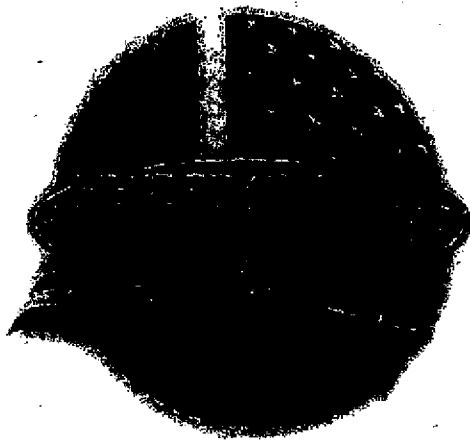


**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS**

Subject: Malcolm X. Little

File Number: NY 105-8999

Section: 80



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

SECTION 80

SERIALS 5911-5999

(February, March 1965)

156 Pages

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NY 105-8999-5974, 5975	HQ 100-399321-312
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Section 552a

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☐ (b)(3)

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☐ (k)(1)

☒ (b)(7)(D)

☐ (k)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(E)

☐ (k)(3)

☐ (b)(7)(F)

☐ (k)(4)

☐ (b)(4)

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☐ (k)(7)

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Defer 2 Hearings In Malcolm X Case

Criminal Court hearings against an accused assassin of Malcolm X and one of the slain Black Nationalist's bodyguards were put off today at the request of the District Attorney's office.

Judge Ruben Levy granted a 48-hour postponement for a hearing for Norman 3X Butler, charged with homicide in connection with Malcolm's killing. Minutes before, he granted a postponement until March 12 of a hearing of charges of felonious assault and weapons law violation against Reuben Francis, Malcolm's bodyguard and secretary, who is accused of wounding Talmadge Hayer, another of the accused assassins.

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

7 NEW YORK WORLD
TELEGRAPH AND THE SUN

Date: 3/3/65
Edition: 7 SPORTS
Author:
Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-399
Submitting Office: NYO
☒ Being Investigated

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DATE 2/8/84 BY 8260AHE/UEG/00

105-8999-57
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED

43 MAR 3 1965
FBI - NEW YORK

2 MALCOLM MEN SEIZED IN BRONX

Gun Found in Apartment—
Third Suspect Also Held

By PETER KIHSS

Three men, two of them described by the police as followers of Malcolm X, the slain black nationalist leader, were held in \$3,500 bail each yesterday on charges of violating the Sullivan weapons law.

In Bronx Criminal Court, Judge James J. Comerford set a hearing for next Monday. The three men, all Negroes, were arrested Monday night in an apartment of 597 East 164th Street, the Bronx, where police said an unloaded sawed-off shotgun had been found.

Inspector Thomas C. Renaghan, in charge of the Sixth Detective District, said two of the men—John 5TX Gray, 29 years old, of 2300 Fifth Avenue, and Cyril 2X James, 18, of 18 East 118th Street—defected with Malcolm from the Black Muslims of Elijah Muhammad and became members of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity.

The third man was Willie Hilton, 18, of 65 West 127th Street. Gray is a substitute mailman who is said to have given Malcolm lessons in judo and karate. James was described as a stock clerk for Haryou-Aet, the government-aided social agency.

3 Charged With Murder

Two men have been charged with the murder of Malcolm during a rally Feb. 21. One, Norman 2X Butler, comes up for a hearing in Criminal Court at 100 Centre Street today at the same time as Reuben Francis, a Malcolm bodyguard. Francis is accused of felonious assault in the shooting of another murder suspect, Thomas Hagan, alias Talmadge Hayer.

Butler, whom the police have described as a Black Muslim, is also due in Bronx Supreme Court today to plead to an indictment on a charge of first-degree assault. He is accused of the Jan. 6 shooting of a Correction Department officer, Benjamin Brown, who had defected from Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam.

Many Black Muslims have added "X" to their first names to replace what they call their "slave" surnames. When more than one person has the same first name a number is added to the X. Thus John 57 X.

Assemblyman Percy Sutton said yesterday that a burglary at his apartment at 311 West 118th Street on Monday night seemed unrelated to his having represented Malcolm as a family lawyer on purely personal matters.

2 Police Officers Praised

A peace meeting was held yesterday afternoon at the Black Muslims' office at 155 Lenox Avenue, near West 117th Street. Their spokesman, Capt. Joseph X, said their national weekly, Muhammad Speaks, would retract a charge that two Harlem Muslims were "wanted" as plotters against Elijah Muhammad.

The two men, Donald Washington, a former boxer, and Omar Ahmed, a former social-agency adviser, whose pictures are in the current issue, said such publication was "a mistake" that had been "settled by Islamic jurisprudence."

Elijah's followers are currently meeting in their Brooklyn mosque, 120 Madison Street, at Bedford Avenue. Their mosque at Lenox Avenue and 116th Street was wrecked by fire on Feb. 23. Joseph called it a fire-bombing.

Joseph praised two police officers, Capt. Lloyd Sealy and Lieut. Robert Johnson, both Negroes. He said Commissioner Michael J. Murphy "should be glad he had those two in the community" in Harlem.

NY Times
3/3/65
P. 53 - C.1

105-8999-5996

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FBI - NEW YORK	

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18200HT/KCE/LL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 3/3/65

FROM : SA [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X LITTLE
SM - NOI

[REDACTED] b1

[REDACTED] b1

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Manhattan: Arrest three fol-
lowers of the slain Malcolm X
as Sullivan law violators—re-
port Mrs. Betty Shabazz,
widow of Malcolm X, wasn't
able to help much to identify
slayers.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. HERALD TRIBUTE
NY _____
EDITION LATE CITY
DATE MAR 3 1965
PAGE 22
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Burglars' Ransack Office Of Malcolm X's Lawyer

"We're carrying it as a straight burglary," the detective in the 28th Precinct said last night.

Earlier in the evening the apartment-office of Percy E. Sutton, Manhattan Democratic Assemblyman and attorney for the late Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X, had been found broken into.

Files had been strewn around the room, desk drawers scattered about. Papers had been thrown on the floor.

"If there's any implication there we don't know about it yet," the detective said. The "implication" to be drawn was that the burglary was related in some way to the assassination of Malcolm X on Feb. 21 as he was addressing 400 of his followers in the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem.

Mr. Sutton, notified of the burglary by phone in his office in Albany, was reported en route back to the city last night.

Mr. Sutton had gone to Albany early yesterday accompanied by Henry Gordon, an assistant who shares the apartment-office.

Another tenant in the building at 311 W. 118th St.

said he had heard noises shortly before 7:30 last evening and called police. When they arrived they found that a transom over the apartment's hall entrance had been removed and the burglar or burglars had apparently entered that way. The police got in the same way so as not to disturb possible fingerprints. They called another of Mr. Sutton's assistants, Roger Ogilvie.

Mr. Ogilvie was unable to say last night what, if anything, had been taken from Mr. Sutton's office.

Mr. Sutton became identified with Malcolm X in mid-1962, when as president of the city chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People he attended a Black Muslim rally in Harlem Square and sat alongside Malcolm as the then Black Muslim leader assailed "white vultures," "blue-eyed guilty ones" and a "white gorilla" named "Uncle Sam."

He represented Malcolm last year when Black Muslim Mosque No. 7 went to court to evict its former leader from his Elmhurst home. He now represents Malcolm's widow.

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NY Herald Tribune
EDITION Late City
DATE MAR 2, 1965
PAGE 9
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105-8999-5992

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4G for Malcolm's Widow

Mrs. Sidney Poitler told the New York Post today that more than \$1,000 has been collected for the widow of Malcolm X.

The actor's wife, who is the treasurer of a group known as "Concerned Mothers," P. O. Box 1024, Church St. Station, New York, said most of the contributions are small—one, two, three and five dollars. The largest single amount, she said is \$100.

"The main concern," Mrs. Poitler said, "is the purchase of a house. We would probably have to buy it outright since she has no credit."

The widow, Mrs. Betty Little Shabazz, who is expecting her fifth child, is currently living with her children at the home of friends on Long Island.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY

Post

EDITION

Latent stock prices

DATE

3-2-65

PAGE

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105-8999-5989

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The Role of Malcolm X

The sad death of Malcolm X is a consequence of not just an internal conflict among the smaller minority within the Negro minority but also of a larger conflict between such an imaginative, able and ambitious young leader (not withstanding his controversial militancy) and the whole society, too preoccupied with its conformists to channel the creativity of its own outcasts.

One of the unfortunate outcomes of Malcolm's death might be that the civil rights movement will lack a constantly challenging, counter-checking, anti-tokenistic and anti-backlash element, much more needed now than ever before.

ASHAKANT NIMBARK.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY

Post

EDITION

Late City

DATE

3-2-65

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Widow of Malcolm X Speaks With Police About His Slaying

By PETER KNISS

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, met yesterday their congregations for support with detectives investigating. Although Malcolm professed the militant black national the Muslim faith, Mr. Cary said, the meeting was at the Protestant leaders' effort an unannounced place away was justified by his "emphasis from any police office, according on what constitutes manhood," ing to her lawyer, Oliver Sutton, including "the importance of."

"She will cooperate fully in self-defense by Negroes, a pride giving any information she in their racial heritage and re- has," Mr. Sutton said before the responsibility for self-help."

meeting. "It is my understand- Assemblyman Sutton, a Prot- estant layman, noted yesterday deeply involved in his move- that he had represented Mal- ment, but was a typical Muslim, colm and his family only in housewife without great private affairs and never rep- awareness of her husband's ac- represented his Organization of tivity. However, she is anxious Afro-American Unity.

that the true assassin of her husband be known. The police officers in charge of the investigation of Mal- colm's slaying Feb. 21. Assistant

Three fund-raising efforts are going on meanwhile for the Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle widow and her four daughters, and Inspector Thomas Rena- Assemblyman Percy Sutton, a phan, questioned three men: Harlem Democrat and Oliver last night at the Bathgate Ave- Sutton's brother, said a Mal- nue station house in the Bronx. colm X Family Fund had been Detectors seized the three in set up at the Freedom National a basement apartment at 597 Bank, 271 West 125th Street, East 164th Street where an He called it a long-range effort empty 12-gauge double-barreled to support the family until the shotgun was found.

children have "gained maturi- After being questioned for ty" and to provide them with nearly four hours, the three orthodox Islamic teaching. were booked early today and charged with violation of the weapons law.

A Committee of Concerned Mothers has been formed by Mrs. Sidney Poitier, Ruby Dee, Abby Lincoln and Mrs. Michael Olatunji to receive contributions here at Box 1021, Church Street Station, or Mrs. Poitier's home in Pleasantville, N. Y.

Assemblyman Sutton said the immediate aim was to buy a home for the family.

Harlem Protestant leaders have sponsored an Educational Fund for the Children of Mal- colm X. Its account is also at the Freedom National Bank. The Rev. W. Sterling Cary, of Grace Congregational Church, said that the 250 member churches in the Harlem-Upper Manhattan Church Association off a year ago.

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

19 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 3/2/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: PETER KNISS
Editor: CHRISTOPHER DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: CHRONI
or
Classification: RU 100-3924
Submitting Office: NYO
☒ Being Investigated

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DATE 2/2/84 BY 826 GHE/KAB/ldd

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5, TUESDAY, MARCH 2, 1965.

Widow of Malcolm X Speaks With Police About His Slaying

By PETER KIHSS

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, met yesterday with detectives investigating the militant black national-ist leader. The meeting was at an unannounced place away from any police office, according to her lawyer, Oliver Sutton. "She will cooperate fully in giving any information she has," Mr. Sutton said before the meeting. "It is my understanding that she was not herself deeply involved in his movement, but was a typical Muslim housewife without great awareness of her husband's activity. However, she is anxious that the true assassin of her husband be known."

