105-8999 (Malcolm X) (43)
1 [redacted]
1 [redacted]

b7C [redacted]
(3)

105-8999-2833

[redacted]

b7C

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DO NOT DESTROY - PENDING LITIGATION

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4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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105-8999-5833 page 2

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FBI/DOJ

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP/CL OF Class/Dtc 2/13/84

TO: SAC, BOSTON ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 2/16/65

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK ([redacted]-153308

SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY
IS - MISC.

[redacted]

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2/8/84
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FBI/DOJ

Herald Tribune photo by TERENCE McCARTEN

James X talking about Malcolm X yesterday.
"We had no need to burn our own property."

Malcolm X Accused

As far as James X, who is Black Muslim Leader Elijah Muhammad's chief minister here, is concerned, that person who threw two Molotov cocktails into Malcolm X's Elmhurst home and started a fire Sunday morning probably was Malcolm X himself. Earlier in the day yesterday Malcolm X was quoted as saying, "I believe the fire was done on orders of Elijah Muhammad."

Minister James says that Malcolm X is absurd because the house "belongs to the nation of Islam," Malcolm X was about to be evicted anyway and "we had no need to burn our own property." Asked if the Black Muslims were "out to get" Malcolm X since he divorced himself from the movement, Minister James said that was nonsense, however "if you lambaste Jesus you're liable to get your lumps."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY HERALD TRIBUNE

EDITION LATE CITY

DATE FEB 16 1965

PAGE 13

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