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

A Committee of Concerned Mothers has been formed by Mrs. Sidney Poitier, Ruby Dee, Abby Lincoln and Mrs. Michael Olatunji to receive contributions here at Box 1024, Church Street Station, or Mrs. Poitier's home in Pleasantville, N. Y. Assemblyman Sutton said the immediate aim was to buy a home for the family. Harlem Protestant leaders have sponsored an Educational Fund for the Children of Malcolm X. Its account is also at the Freedom National Bank. The Rev. W. Sterling Cary, of Grace Congregational Church, said that the 250 member churches in the Harlem-Manhattan Church Association off a year ago.

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

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

The police officers in charge of the investigation of Malcolm's slaying Feb. 21, Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph L. Coyle and Inspector Thomas Renna, questioned three men last night at the Bathgate Avenue station house in the Bronx. Detectives seized the three in a basement apartment at 587 East 164th Street where an empty 12-gauge double-barreled shotgun was found.

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

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

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

NY TIMES
3/2/65
P. 19 COL 5

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Malcolm X Own Story of the Black Muslim Sect

Before he was assassinated, Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader who had been expelled from the Black Muslims, wrote the story of his Muslim experiences. In it he predicted he might be killed. This is Malcolm's own story, the Muslim movement as he knew it, and the story of his life in crime. It will continue daily and Sunday.

BY MALCOLM X

(Copyright, 1964: By Alex Haley and Malcolm X.)

MY FIRST DIRECT relationship with the Black Muslims and with Elijah Muhammad, their leader, began while I was in prison.

My brother, Reginald, had joined the Muslims in Detroit. He had spoken to me about the organization and he had caused me to begin reading literature about the Black Muslims.

This caused a drastic change in my life. It gave me an amazing insight into the Black Muslims.

For one thing I had my first experience in communicating Mr. Muhammad's teachings to some of the black prisoners. And, the other thing, when I had read enough to know something to talk with, I began to get into the weekly debating program—my baptism into public speaking.

I'd "knock out" my brother, Reginald, when he visited me in prison, telling him things I'd found that documented the Muslim teachings.

But Reginald, I learned later, had actually been suspended from the Nation of Islam by The Messenger Elijah Muhammad, charged with immorality. After he had learned the truth, and had accepted the truth and the laws of the Muslim, he still was reportedly carrying on improper relations with some woman of his who lived in New York. Some other Muslims who learned of it had made charges against Reginald to Mr. Muhammad in Chicago, and Mr. Muhammad had suspended Reginald.

I WAS IN A TORMENT. Finally, I wrote to Mr. Muhammad, trying to defend my brother, appealing for him. I told him what Reginald was to me, what my brother meant to me. I put the letter into the box for the prison censor. Then, all of the rest of that night, I prayed to Allah. I don't think that anyone ever prayed more sincerely to Allah. I prayed for some kind of relief from my terrible confusion.

It was that night, or, rather, it was the next night, I lay on

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

1

CHICAGO'S AMERICAN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 3-2-65

Edition:

Author: 3 STAR FINAL

Editor:

Title: LUKE CARROLL

MALCOLM X

Character:

or

Classification:

100-33593

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

Index - Investigation

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my bed. And I suddenly, with a start, became aware of a man sitting beside me in my chair. He had on a dark suit, I remember, I could see him as plainly as I see anyone I look at. He wasn't black, and he wasn't white. He was light-brown-skinned, an Asiatic complexion, and had oily black hair.

He just sat there. Then, as suddenly as he had come, he was gone. Later, of course, I learned that my prevision was from Master W. D. Fard, the Messiah, who had appointed Mr. Elijah Muhammad as His Last Messenger to the black people of North America.

Gradually I saw the chastisement of Allah — what Christians would call "the curse" come upon Reginald. He had begun to lose his mind — as we know it. In prison, since I had become a Muslim, I had grown a beard. He visited me, he moved nervously about in his chair; he told me that each hair of my beard was a snake. He saw snakes everywhere.

He next began to believe that he was the Messenger of Allah. He went around in the streets of Roxbury telling people he had some divine power. He graduated from that to saying he was Allah.

And, finally, he began saying that he was greater than Allah.

AUTHORITIES picked up Reginald, and he was put into an asylum, and stayed.

It was spring, 1952, when I joyously wrote to Mr. Elijah Muhammad and to my family that the Massachusetts state parole board had voted that I should be released. My record was good, and it may have helped that they knew I was a Muslim. Maybe they wanted me removed from spreading Mr. Muhammad's teachings among other Negro convicts.

I was paroled into the custody of my oldest brother,



FIRST meeting with this small, almost frail man, Elijah Muhammad, had terrific impression on Malcolm

Wilfred, in Detroit, who now managed a furniture store. Wilfred got the man who owned the store to sign that upon release I would immediately be given employment. Wilfred invited me to share his home and I gratefully accepted.

THE FURNITURE store my brother Wilfred managed was right in the black ghetto of Detroit.

It was the same kind of cheap, gaudy-looking junk that you can see in any of the black ghetto furniture stores today. Fabrics were stapled on the sofas. Imitation "leopard skin" bedspreads, "tiger skin" rugs, such stuff as that. I would see clumsy, calloused hands scratching the signatures on the contract, agreeing to highway-robbery interest rates in the fine print that never was read.

MOSQUE NO. 1 in Detroit was the first mosque to be formed, back in 1931, by Master W. D. Fard and the Messenger Elijah Muhammad. I had never seen any Christian-believing Negroes conduct themselves like the Muslims who came, the individuals

and families alike. The men were quietly, tastefully dressed. The women wore ankle-length gowns, no make-up, and scarves covered their heads. The children were mannerly and neat.

On the Sunday before Labor day in 1952 Detroit Mosque No. 1 Muslims went in a motor caravan, about 10 automobiles of us, to visit the Chicago Mosque No. 2, to hear, in person, The Messenger Elijah Muhammad.

I was unprepared, totally, for the Messenger Elijah Muhammad's physical impact upon my emotions. From the rear of Mosque No. 2 he came toward the platform. The small, brown face, the sensitive, gentle face that I had studied on photographs until I had seen it in dreams, was fixed straight ahead as the Messenger strode, encircled by the marching, strapping "Fruit of Islam" guards.

THE MESSENGER, compared to them, seemed fragile, almost tiny. He and the fruit of Islam were dressed in dark suits, white shirts and bow ties. The Messenger wore a gold-embroidered fez. Hearing his voice, I sat leaning forward, riveted upon his words. That Sunday after the meeting Mr. Muhammad, who had been Wilfred's house guest, invited our entire family group and minister Lemuel Hassan to be his guests for dinner at his new home.

I talked with my brother Wilfred back in Detroit. I offered my services to our mosque's minister, Lemuel Hassan. He shared my determination that we should apply the Messenger's methods in a recruitment drive. Beginning that day, every evening, straight from work at the furniture store, I went doing what we Muslims later came to call "fishing." I knew the streets' language, and its thinking. "My man, let me pull your coat to some-

MY APPLICATION had, of course, been made, and I received from Chicago my "X" during this time. The X for the Muslim was a symbol for the true African family name that he never could know; it would replace the white slavemaster name which had been imposed upon my paternal forebears by some blue-eyed devil. It meant, the receipt of my X, that in the Nation of Islam thereafter I would be known as Malcolm X.

Within a few months of our plugging away, our store front Mosque No. 1 about tripped its membership. And we had so deeply pleased Mr. Muhammad that he paid us the honor of a personal visit.

IN THE SUMMERTIME of 1953—all praise is due to Allah—I was named Detroit Mosque No. 1's assistant minister. Every time I could get off, I would go to Chicago and see Mr. Elijah Muhammad. He encouraged me to come when I could. I felt like, and I was treated like, another son, or another brother, by Mr. Muhammad and his dark, good wife, Sister Clara Muhammad, and their children, and his dear mother, Mother Marie.

I would sit, galvanized, hearing from Mr. Muhammad's own mouth the true history of our religion, the true religion for the black man. Mr. Muhammad told me that he one evening had a revelation that Master W. D. Fard represented the fulfillment of the prophecy, that on the Last Day the Messiah would come as lighting from the East and appear in the West to resurrect the Lost Sheep and restore

them forever to their own people.

IN 1934, READY to leave, Master W. D. Fard called together all his ministers. He instructed them that Mr. Elijah Muhammad was to be the Messenger to the Lost-Found Nation of Islam—who was the black man—in the wilderness of North America.

Then Master W. D. Fard disappeared without a trace.

Mr. Muhammad invited me to live in his home in Chi-

cago while he trained me for months. Then in March, 1954, the Messenger moved me on to Philadelphia. The City of Brotherly Love black people reacted fast, and Philadelphia's Mosque No. 12 was established by the end of May.

The next month, because of that Philadelphia success, Mr. Muhammad appointed me to be the minister of Mosque No. 7—in vital New York City!



ELIJAH MUHAMMAD



MALCOLM X



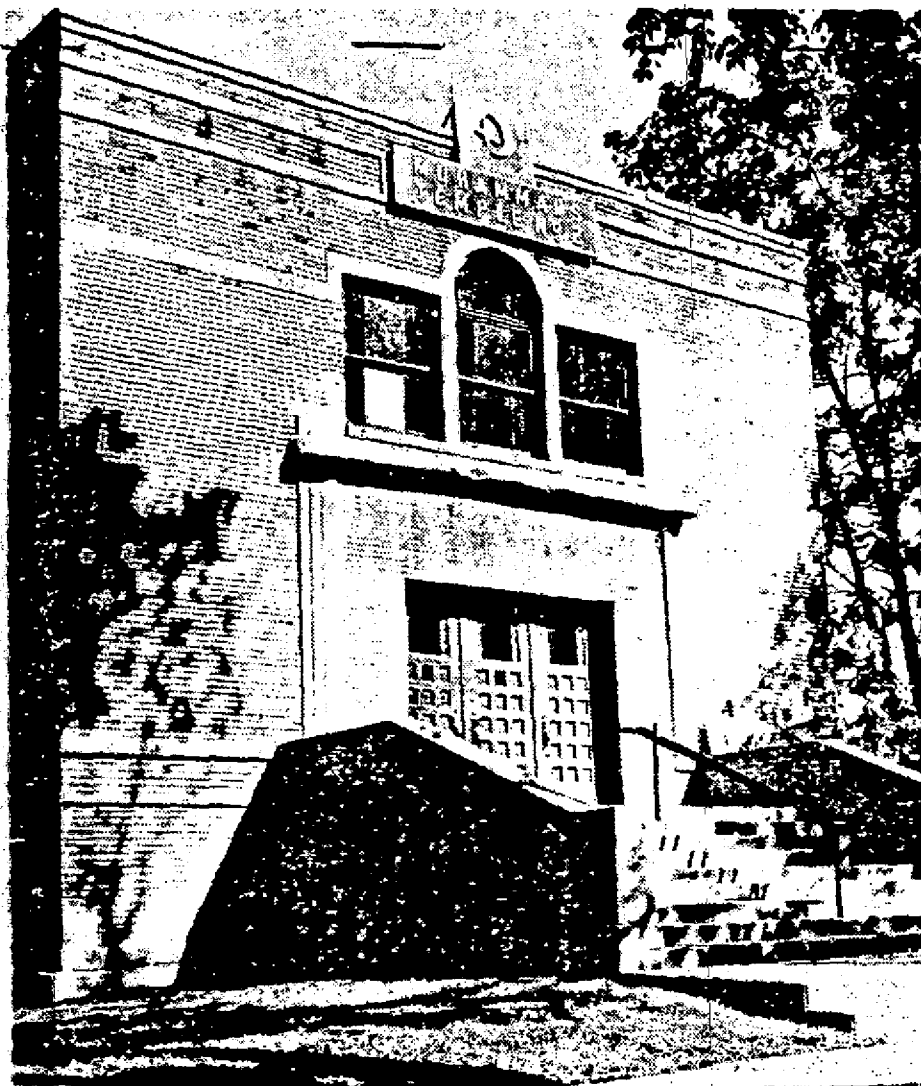
MALCOLM X carries his daughter, Ilyiah, as he is about to enter car upon arriving at Kennedy airport.



FIRST MAN to preach the word of Allah under the Black Muslim banner was Wallace D. Fard, who headed mosque No. 1.



AS A YOUNG man on the way up in the racist movement, Malcolm X attended a trial of 14 Black Muslims who were charged with assault in Los Angeles. Woman spectators seem quite impressed with Malcolm's remarks.



IN HIS narrative, Malcolm X tells of early inspiration in Mosque No. 2 on Chicago's south side. The first Black Muslim mosque was formed in Detroit.

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MALCOLM X: *His Own* *Strange, Revealing Story*

Robbery . . . Prison . . . And Muhammad

WHEN I HEARD the car's horn, I was walking on St. Nicholas Avenue. But my ears were hearing a gun. I didn't dream the horn could possibly be for me.

"Homeboy!"

I jerked around; I came that close to shooting.

Shorty—from Boston!

I'd scared him nearly to death.

"Daddy-O!"

I couldn't have been happier to see my mother! I knew Shorty had hit his number and that he was playing dates around Boston with his own band.

Inside the car he told me Sammy had telephoned how I was jammed up tight and he'd better come and get me. I didn't put up any objections to leaving town. I brought out and stuffed into the car's trunk what little stuff I cared to hang onto. Then we hit the highway and drove back to Boston. He afterward told me that through just about the whole ride back, I talked all out of my head.

My sister Ella couldn't believe how atheist, how uncouth I had become. Even Shorty, whose Boston apartment I now again shared, wasn't prepared for how I lived and thought like a predatory animal.

Now I knew that I'd have to have a hustie. Just satisfying my cocaine habit alone cost me about \$20 a day. I guess another \$5 a day could have been added for reefers and just plain tobacco.

When I opened the subject of house burglary with Shorty, he really shocked me by how quickly he agreed.

Shorty wanted to bring in with us this friend of his, whom I had met, and liked, called "Sonny." He worked regularly for an employment agency that sent him to wait on tables at exclusive parties at exclusive people's homes.

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NY N. Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN

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DATE MAR 2 1965

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I FELT THAT SHORTY WAS

absolutely right in wanting Sonny to join us in burglarizing homes. A good burglary team included a "finder" — one who locates lucrative places to rob. Then another principal need is someone able to "case" these places' physical layouts—to determine means of entry, the best getaway routes, and so forth.

Sonny qualified as a two-in-one find. By being sent to work in the finest homes, he wouldn't be suspected when he sized up their loot and cased the joint, just running around looking busy with a white cotton coat on.

We were going along fine. We'd make a good pile and then lie low a while, living it up.

But it's a law of nature that every criminal expects to get caught. I had put a stolen watch into a jewelry shop for its broken crystal to be replaced. It was about two days later, when I went to pick up the watch, that things fell apart.

I had on my gun in the shoulder holster, under my coat. The loser of the watch, the person from whom it had been stolen, had described the repair that it needed. It was a very expensive watch, that's why I had kept it for myself. And all of the jewelers in Boston had been alerted. That's how I was arrested.

The judge gave Shorty eight to 10 years. I got 10 years. They took Shorty and me, handcuffed together, to the state prison in Charlestown. This was in February, 1948. I wasn't quite to the formal manhood age of 21.

IN THAT CHARLESTOWN

jail I found out fast you could buy drugs. But I made so much trouble and spent so much time in solitary that I sweated out all my habits "cold turkey." Many times I thought I was going to die—but even this was only part

of the total transformation that was to come over me.

My brothers and sisters began sending me letters about a new, natural religion for the black man. One day Reginald wrote, "Don't eat any more pork." I tried it and did it, and for the first time in a long while I began to get a little feeling of self-respect, though I hardly knew even how to identify the feeling.

Reginald wrote more, about the worship of Allah and the American teacher of Islam, the Honorable Mr. Elijah Muhammad. I learned that when Mr. Muhammad went to Detroit he actually stayed at my brother Wilfred's place.

It was my sister Hilda who told me that Mr. Muhammad himself had been in prison, for draft dodging, and she suggested that I write to him. And on one visit she explained to me the key lesson of Elijah Muhammad's teachings, which I later learned was the "demonology" that every religion has.

Called "Yacub's History," once it is accepted by any black man, he will never again see the white man with the same eyes.

First, the moon separated from the earth. Then, the first humans, Original Man, were a black people. They founded the Holy City Mecca.

Among this black race were 24 wise scientists. One of the scientists, at odds with the rest, created the especially strong black tribe of Shabazz, from which America's Negroes, so-called, descend.

ABOUT 6,800 YEARS AGO.

When 70 per cent of the people were satisfied, and 30 per cent were dissatisfied, was born a "Mr. Yacub." He was born to create trouble, to break the peace, and to kill. His head was unusually large. When he was four years old, he began school, on the way to becoming highly educated.

At the age of 18, Yacub had finished all of his nation's colleges and universities. He was known as "the big-head scientist." Among many other things he had learned how to scientifically breed races.

This big-head scientist, Mr. Yacub, began preaching in the streets of Mecca, making such hosts of converts that the authorities, increasingly concerned, finally exiled him with his 59,999 followers to

Malcolm X finds himself at a crossroads of trouble—with a policy racketeer gunning for him, his life threatened by a young punk, and police eyeing him with more than just suspicion—at the opening of this third article of his own story. Prepared with Alex Haley, Malcolm X's autobiography tells his version of what made him the stormy character whose assassination fired such wide repercussions.

the island of Patmos—described in the Bible as the island where John supposedly received the message contained in Revelations in the New Testament.

Though he was a black man, Mr. Yacub, embittered toward Allah now, decided, as revenge, to create upon the earth a "devil" race—a bleached-out, white race of people.

He knew that it would take him several total color-change stages to get from black to white. Mr. Yacub began his work by setting up a birth-control law there on the island of Patmos.

THERE, AMONG MR. YACUB'S 59,999 followers, every third or so child that was born would show some trace of brown. As these became adult, only brown and brown, or black and brown, were permitted to marry. As their children were born, Mr. Yacub's law dictated that, if a black child, the attending nurse or midwife should stick a needle into its brain and give the body to cremators. The mothers were told it had been an "angel baby," which had gone to heaven to prepare a place for her.

But a brown child's mother ~~was~~ told to take very good care of it.

Others, assistants, were trained by Mr. Yacub to continue his objective. Mr. Yacub, when he died on the island at the age of 152, had left laws and rules for them to go by. Mr. Yacub, except in his mind, never saw the "bleached-out devil race" that his procedures created.

A 200-year span was needed to eliminate on the island of Patmos all of the black people—until only brown people remained.

The next 200 years were needed to create from the brown race the red race—with no more browns left on the island.

In another 200 years from the red race was created the yellow race.

Two hundred years later—about 6,000 years ago—at last, the white race had been created.

On the island of Patmos was nothing, but these blond, pale-skinned, cold-blue-eyed devils—savages, nude and shameless; hairy, like animals, they walked on all fours and they lived in trees.

SIX HUNDRED MORE YEARS passed before this race of people returned to the mainland among the natural black people.

Within six months of time through telling lies that set the black men to fighting among each other, this devil race had turned what had been a peaceful Heaven on earth into a hell torn by quarreling and fighting. Then the whites ruled.

It was written that after Yacub's bleached-white race had ruled the world for 6,000 years—down to our time—then the black original race would give birth to one whose wisdom, knowledge and power would be infinite. It was written that some of the original

black people should be brought as slaves to North America—to learn to better understand, firsthand, the white devils' true nature, in modern times.

The greatest and mightiest God who appeared on the earth was Master W. D. Fard. He came from the East to the West, appearing in North America at a time when the history and the prophecy was coming to realization, as the nonwhite people all over the world began to rise.

Master W. D. Fard, in 1931, posing as a seller of silks, met, in Detroit, Mich., the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. He gave Allah's message to Elijah and Allah's divine guidance, to save "the Lost-Found Nation of Islam," the so-called Negroes, here in this wilderness of America.

When my sister, Hilda, had finished telling me this "Yacub's History," she left. I don't know if I was able, even to open my mouth and tell her "good-bye."

Copyright 1964 by
Alex Haley & Malcolm X.
Courtesy of The Saturday Evening Post.

TOMORROW: Malcolm's name acquires the X.

SEIZE MALCOLM AIDES

Illegal Possession of Sawed-Off Shotgun Charged to 3 Followers

Three followers of the late Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X were charged early today with illegal possession of a double-barreled, sawed-off shotgun as the Black Muslims' feud continued to simmer.

Two of the men were formerly members of Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam Mosque No. 7 in Harlem but defected to follow Malcolm X into his Muslim Mosque, Inc., organization for Afro-American Unity.

They were identified as John 57X Gray, 29, a postal carrier and judo expert, of 2300 5th ave., and Cyril 2X James, 18, a stock clerk for the Harlem social agency HARYOU-ACT, of 14 E. 118th st. The third prisoner is Willie Hilton, 18, of 65 W. 127th st. All are of Harlem.

THREE IN PARLEY

Insp. Thomas Renaghan said the three men went to a basement apartment at 597 E. 164th st. last night to discuss the latest developments in the bitter fratricidal strife between the Black Muslims and the OAAU.

A fourth man, in whose apartment the meeting was staged, escaped arrest by not showing up. He was not identified.

BRASS ON HAND

The arrests brought top police brass hurrying to the Bathgate ave. station in the Bronx, where Insp. Renaghan and Asst. Chief Insp. Joseph L. Coyle questioned the men for several hours.

But the trio was not linked to the fire-bombing of Mosque No. 7 a week ago, which was considered a stroke of revenge for the killing of Malcolm X the Sunday before in the Audubon Ballroom.

Three men are still sought

in the killing. Two are in custody.

In another development, the Harlem apartment of State Assemblyman Percy Sutton, who was the attorney for Malcolm X, was ransacked yesterday while Mr. Sutton was in Albany.

Prowlers removed the transom from above the entrance to Mr. Sutton's third-floor apartment at 311 W. 118th st. during the afternoon and made a thorough search, leaving the place upside-down.

A tenant of the building heard noises, and notified Assemblyman Sutton's assistant, Roger Ogilvie, who called the police.

NO CONNECTION

In Albany, Mr. Sutton, who is now the lawyer for Malcolm X's widow, brushed off the suggestion that the prowlers were Black Muslims looking for documents or information.

"Anyone in the know—anyone like that—would know I had no connection with Malcolm's organization, but just as an individual," said Mr. Sutton.

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AIDE FINDS PERCY SUTTON'S APARTMENT RANSACKED
Roger Ogilvie Checks After Thugs Had Broken in at 311 W. 118th St.

Journal-American Photo by John F. Hopkins

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MALCOLM X:

His Own Strange,

Revealing Story.

'I Peddled Reefers Like a Wild Man'

Schooled in the code of the hustler, Malcolm X, at 18, finds himself jolted after his first brush with the law as this second article of his own story opens. Prepared with Alex Haley, Malcolm X's autobiography offers his version of the forces that shaped him into one of the most controversial American Negro extremists.

SAMMY, "PRETTY BOY," proved to be my friend in need. He put word on the "wire" for me to come over to his place. I went; I never had been there. His place seemed to me a small palace; his women really kept him in style. While we talked, about what kind of a hustle should I best get into, Sammy had the best marijuana I'd ever used.

Peddling reefers, Sammy and I pretty soon agreed, was the best thing. Both Sammy and I knew some merchant seamen, and others, who could supply me with loose marijuana.

And musicians, among whom I had so many good contacts, were the heaviest consistent category market for reefers — and then they also were for the heavier narcotics if I later wanted to graduate to peddling them.

I had the advantage that I had been around long enough to either know, or spot on sight, most regular detectives and cops, though not the narcotics people. Sammy staked me, about \$20.

I sold reefers like a wild man. Every day I cleared at least thirty or forty dollars. I felt, for the first time in my life, that great feeling of free! Suddenly, now, I was the peer of other smooth young hustlers around.

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The narcotics-squad detectives didn't take long to pick up that I was selling, and different ones of them, would tail me once in a while. One morning, though, I came in and found my room ransacked.

IT WAS THEN THAT I began carrying a little .35 automatic. I carried it stuck right down the center of my back, pressed under my belt. Someone had told me that the cops never hit there when they gave you any routine patting-down. I sold less than I had before because, mainly, being careful consumed so much time.

It was on the wire, finally, that the narcotics squad of Harlem had me on its "special list." Now was when, every other day or so, and usually in some public place, some of them would come up, and flash the badge to search me.

But I would tell them right off, loud enough for others to hear me, people standing about, that I didn't have anything on me, and I didn't want to get anything "planted" on me, and then they wouldn't, because Harlem already thought little enough of the law, and they did have to be careful that some crowd of Negroes, figuring they had witnessed a "frame," could set off even a race riot.

A Boston draft board, after I didn't respond at Ella's, had contacted her, and then had contacted their New York counterpart, and, in care of Sammy, I received Uncle Sam's "Greetings."

I had about 10 days to go before I was to show up at the induction center. And I went right to work. I knew I wasn't even about to get hooked into any Army!

THE ARMY "INTELLIGENCE" soldiers, those black spies in civilian clothes that hung around in different places with their ears open for the white man downtown, oh, yes, I knew right where to start dropping the word!

I started dropping it around that I was frantic to join — the Japanese Army. When I sensed, knew, that I had the direct ears of some of the "spies" I would talk, and act, high and crazy. I'd snatch out, and read loudly, my Greetings—to make certain they got who I was, and when I'd report downtown.

And the day I went down there—well, I costumed like a model. With my wild zoot suit and the yellow knob-toe shoes, and I frizzled my hair up into a crazy reddish bush of conk.

Let me tell you — when I went in skipping and tipping, and thrust my tattered Greetings at the reception desk's white soldier — "Crazy-O, Daddy-O, get me moving. I can't wait to get in, that brown"—why I will bet you that soldier hasn't recovered from me yet. They had their wire from uptown

on me, all right—I could tell, from his expression when his glance at my Greetings confirmed the name to him.

But they still put me in the line. And I had meanwhile sized up the situation. In that big starting room were maybe 40 or 50 other planned inductees.

The room had fallen vacuum-quiet, with me running my mouth a mile a minute, talking nothing but slang. I was going to fight on all fronts; I was going to be general, man, before I got done, and such talk as that.

MOST OF THEM in there were white, of course. The tender-looking ones appeared ready to run from me. Some others had on that vinegary "here's the worst kind of nigger" look. And a few were amused at the "Harlem jigaboo" archetype.

Also amused were some of the room's maybe 10 or 12 Negroes. But the stonyfaced rest of them looked as though if they were about to sign up to go off killing somebody, they would have liked to start killing me right there.

You see, why I made these Negroes really so mad was they were these integration-type Negroes. And what I was doing was confirming white people's image of Negroes right there among some of the white people that they were so anxious to get inte-

grated with and they knew those crackers probably would go to their graves fighting integration, after the show I was putting on.

Finally they siphoned me off. One of the white coats accompanied me around a turning hallway; I knew we were on the way to a "head-shrinker."

I must say this for that psychiatrist. He tried to be objective and professional in his manner. He sat there and doodled with his blue pencil on a tablet, listening to me spiel to him probably three or four minutes before he got a word in.

His tack was quiet questions, to get at why was I so anxious. I kept jerking around, backward, as though somebody could be listening. I knew I was going to send him back to the books to figure what kind of a case I was.

Suddeny, I sprang up and peeped under both doors the one I'd entered and another that probably was a closet. And then I bent and whispered fast in his ear. "Daddy-O, now you and me, we're from up North here, so don't you tell nobody . . . I want to get sent down South. Organize them nigger soldiers, you dig? Steal us some guns, and kill up crackers!"

A 4-F card came in the mail, and I never heard from the Army anymore.

BECAUSE of my reputation around it was easy for me to get into the numbers racket—about the only hustle left in Harlem that hadn't fallen off in business. My job now was to ride a bus across the George Washington Bridge, where a fellow who was always waiting would hand me a bag of numbers-betting slips. We didn't speak. I'd cross the street and catch the next bus back to Harlem.

I never knew who that fellow was. I never knew who

picked up the betting money for the slips that I picked up. In the rackets you don't ask questions. My boss, his wife and their daughter would be waiting in a room when I would arrive, just shortly before the day's first number was announced from downtown.

Our numbers-world ethics code was that I should play with a runner of my own outfit. That was how I began

placing bets with "West Indian Archie." This was one of Harlem's really bad Negroes, one of those former Dutch Schultz strongarm men who were around. It was status and class just to be known as a client of West Indian Archie.

ONE AFTERNOON West Indian Archie paid me \$300 out of his pocket for a 50-cent combination bet. I was planning to go out on a date. Later, when I got to the apartment of my friend Sammy, he told me that West Indian Archie had been there, looking for me. I couldn't figure out why.

Anyway, Sammy and I sniffed some cocaine to kill the time before I would go out and pick up my date. Then there was the knocking at the door. Sammy, lying on his bed in pajamas and a bathrobe, called "Who?"

When West Indian Archie answered Sammy slid under the bed that round, two-sided shaving mirror with what little of the cocaine powder—or crystals, actually—was left, and opened the door.

"Red—I want my money!"

"Man—what's the beef?"

West Indian Archie said he'd thought I was trying something when I'd told him I'd hit a 50-cent combination number. But he'd gone on and paid me the \$300 until he could double-check his actual written betting slips; now he thought I hadn't combined the number I'd claimed, but another number.

"I'll give you until twelve o'clock tomorrow to get that money back."

And that mad, mean West

Indian put his hand behind him and pulled open the door. He backed out, and slammed it.

IT WAS A CLASSIC hustler's code impasse. The \$300 wasn't the problem. I had, maybe about \$200 of it. But once the wire had it, any retreat by either of us was unthinkable. The wire would be waiting the report of the big showdown. I could see people who knew me finding business elsewhere. I knew nobody wanted to be maybe caught in a crossfire.

I just stayed high for a few days, but I was scared. "Some raw kid hustler in a bar. I had to bust in his mouth. He came back, pulling a blade; I would have shot him, but somebody grabbed him. As I was known, and they feared me, they put him out, cursing that he was going to kill me.

Things were building up, closing in on me. I was trapped in cross turns. West Indian Archie gunning for me. The scared kid hustler I'd hit. The cops.

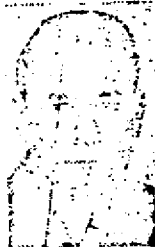


BROUGHT UP in a world of poverty and violence, Malcolm X eventually found the power to ~~draw big~~ draw big crowds in his role as a Negro extremist.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

By Woody Klein

News From Harlem Is Not All Bad



The sensational murder of Malcolm X and all the cloak-and-dagger escapades which followed are intriguing subject for speculation, but they do not deserve all our thoughts.

Malcolm was not powerful. He spoke in half-truths and appealed to many—particularly Negroes—because he was always half-right. He was a wild man some of the time; a proud man all of the time.

I will never forget what he said to my colleague, Dave Bulch, and me in the same Mosque Number 7 which was bombed last week.

We asked him why "X" for a last name. He said he refused to use a name given to his family by white men when his ancestors were brought over from Africa.

"What shall we call you then?" we asked.

He replied: "I'd rather have you call me Nigger!"

Malcolm's murder has set off an avalanche of stories about the possibility of further violence between groups of black nationalists.

But this has nothing to do with the civil rights movement.

Roy Wilkins, of the NAACP, does not consider Malcolm's death to be connected with the movement.

"If you look back 100 years," Wilkins says, "you won't see any sign of violence between Negroes within the movement."

Whitney M. Young Jr., who refused to appear in public with Malcolm, says he belonged to the past.

Even James Farmer of CORE, most sympathetic of the rights leader, says Malcolm's m-

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

15 NEW YORK WORLD
TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

Date: 3/1/65
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Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: CII-MOI
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fluence on the "mainstream" of the movement was small.

This is not to deprecate a dead man whose memory is dear to his wife, children and at least 10 close followers.

Malcolm could be charming and entertaining. He was not sinister, as some have portrayed him.

If we're going to let Malcolm's death cloud our minds about the meaning and purpose of the Negro revolution in America, then his murder will have harmed us all.

Malcolm was the victim of spreading violence in our country. For that we should be ashamed, but we should not, for a moment take our eyes off the greater things.

For, while there is violence and deprivation in Harlem, there is also a strong desire to build up communications between whites and Negroes.

Despite Adam Clayton Powell, the sorry state of Negro politics, the narcotics rackets, slums and all the evils which go with them, the news from Harlem is not all bad.

Many, many organizations have set up shop in Harlem in an effort to rebuild the community; social workers, businessmen, professional experts are moving in.

Discussions and joint projects involving whites and Negroes who never before spoke to each other for more than two minutes are not necessarily newsworthy.

But they represent an attempt to renew the spirit, as well as the body, of the ghetto. They symbolize a stubborn refusal to be defeated by the racists who thirst for violence.

Nobody close to Harlem can deny that tensions exist; but instead of just predicting another "long, hot summer" for 1965, we should be working harder than ever to prevent it.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Battle for Your Mind**Fringe Role
Of Malcolm X**

By SAMUEL LUBELL

WHAT EFFECT will the murder of Malcolm X have on the civil rights movement?

Perhaps the best answer that can now be given would be to examine the strangely ironic role played by Malcolm X and the Black Muslims in the whole stormy civil rights struggle of recent years.

Revolutionary movements need their extremists and "wicked partners" if only to make the less zealous leaders seem more reasonable and reassuring.

That seems to have been the part for which Malcolm X was cast. Headlined widely as a hate-preaching symbol of black violence, he was looked upon by many horrified whites as the darker, bloodier alternative towards which the Negro masses might turn "if something isn't done."

This fear made the demands of other Negro leaders easier to accept and helped advance the civil rights cause.

Certainly Martin Luther King Jr. lost no stature when his doctrine of non-violence was assailed by Malcolm X as "the best weapon that the white man who wants to brutalize Negroes has."

Voter registration seemed somewhat more pressing after Malcolm X called for "bullets instead of ballots."

"Big Red," as he was nicknamed, must have been aware of the effect he was having. He took such evident pleasure in thinking up new epithets of hate while taunting the "white devils" and urging Negroes to form rifle clubs for self-protection.



Samuel Lubell

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NEW YORK WORLD
TELEGRAM AND THE SUN

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Author:

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Actually the whole Black Muslim movement has always loomed bigger in white than in Negro thinking. Shortly after the Birmingham riots of 1963, I did a survey of Negro feeling in nine Northern cities. Only one in every 10 Negroes interviewed had something good to say about the Black Muslims. Often this praise was weaker than their criticism.

In exalting Black Supremacy, Malcolm X had preached the rejection of everything the white man stood for. But American Negroes have never wanted to be cut off into a separate nation or state, even when the stresses of ineffective integration have been heaviest. Always their drive has been to be accepted as equals by the white man.

"How can we ask for equality if we talk of black supremacy?" demanded a dentist in Canton, Ohio.

"I don't want a Negro country," said an unemployed factory worker in New Jersey. "I want to stay right here."

An electrical worker in Brooklyn declared, "I don't go for violence. Besides, we're outnumbered."

Many other Negroes have too strong a faith in Christianity to seek salvation in a Mohammedan mosque.

It is my own feeling that the civil rights cause will roll on without suffering serious impediment. The widespread acceptance of the new civil rights law and Sen. Barry Goldwater's crushing defeat have brought a basic change in the racial climate through the country.

Negro-white tensions will continue to rock the nation in the future. But the advances registered by Negroes have been sufficiently impressive to strengthen their drive to be accepted as equals and to weaken the angers and frustrations that might have spurred Negroes towards black separatism.

Step Up Search For Suspects in Malcolm Killing

"Harlem Heard"—See Page 12.

By CY EGAN

Journal-American Staff Writer

Investigation into the assassination of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X picked up in tempo today as police made new attempts to question his wife and followers.

It was hoped some light might be shed on the identity and whereabouts of one to three more men believed involved in the murder, in addition to two suspects already in custody and charged with the slaying a week ago yesterday.

Whether or not the Justice Dept. will launch its own probe in answer to demands from James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, remained uncertain today. Mr. Farmer declined comment on his discussion with the Attorney General's office.

DISCUSS RITES ROLE

The week's anniversary of the killing was marked yesterday by discussion among Negro leaders of Malcolm X's status in the history of the civil rights movement. Most agreed he had been a most articulate spokesman for Negro complaints.

But the trend of opinion was that the slain leader's following and impact on the Negro people had not been as extensive as might be indicated by the widespread publicity

given him because of his extremism.

Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, new Manhattan borough president, viewed Malcolm's death as opening "a brand-new opportunity to move in now and lead the people that he attempted to lead into constructive channels of activity."

CRITICIZES POLICE

Mr. Farmer charged that neither Gov. Rockefeller nor Mayor Wagner had "done enough" for civil rights and went on to criticize police for not giving Malcolm "more protection."

Bayard Rustin, major organizer of the 1963 civil rights March on Washington, said that a decade after the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed segregation in public schools, "there are more Negro school children in segregated classes than ever before."

Dr. John Morsell, assistant executive director of the NAACP, said there had been no positive achievements of Malcolm's movement.

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Describe Impact of Malcolm

By LESTER ABELMAN

Malcolm X continued yesterday to provoke discussion, analysis and scrutiny. Negro leaders went on TV and radio to assess the slain black nationalist leader's place in history.

They all agreed he would probably be best remembered as the most articulate spokesman expressing the frustrations of the Negro people.

Four Negroes appeared on the TV program, The Legacy of Malcolm X. It was their consensus that his place in history will be determined by whether the nation acts effectively to correct the slum life and conditions that produced him.

"Great Shock Value"

"He had the guts to articulate things which the black man felt," said Percy Sutton, Harlem Democratic assemblyman and lawyer for Malcolm's widow. "Malcolm had great shock value. He made it easier for us in the NAACP and CORE."

Bayard Rustin, who directed the 1963 March on Washington, said Malcolm's historical significance depended not on what the Negro community does but on the great majority of white Americans.

He said if white Americans failed to "eradicate" segregated education, slum housing and the Negroes' economic woes, Malcolm X would become the folk hero who was slain while fighting for justice.

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Mrs. Motley Speaks

Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, Manhattan's new borough president, and Dr. John Morsell, NAACP assistant executive director, said Malcolm was effective because of the publicity given to him rather than because of anything intrinsic he offered or because of the small number of people who followed him.

Interviewed on the radio program, Let's Find Out, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, educator and former chairman of the board of directors of Haryou, said that Malcolm, in the last part of his life, "was groping toward a more responsible leadership role."



(NEWS photo by Paul DeMaria)
Muslim star and crescent decorates grave of Malcolm X at Ferncliff Cemetery, Hartsdale.

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The Last Desperate Days of Malcolm X, Pursued by Death

By SAM CROWTHER

Journal-American Staff Writer

For the last 24 days of his life, Malcolm X was stalked relentlessly by Black Muslim gunmen.

He was shadowed by killers around the clock as he travelled coast-to-coast to gather evidence about his arch-foe, "Prophet" Elijah Muhammad, head of the Muslims. He was trying to expose the "Prophet" as a fraud.

In two of the nation's largest cities—Los Angeles and Chicago—he was placed under extraordinary police guard.

But in New York the police evidently didn't share the fears of authorities elsewhere.

The heretofore undisclosed details of how Malcolm X lived in the shadow of death for the last 24 days of his life were obtained by The Journal-American from followers of Malcolm X's own Black Nationalist Movement and law enforcement officials across the nation.

Through it all, it is patently clear that Black Muslim followers of Elijah Muhammad wanted Malcolm X out of the way.

And for three basic reasons, according to the findings of this newspaper:

- Malcolm X was investigating what happened to more than \$3 million collected by "Prophet" Elijah Muhammad from his followers.

- He was planning to accuse the "Prophet" of having had eight mistresses and 12 illegitimate children.

- Malcolm X had given secret testimony to the Illinois attorney general about the Black Muslims and their finances.

The last 24 days of his life began when he boarded TWA Flight 9 from New York to Los Angeles.

THE PLANE landed Jan. 28 about 3 p.m. at Los Angeles Airport and was met by Allen Jamal and Edward Bradley, two of his close friends. Also on hand was a detail of the special police Intelligence Squad, under the command of Lt. M. B. Phillips.

What happened during the 22 hours Malcolm X remained in Los Angeles was related by Mr. Bradley to famed Negro reporter Louis E. Lomax of the North American Newspaper Alliance.

"We greeted Malcolm and drove immediately to the Statler Hilton Hotel," Mr. Bradley recalled. "As we entered the lobby, six men came in right after us. I recognized them as Black Muslims.

"Malcolm checked into Room 1129. Jamal went upstairs with him.

"A short time later, they came down in the elevator

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and started across the lobby. They practically dumped into the Muslim entourage. The Muslims were stunned; Malcolm's face froze, but he never broke his gait. Then, we knew we were facing trouble.

"We drove away and picked up two former secretaries of Elijah Muhammad, who have filed paternity suits against him. One said she had three children by him, the other, one.

"We then went on to the office of Gladys Root, the well-known Los Angeles attorney."

Mrs. Root told this newspaper what happened at that meeting.

"Malcolm said he wanted to talk with the two women about their experiences with Elijah," Mrs. Root related.

"He said that many of Elijah's followers believed he had become corrupt and immoral and was violating the teachings of his faith. Malcolm said this man (Elijah) should not continue preaching the gospel.

"Malcolm said at least eight of Elijah's secretaries had become pregnant.

"He also said Elijah collected large sums of money from his followers.

"Malcolm claimed all the money went into Elijah's pocket and wasn't used for the building of schools or other benefits promised the Muslim followers.

After dinner that night Bradley and Jamal drove Malcolm back to his hotel.

"Black Muslims were all over the place," Bradley related.

"Some were in cars and others stood around near the hotel. They had the hotel completely surrounded. Malcolm sized up the situation and jumped out of the car.

"He warned me to watch out and ran into the lobby. He went to his room and remained there for the rest of his stay in Los Angeles."

When Malcolm left the hotel and headed for the airport and a Chicago-bound plane, the Los Angeles police apparently had a brief lapse. They did not trail him from the hotel but "Muslim enforcers" evidently did.

"Hardly had we got on the Freeway when we saw two car loads of Black Muslims following us," Bradley recalled.

"The cars started to pull alongside. Malcolm picked up my walking cane and stuck it out of a back window as if it were a rifle. The two cars fell behind.

"We picked up speed, pulled off the airport ramp, and roared up to the front of the terminal.

"The police were waiting and Malcolm was escorted to the plane through an underground passageway. Then, I saw Malcolm to the plane."

At 8 o'clock that night Malcolm X's plane touched down at O'Hare Airport in Chicago. A detail of police was waiting for him, headed by Det. Sgt. Edward McClellan of the Intelligence Unit. His chief is Capt. William Duffy.

Malcolm X was driven to the Bristol Hotel where police occupied an adjoining suite to keep an eye on him. The Black Nationalist leader was under continuous guard

during his three days in the Windy City.

Chicago is the home of Elijah Muhammad and some of the top Muslim followers.

While there, Malcolm gave testimony at the office of the Attorney General of the State of Illinois which has been investigating the Black Muslims for several years.

The probe stems from the question of whether the Muslims are entitled to tax exemptions normally given to religious organizations.

While in Chicago, Malcolm X appeared on the Irving Kupcinet TV show.

In the telecast, Malcolm told of several attempts that had been made on his life. He said he was so certain he would be killed that he had a letter on his desk naming the persons assigned to kill him.

Sgt. McClellan and his men were right there at the studio and escorted Malcolm X back to the hotel. When they reached the hotel, they spotted at least 15 grim-faced Negroes loitering nearby.

Malcolm turned to Sgt. McClellan and whispered:

"Those are all Black Muslims. At least two of them I recognize as being from New York. Elijah seems to know every move I make."

Later, in the room he spoke again with Sgt. McClellan.

"It's only going to be a matter of time before they catch up with me. I know too much about the Muslims," he declared.

"But their threats are not going to stop me from what I am determined to do."

The next day—Sunday, Jan. 31—Malcolm X flew back to New York. Chicago police escorted him to O'Hare Airport and saw him off.

It was the beginning of the final act in the drama of his stormy and brief career.

Chicago police notified Deputy Inspector Arthur C. Gribert of the New York City Police Dept. Central Investigation Bureau that Malcolm X was winging his way east and was being stalked by killers.

In turn, this information was relayed to the Bureau of Special Services (BOSS). This reporter attempted to find out what precautions, if any had been taken by police here to prevent the slaying.

"The Bureau's files are confidential," a police official insisted.

Malcolm X had hardly stepped off the plane at Kennedy International Airport when he faced a new crisis.

He was slapped with a court order evicting him from

The small brick home he occupied with his family at 23-11 97th st., Elmhurst, Queens.

Testimony was presented showing the home belonged to the Black Muslims and had merely been lent to Malcolm X when he was a member of the sect.

Malcolm decided to fight the eviction, and filed an appeal. Then, a week later he flew to Europe for speaking engagements in France and England.

Malcolm returned to New York Saturday, Feb. 13.

At 2:45 the following morning Malcolm and his family were awakened by a terrifying blast.

Some one had fire-bombed the house with flaming gasoline Mototov cocktails. It took the Fire Dept. an hour to put out the blaze which destroyed nearly half the house. Malcolm, his wife and their four children escaped uninjured.

Two days later he let it be known he was applying for a pistol permit.

"I have reached the end of my rope," he declared. "I don't know whether they will let me have one as I served time in prison."

Monday night, Feb. 15, he spoke in the Audubon Ballroom, 166th st. and Broadway, where just six days later he was to meet his violent end.

"My house was bombed by the Muslims," he shouted to a crowd of 500 followers.

Later in the week, Thursday, Feb. 18, Malcolm X decided to give up his fight to avoid eviction and moved his family to the Hotel Theresa in Harlem.

As the weekend approached, he told a close associate:

"I have been marked for death within the next few days. I have the names of five Black Muslims who have been chosen to kill me. I will announce them at the meeting."

Seeks Protection in 'White' Country

He moved into the New York Hilton Hotel where he stayed inside his room at all times except for dinner in the hotel's Bourbon Room.

For Malcolm, seeking protection in "white man's territory" was a tremendous concession. Only a security officer was on hand to protect Malcolm X at the Hilton. He thwarted efforts of the Black Muslims trailing Malcolm to find out his room number, but could do no more.

Yet the bespectacled, goateed Malcolm could not, or would not stay away from his people, even though he knew Muslim "enforcers" were stalking him.

It was clear and warm on Sun., Feb. 21 when Malcolm checked out of the Hilton and headed for Harlem and his people.

At exactly 3:15 p.m. Malcolm X mounted the stage in the Audubon Ballroom. There was a wild ovation as he walked to the rostrum.

After a minute the crowd quieted. Malcolm stepped to the lectern, looked up and said:

"Salaam Aleikum" (Peace be unto you.)

The audience responded. "We aleikum Salaam" (And unto you peace).

He had just started to speak when two men began arguing in the back-of-the-trail.

One shouted, "Take your hand out of my pocket."

Malcolm X's bodyguards started down the aisle, "Hold it, hold it! Let's cool it now brothers," Malcolm said from the stage.

Simultaneously, two men, one with a shotgun, the other with two revolvers rushed towards the stage.

A roar of gunfire threw the hall into pandemonium. The fusillade was deadly accurate.

Malcolm X clutched his chest . . . His eyes roiled toward the ceiling under the impact, he toppled backwards — his head striking the stage with a thud.

Malcolm X was indeed killed; having died as he had expected — by the violent creed that had shaped his life.

MALCOLM X:

Authority on Muslims Fears Frightening Legacy

By DR. C. ERIC LINCOLN

Author of the definitive book, "The Black Muslims in America," and the man who gave them their name.

MALCOLM X is dead.

For the Negroes in America his death is the most portentous event since the deportation of Marcus Garvey in the 1920's.

His death has blown to fragments the sentiments and loyalties of America's largest concentration of Negroes—Harlem, the notorious "Black Ghetto" on the Island of Manhattan.

But in a larger sense the assassination of Malcolm X has implications for Negroes everywhere, and for white Americans, too, for Malcolm X died in a struggle for power.

He died in a struggle for the minds and loyalties of the uncommitted masses who are the denizens of the depths: The depths of starvation, isolation, alienation, and despair. The social and economic Gehenna that is the Black Ghetto in America.

He left an unfortunate legacy of violence in the city he loved and for the people he wanted so desperately to lead. This is a sobering fact for the white and black people of New York as it is for all Americans.

The question of who killed Malcolm X is not the question of first importance. It is widely speculated that Malcolm X had been marked for death since his break with the Black Muslim movement.

A less subjective way of putting the case is to say that when Malcolm X accepted personal leadership of a segment of the Black Nationalist thrust in Harlem, he entered a highly competitive arena, where the fight for top leadership could mean death at any time for anyone involved in the struggle for power. Malcolm X knew this.

AS A FORMER BLACK MUSLIM, Malcolm X was well aware of the extraordinary security measures taken to protect Elijah Muhammad wherever he appeared at a rally. The elaborate "Honor Guards" surrounding Muhammad were not so much concerned with protecting him from the so-called "blue-eyed devils" (or Whites) as they were in protecting him from the various would-be black leaders who were his potential rivals for power in the Black Ghetto.

The point is that the intense rivalry for control of the black masses was productive of the bitterest antagonisms, and anyone who coveted this control did so at great personal risk.

Malcolm X accepted this risk. He knew that he might be killed, and frequently discussed the possibility. He lived with the decision that he himself had made to

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become a leader in his own right and in his own name. And like Patrice Lumumba, a man he admired very greatly, he paid for that decision with his life.

To say that Malcolm died as a result of internal rivalries within the Black Nationalist movement does not get to the heart of the matter in which his death figures so prominently.

The fundamental question has to do with how and why the Harlem community could develop an intra-racial rivalry of such proportions as to seriously threaten the peace of New York City, and to have important ramifications for race relations throughout America.

In the first place, Harlem is probably the most densely populated "black" community anywhere in the world. It is certainly the most densely populated Black ghetto on this side of the Atlantic.

In Harlem there is power—a tremendous potential power in the successful channeling of the energies that derive from frustrations, resentment, and hatred.

SUCH leaders as Adam Clayton Powell, and such organizations as the NAACP have barely touched the power potential that is inherent in a city of a million cooped-up, dissident blacks surrounded by an affluent (and often apathetic) community of whites who are in political and economic control.

Forty years ago, Marcus Garvey tried to tap this power potential and very nearly succeeded. Garvey failed, not for want of followers, but because he failed to discern correctly what the people wanted.

He thought they wanted to migrate to Africa to escape the white man, when, in fact, ever since long before the Emancipation, Negroes have insisted that they have no desire or intentions of leaving.

Elijah Muhammad learned from Garvey's mistakes. We don't have to go to Africa, he said. We can have a nation of our own right here! And indeed, Muhammad built a sizable Black Muslim empire on the promise of "a black nation right here in America."

Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, 41, is Professor of Social Relations, and Director of the Institute of Social Relations, at Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.

At the moment he is on leave from Clark at Brown University, Providence, R.I., on a teaching and study grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, of the Ford Foundation.

He is the author of two books, "The Black Muslims in America" and "My Face Is Black," both published by the Beacon Press of Boston. He has also been a guest

The majority of America's Negroes don't want a Black State "right here in America," either. They do want to be a full and accepted part of the American citizenry with complete access to the normal range of rights and responsibilities citizenship implies.

In places like New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago and Detroit where Negroes are crowded into ghettos under living conditions intolerable for self-respecting human beings; where decent jobs and advancement incentives are tied to racial identification, the social anxiety Negroes suffer often leads them along the precipice of violence.

My recent book, "My Face Is Black," predicted the Harlem riots of last Summer. Before the book could come from the press we had experienced the unprecedented phenomenon of four riots within the space of a few weeks.

NEGRO leadership is not agreed on the cause or the meaning of the riots. They have been called the handiwork of a few "punks and thugs" who took advantage of an explosive atmosphere in order to promote their own nefarious ends. Undoubtedly "punks and thugs" were involved, but this does not eliminate the troublesome question of why the atmosphere was "explosive."

At the time of the Harlem riots, Malcolm X was in Africa, whence he cabled his satisfaction at being absent for fear that he would have been charged with fomenting the riots. Malcolm X gave himself too much credit.

The conditions for a racial outburst in Harlem and in other large cities are inherent in the nature of the Black Ghetto, they will erupt in a nightmare of violence and destruction whenever there is a catalyst—an incident of sufficient invitation to set it off.

The present tenseness is a case in point. Although the overwhelming evidence suggests that the death of Malcolm X at the hands of a Negro assassin is purely

lecturer on social relations at Yale, Harvard, Brown, M.I.T. and other colleges and universities.

The Encyclopedia Britannica recently commissioned him to write an article on the Black Nationalist movements.

He holds the following degrees:

Bachelor of Social Science, LeMoyne College, Memphis; Bachelor of Divinity, U. of Chicago; Master's Degree in Education, Boston U.; Master's Degree in Religion and Philosophy, Fisk U., Nashville; Ph. D. in Social Ethics, Boston U.

the result of a fight among Negroes supporting various Black Nationalist policies, the white enemy has been repeatedly warned to take no comfort from this struggle for power among Harlem's blacks.

The demand that Harlem businesses should be closed as a memorial to Malcolm X was a thinly veiled hint, to the white merchant of Harlem that even in a moment of bereavement, the Negroes who live in the Black ghetto have neither forgotten nor forgiven the hateful presence of the white man in the ghetto he has constructed for the blacks.

It has been said that there are "international implications" in the slaying of Malcolm X. This I doubt. Unquestionably, Malcolm X has many friends and well-wishers in Africa and Asia (as does Mr. Muhammad, for that matter), but there is little to indicate that his death is in any way an international coup. Of the dozens of Black Nationalist groups in Harlem and elsewhere among our important cities, none is sufficiently attached to an extra-national power to make Malcolm's death a matter of international importance.

THE ANSWER is closer to home. The answer is in the local struggle among contending rivals for leadership of the black masses, which are potentially the most volatile sub-group in America.

The end is not in sight yet. Since World War II, the Negro in America has learned a lot about adopting causes, however chauvinistic, and being willing to suffer, sacrifice, and even die for them. The new generation of students working in Mississippi and Alabama and Louisiana are cases in point.

Negroes have also learned a lot about organized violence. Much of this they learned from the white man—in the South and in the North—the Klan, the White Citizens Councils, the Mafia, etc.

In a sense, organized violence represents a sort of "coming of age" for an ethnic group in its struggle for a share of America. It is a phase through which the Irish, the Jews, the Italians, and other groups have passed, or are passing.

Need the Negro travel the same road? And if he does, will he, because his experiences have been so much more bitter, and his suppression so much longer, be even more violent than his predecessors?

What will his struggle for leadership of the black masses mean for the effectiveness of the civil-rights movement? These are the questions to keep in mind as we watch the unfolding of the struggle for leadership in the Black Ghettos of America.



"He died in a struggle for power in a competitive arena."

Journal-American Photo



*"He knew he might be killed
and discussed the possibility."*



*"It has implications for Negroes
... and for white Americans, too."*



*Dr. C. Eric Lincoln: "Malcolm's
death is most portentous event..."*

MALCOLM X:

His Own Strange and Revealing Story

A Minister's Son, Born to Violence

WHEN MY MOTHER was pregnant with me, she told me later, a party of Ku Klux Klan riders came suddenly one night, galloping on their horses around our home in Omaha, Neb. They stopped with their upraised torches lighting all around the house to prevent any escape by my father. My mother came out of the front door. She defied them that she was alone with her three small children, and that my father was away, preaching in Milwaukee. The Klansmen shouted threats and warnings at her that we had better get out of Omaha because the good Christian white people were not going to stand for my father's "spreading trouble" among the local "good" Negroes with the "Back to Africa" teachings of Marcus Garvey—at that time, 1925, the most controversial black man on earth.

The Klansmen spurred their horses and galloped about the house, close enough to use their gun butts to shatter all of the glass panes in the windows. Then they rode away. My father, the Rev. Earl Little, was enraged when he returned. He decided that they would wait until I was born—which would be soon—and then the family would move.

I am not sure why he made this decision as he was not a frightened Negro, as most then were, and still are today. My father was a big, six-foot-four, very black man. He had only one eye. How he had lost the other one, I never have known. He was from Reynolds, Ga., where he had finished the third or maybe the fourth grade. Among himself and his six brothers he had seen four of them die of violence, three of them in the South, killed by white people, including one of them hung.

What my father could not know was that of the three remaining, including himself, only one, my Uncle Jim, would die in bed, of illness. Northern white police were later going to shoot my Uncle Oscar, and my father was finally, too, going to die at white hands.

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It has always stayed on my mind that I would die by violence. I have done all that I can to be prepared.

I was my father's seventh child. He had by a previous marriage three, Ella, Earl and Mary, who lived in Boston. In Philadelphia he had met and married my mother.

Their first child, my oldest full brother, Wilfred, was born there. They moved from Philadelphia to Omaha, where Hilda and then Philbert were born, and then I was the next on in line.

The family waited, as my father had decided, and my mother was 28 when I was born on May 19, 1923, in an Omaha hospital.

Loise Little, my mother, who was born in Grenada to the British West Indies, looked like a white woman. Her father was white.

She had black hair, and her accent did not sound like a Negro's. Of this white devil father of hers, I know nothing except her shame about it. I remember hearing her say that she was glad that she never had seen him. It was of course as a result of him that I got my reddish-brown "mariny" color of skin, and my hair of the same color.

I grew up as the lightest child in our house. (Out in the world later on, in Boston and New York, I was for years insane enough to feel that it was some kind of status symbol to be light complexioned. Now, I hate every drop of that white racist's blood that is in me.)

We next went to Lansing, Mich. A house was bought, and soon my father was doing free-lance Christian Baptist preaching in local Negro churches, and during the week he was moving about, spreading the Garvey teachings. He had begun laying the foundation for the store that he had always wanted to own when, as always, some stupid local "Uncle Tom" Negroes began funneling everything they heard to the local white people.

ON THE NIGHTMARE 1929 night which is the earliest vivid memory that I have, I remember being suddenly snatched awake in to a nearly petrifying confusion of pistol shots and shouting and smoke and flames. My father had seen and shouted and shot at the two white men who had set fire to our house and were running away. My mother with the baby in her arms just made it into the yard before the house crashed in, showering up sparks. The police and firemen came and stood around watching the house burn the rest of the way.

I remember waking up in 1931, again to the sound of my mother's screaming. When I scrambled out, I saw the police in the living room. All of us children who were staring knew that something bad had happened to our father.

My mother said later that she was taken by the police to the hospital, and to a room where a sheet was over my father in a bed, and she wouldn't look, she was afraid to. Probably it was wise that she didn't. My father's skull, on one side, was crushed in. And his body was cut almost in half where he had been run over by the wheels of a streetcar.

He had been bludgeoned by someone, and then laid across the tracks for the streetcar to run over. He lived two-and-a-half hours in that condition. (Negroes born in Georgia had to be strong just to survive.) It was morning when we children at home got the word that he was dead. I was six.

My mother was 34 years old now. She was very shook up. Some kind of a family routine got going again. And for as long as the first insurance money lasted, we did all right. When the state welfare people began coming to our house, we would come home from school sometimes and find them there talking with our mother, asking a thousand questions.

They were acting and looking at her and us and around in our house in a way that had about it the feeling that we were not people. We were just things, that was all.

We swiftly began to go downhill. The physical downhill wasn't as quick as the psychic. My mother was, above everything else, a proud woman, and it took its toll on her that she was accepting charity. And her feelings communicated to us, and among us children. It didn't help any when I began to get caught stealing snacks from stores, and the welfare people began to focus on me.

The state people saw her weakening. That was when they began the definite steps to take me away from the house. They began to tell me how nice it was going to be at the nearby Gohannes's home, where the Gohannes's and their nephew, "Big Boy," and old Mrs. Adcock all had said how much they would like to have me live with them.

When finally I did go to the Gohannes's home, at least in a surface way I was glad. I would return home to visit fairly often, and saw how the state people were making plans to take over all the children. My mother talked to herself nearly all the time now. The court orders were signed, finally. They took her to the state mental hospital in Kalamazoo. My mother is still in the same hospital.

I GUESS I MUST HAVE had some vague idea that if I weren't in school, I'd be allowed to just live at the Gohannes's and wander around town, stealing and loafing, or maybe get a job if I wanted one. But I got rocked on my heels when a state man that I hadn't seen before came and got me at the Gohannes's and took me down to court. They said I was going to the detention home. It was about 12 miles from Lansing, Mich. I was 13 years old. The detention home was where all boys and girls on their way to reform school were held, waiting.

The lady in charge of the detention home, Mrs. Swerlin, and her husband were very good people. Her first name was Lois, and Mr. Swerlin's was Jim, I remember. She was bigger than he, a big, buxom woman. She showed me to my room—in my life, my first own room. It was in one of the dormitorylike buildings where the kids in detention were kept. I discovered next, with surprise, that I ate right at the tables with them.

Different ones of the detention home youngsters, when their dates came up, went on off to the reform school. But mine came up two or three times; it was always ignored. I saw new youngsters arrive and leave. I was glad, and grateful. I knew it was Mrs. Swerlin's doing. She finally told me one day that I was going to enter the Mason High School.

The white kids there were friendly. Somebody, including the teachers, was calling me "nigger" everywhere I turned, but it was easy to see that they didn't mean any harm. "The nigger," in fact, was extremely popular. I was unique, the only one around—you know what I mean? Every Sunday I went to Sunday school and church. There was no black church to go to, so I went to the white one.

In Mason High I was elected the class president! It shocked me. More than it did other people. I see it now. My grades were among the highest in the school. I was unique in my class, like a pink poodle. I am not going to say that I wasn't proud.

Along toward the end of that year, our father's grown daughter, Ella, by his first marriage came from Boston to Lansing. After visiting each home where my different brothers and sisters were staying, Ella left. But she had told me to write to her, and she had suggested that I might like to spend the summer holiday visiting her in Boston. I jumped at that chance.

That summer of 1940 I caught the Greyhound bus, with my cardboard suitcase and wearing my green suit. If someone had hung the sign Hick on me, I couldn't have looked much more obvious.

Ella met me. She took me home. The house was on Waumbuck Street, in Roxbury, the Harlem of Boston. I saw, or met, I suppose a hundred people whose big-city talk and ways left my mouth hanging open. The cars they drove! I tried to describe it, when I got back to Lansing, but I couldn't. I thought constantly about all that I had seen.

One day Mrs. Swerlin called me into the living room. She said she felt there was no need for me to be at the detention home any longer. I wrote to Ella in Boston. I don't know how Ella did it, but official custody of me was transferred from Michigan to Massachusetts. The same week that I finished the eighth grade, I again caught the Greyhound bus. All praise is due to Allah! If I hadn't gone on to Boston, probably I'd still be a brainwashed black Christian.

THIS TIME I WAS BIG ENOUGH to walk around town by myself and I just knocked myself out, gawking. Boston's downtown had the biggest stores that I ever saw, and white people's restaurants and hotels. On Massachusetts Avenue, next door to the Loew's State Theater, was the big, exciting Roseland State Ballroom. Big posters advertised the nationally famous bands, white and Negro, that had been there. I saw that Coming Next Week was Glenn Miller.

I wanted to find myself a job to surprise Ella, to show her I could, mostly. One afternoon something told me to go inside a poolroom whose window I was looking through. Something made me decide to talk to a stubby, dark fellow who racked up the balls for the pool players, and whom I'd heard different ones call "Shorty."

And one day he came outside and saw me standing there with my kinky, reddish hair and he had said, "Hi, Red," so that made me figure that he was friendly. Inconspicuously as I could, I went on to the back, where Shorty looked up at me over an aluminum can that

he was sipping with the powder that pool players sprinkle over their fingers. His hair had been "conked" to make it slick and straight. I told him I'd appreciate it if he'd tell me how could somebody go about getting a job. He asked what had I ever done, and where. And that was how he learned that I'd been at Mason High.

He nearly dropped the powder can. He hollered "My homeboy! Man, gimme some skin! Man, I'm from Lansing!" Pretty soon we sounded as though we had been raised in the same block, and we were reacting like long-lost brothers. "You're my homeboy—I'm going to school you to the happenings." I just had to stand up there and grin like a fool, I was so glad to hear these words.

I hung around in the back of the poolroom, and Shorty, keeping an eye on the pool games up at the tables, would run and rack balls, then come back and talk. He asked my circumstances, and I told him about Ella and all. Shorty's job—or "slave"—in the poolroom there, he said, was just to keep ends together while he learned his horn. A couple of years before he'd hit the numbers, and bought a saxophone.

"Like all the cats," he told me, "I play at least a dollar a day on the full number with my main man. Soon as I hit that, I plan to organize my band, get the studs some uniforms and stuff." Before we went out, he opened his saxophone case and showed the horn to me. It was gleaming brass against the green velvet, an alto sax. He said, "Keep cool, homeboy. Some of the cats will turn you up a slave."

When I got home, Ella said there had been a telephone call from somebody named Shorty. He had left a message that over at the Roseland State Ballroom, the shoeshine boy, named Freddie, was quitting that night, and Shorty had told him to hold the job for me.

THE FRONT OF THE BALLROOM was all lighted when I got there. A man at the front door was letting in members of Benny Goodman's band. I told him I wanted to see the shoeshine boy, Freddie.

A wiry, brown-skinned, "conked" cat upstairs in the men's room greeted me. "You Shorty's homeboy?" I said I was, and he said he was a friend of Shorty's. "Good old boy," Freddie said. "He called me, he'd just heard I hit the big number, and he figured right I'd be quitting."

Then he gave a demonstration in how to make the shine rag pop like a firecracker. By the close of the dance Freddie had let me shine the shoes of three or four stray drunks he talked into it, and I had practiced picking up my speed on his shoes until they looked like mirrors. After we had helped the janitors to clean up the ballroom after the dance, throwing out empty liquor bottles we found, stuff like that, Freddie was nice enough to drive me all the way home to Ella's on the "hill" in his maroon, second-hand Buick.

He looked across at me "Some hustles, new, you just got to realize you're too new for. Some cats will ask you for liquor, some more for a 'stick'—refers. Whatever else they ask you for, you just act dumb, until you get able to dig who's a cop. You can make ten, twelve dollars a dance for yourself if you work everything right. The main thing you got to remember is that everything in the world is a hustle. OK, Red?"

—about two weeks I had found out that Freddie had done less shoeshining and towel hustling than selling liquor and reefers, and contacting white "Johns" for some Negro girls. Most of the Roseland's dances were those for whites only, and they had white bands only.

The Negro dances with Negro bands were only now and then. They jam-packed that ballroom, the black chicks in real way-out silk and satin dresses and shoes, and their hair done in all kinds of styles, and the gals (sharp in their "zoot" suits and crazy "conks," and everybody grinning and greased and gassed.

The first liquor I drank, my first cigarette, even the first marijuana—reefers—I can't specifically remember. But I know they all mixed together with my first shooting craps, playing cards, and betting my dollar a day on the numbers as I started some light hanging out at night with Shorty and different ones of his friends, and, sometimes, chicks they knew.

Mixed in with this, too, was my first zoot suit and my first processing of my kinky hair to straighten it, the conk Shorty had promised to school me in how most young cats beat the barbershops' three-and four-dollar price by making their own "congolene," and conking themselves once they learned how.

Shorty would take me to groovy, frantic scenes (parties) in different chicks' and cats' pads. With the lights and the jukebox down mellow, we "blew gage" (smoked marijuana) or "juiced back" (drank liquor). The chicks I met were fine as May wine, the cats were hip to all happenings. (That's just to give a taste of the gang that was talked by everyone whom I respected in those days.) I'd acquired the fashionable ghetto adornments: my zoot suits and a conk; I had begun drinking liquor, smoking cigarettes and reefers, and I was absorbing a lot of the "hip" dialogue.

YOU WOULDN'T HAVE BELIEVED it was me.

"Getcha goooooo haaaaaaman' cheeeteeeee . . . sandwiches! Coffee! Candy! Cake! Ice cream!"

Rocking along the tracks every other day for four hours between Boston and New York, in the coach-car aisles of the New Haven line's Yankee Clipper.

An old Pullman porter, a friend of Ella's, had recommended the railroad job for me. He had told her that the war was snatching away railroad men so fast that if I could pass for 21, he could get me on. I knew that several New Haven trains ran between Boston and New York. Secretly, for years, I had wanted to visit New York City.

Right there since I had been in Roxbury, I had heard so much raving about "The Big Apple," as it was called, by various kinds of people who traveled a lot, by musicians, merchant-marine sailors, chauffeurs for white families, salesmen and different hustlers.

Anyway, at the railroad-personnel hiring office down on Dover Street, a tired-looking, grayheaded, old white clerk got down to the crucial point, "Age?" When I told him "Twenty-one," he never lifted his eyes up from his pencil. And I knew I had it made.

The dining-car crew told me before we left Boston that their favorite spot in New York was a place called Small's Paradise. The cooks took me up to Harlem with them, in a cab. White New York passed by like a scenario then almost abruptly, when we left Central Park at the upper end, at 110th Street, the people's complexion changed to Negroes. It was about five-thirty in the afternoon.

—Busy Seventh Avenue ran along in front of Small's

Paradise. No Negro place of business had ever impressed me so much. Around the big, luxurious-looking circular bar probably were 30 or 40 men, or mostly men, and several women, drinking and talking.

From then on, every layover night in Harlem, I explored new places. I first got a room at the Harlem YMCA because it was less than a block from Small's Paradise. Then I got a room, cheaper, at a rooming house where most of the railroad men stayed.

I hung in Small's and the Braddock bar so much that the bartenders began to pour bourbon, my favorite brand of it, when they saw me. And the steady customers in both places, the hustlers in Small's and the musicians and entertainers in the Braddock, began to call me "Red," the nickname that my red conk made natural, I know.

My musical friends were of the caliber of Duke Ellington's great drummer, Sonny Greer, and that great personality with the violin, Ray Nance. Ray's the one who sang that wild "scat" style, that "bloo-blop-blo-blop-bla-bloo-blam-blam—" Remember that? And people like Cootie Williams; a little later on Pearl Bailey sang with Cootie. And Eddie (Mr. Cleanhead) Vinson; in the Braddock he'd kid me about his conk—he had nothing up there but skin. I knew Cy Oliver; he was married to a kind of red girl, and they lived up on "Sugar Hill," and he did a lot of arranging for Tommy Dorsey.

By that time, on the Yankee Clipper, they had a laughing bet going among the waiters that I wasn't going to last. Because I had so rapidly become such a wild young Negro. I'd come to work, loud and wild and half high off either liquor or reefers, and I'd stay that way, jamming sandwiches at people until we got to New York.

Off the train I'd go through that Grand Central Station afternoon rush hour crowd, and many people simply stopped in their tracks to watch me pass. The drape and the cut of a zoot suit showed to the best advantage if you were tall, remember—and I was over six feet.

My conk was fire-red. My knob-toed, orange-colored "kickup" shoes were the Cadillac of shoes in those days. (They made these ridiculous styles for sale only in the black ghettos where ignorant Negroes like me would pay the big-name price.) And then, between Small's Paradise, the Braddock Hotel, and other places, as much as my \$20 or \$25 would let me, with my increasing number of friends

I drank liquor, smoked marijuana, and got a few hours' sleep before the Yankee Clipper rolled again.

What did me in was that when some passenger wrote the New Haven line a mild letter, the conductors backed up, telling how many verbal complaints they'd had, and how many warnings I'd been given. I didn't care.

Me quitting the railroad was in my mind only a matter of time anyway. And I knew that the way the Army was snatching up anybody who was warm and able to walk, all the jobs I could want were going begging.

Back in New York, stony broke, I went over to Small's Paradise. One of the bartenders called me aside and said that if I went downstairs right away to the office, I might be able to replace a day waiter who was about to go into the Army.

Ed Small and his brother, Charlie, had seen me in the place so much that it made it pretty easy. They also knew I was a railroad man, which, for a waiter, was the best kind of recommendation. It was in 1942, just past my 17th birthday.

WEST SMALL'S practically in the center of every-
thing happening, waiting tables there was Seventh
Heaven seven times over! Charlie Small had told me
not to be late! Why, what was he talking about? I was
so anxious to be there. I'd arrive an hour early! Inside a
week I don't know who liked me most, the cooks or the
bartenders.

And the customers, who had seen me among them
around the bar, recognizing me now in the waiter's
jacket, were surprised, pleased, and they couldn't have
been more friendly. Recognizing that by New York terms
I still was just a hick, they began to school me.

Plain-clothes detectives were quietly identified to
me, by a nod, a wink. Knowing the law people in the
area was elementary for the hustlers, and, like them,
in time, I would learn to sense almost the presence of
any police and agent types. And added to the civilian
ones then in 1942, each of the military services had
civilian-dressed "eyes" and "ears."

Every day, all of my tips—as high as \$10 a day—I
would gamble on the numbers, and dream of what I
would do and buy as soon as I "hit." The straight num-
ber chances of hitting were a thousand-to-one, but your
chances could be increased by what was called "com-
bining." For example, six cents would put one penny
on each of the six possible combinations of three digits.
Take the number 840, say. "Combined," it would cover
840, 804, 048, 408, 480 and 084.

The daily small army of "runners" each got 10 per
cent of the money they turned in, along with the bet
slips, to their "controllers." (And if you hit, you gave
the runner a 10 per cent tip.) A controller might have
as many as 50 runners working for him, and the con-
troller got 5 per cent of what he turned over to the
"bankers" who paid off the hits, paid off the police,
and, off the balance, got rich.

I should stress that Small's wasn't any haven for
criminals. I dwell upon hustlers because it was their
world that fascinated me. Actually, for the night-life
crowd, most of which the hustlers regarded as "square,"
Small's was one of the two or three most decorous night
spots that Harlem had. It was formally recommended by
the New York City Police Department to white people
who would ask where was safe to go in Harlem.

When I had been around Harlem long enough to
show signs of permanence, it was inevitable that I was
going to get a nickname that would identify me beyond
any confusion with two other red-conked and well-known
"Reds" who were around. I had met them both.

One was "St. Louis Red," a professional armed rob-
ber. When I was sent to prison, he was doing some time
for trying to stick up a dining-car steward on a train
between New York and Philadelphia.

The other one was "Chicago Red." In a speakeasy
where I was a waiter later on, he was the funniest dish-
washer on this earth, and we became good buddies. Now
he's making his living being funny as a nationally known
stage and nightclub comedian. (I don't see any reason
why old "Chicago Red" would mind me telling that he
is "Redd Foxx.")

Anyway, before long, it happened. Different people,
knowing I was from Michigan, would ask me what city.
Since most New Yorkers never heard of hicktown Lansing,
I would say "Detroit." Gradually, I began being called
"Detroit Red"—and it spread, and stuck.

One afternoon in early 1943, before the regular six
o'clock Small's hustling crowd had gathered, this real
Georgia-looking black soldier sat drinking at one of my
tables by himself. He looked dumb and pitiful, and it
was because of that why I did one of the dumbest things
I ever did in those years. The next drink that I served
this soldier, I bent over close wiping the table, and asked
him if he wanted company.

I knew better. It wasn't only Small's Paradise law.
It was every tavern's law, at least if it wanted to stay
in business, not to get involved with anything that could
be interpreted as impairing the morals of servicemen.
Big trouble had been caused by this for dozens of places,
some even well known places had been put off limits by
the military, and some even had lost their state or city
licenses.

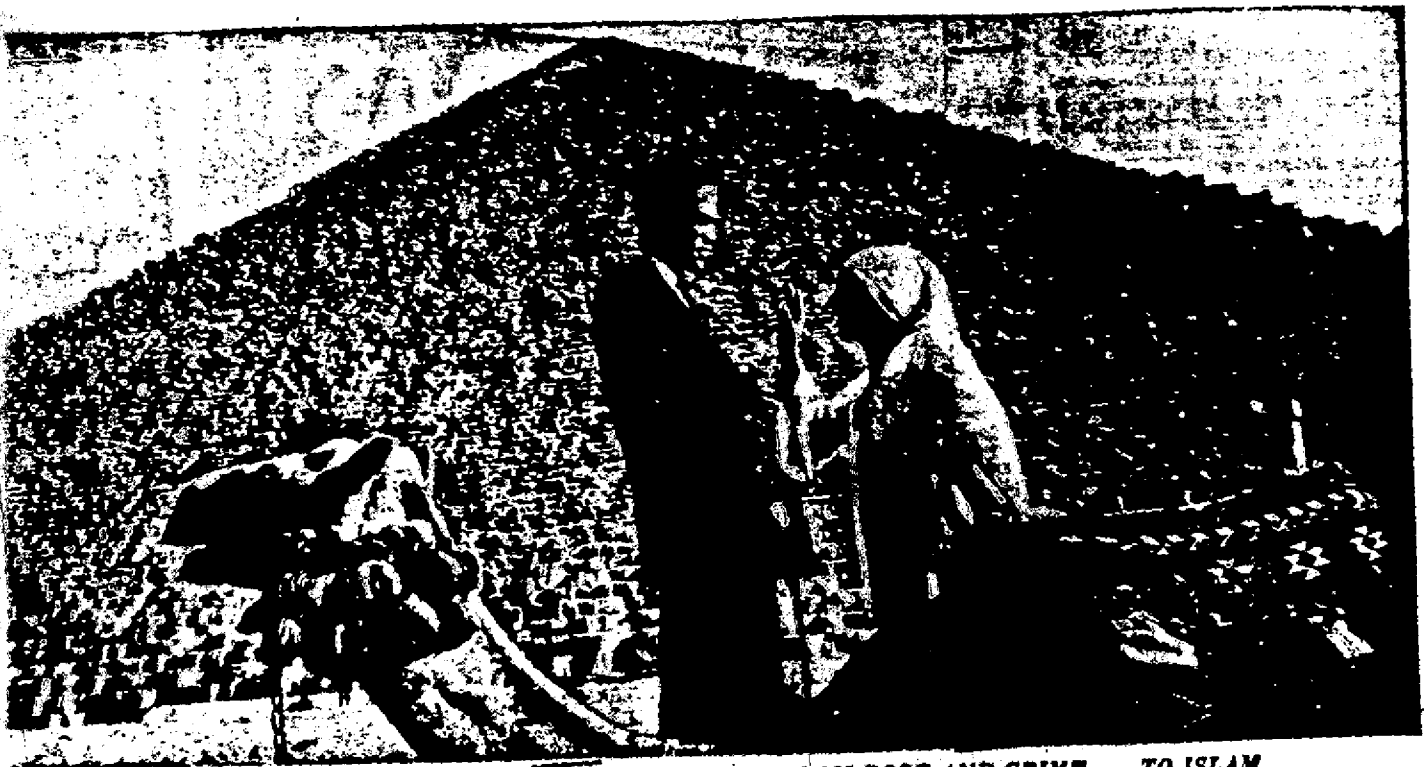
And I had suckered myself right into the hands of
one of those military "spies." Why, this black tool of the
white man said he sure would like some company so
gratefully; he even had a dumb Georgia accept! And I
gave him the phone number of one of my best friends.
I gave the fellow a half hour to have gotten there, and
then I telephoned. I expected what the woman said to
me, that no one like that had been there.

I didn't even go back out to the bar. I just went
straight to Charlie Small's office. "I just did something,
Charlie," I said, "I don't know why I did it ——" And I
told him what I'd done.

Charlie looked at me. "I wish you hadn't done that,
Red." We both knew what he meant.

When the West Indian plain-clothes detective,
Charlie Barts, came in, I was waiting. When we got to
the 135th Street precinct, it was busy with police in uni-
form, I reflected that two things were in my favor: I'd
never given the police any trouble, and when that black
spy soldier had tried to tip me, I had waved it away and
told him I was just doing him a favor. I saw some other
detectives side-mouthing with Charlie Barts, and I think
that when these factors were discussed, they sort of
agreed that Charlie Barts should just scare me.

Even more bitter to take than the just getting fired,
they barred me out of Small's, I could understand. Even
if I wasn't actually what was called "hot," I automatically
was going to be under surveillance now; the brothers had
to protect their business. I wasn't a qualified hustler as
yet, but I surely had become schooled in their code. I
was broke and on my own again, 18 years old.



MALCOLM X ... HE TRAVELED A LONG ROAD ... FROM DOPE AND CRIME ... TO ISLAM



Edward Bradley, a Close Friend of Malcolm X, Razes Stalking by Black Muslims in LA.

HARLEM IS QUIET AS CROWDS WATCH MALCOLM X RITES

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

POLICE GUARD IS HEAVY

**500 Pack Church—Throngs
Outside Hear the Moslem
Service Broadcast**

By MARTIN ARNOLD
Malcolm X, a black national-
ist who had told Negroes they
must meet violence with vio-
lence, went to his grave yes-
terday eulogized as a man who
died believing in the brother-
hood of man.

Several thousand people
jammed the sidewalks in the
bitter cold and about 500
packed the Christian church
where the Moslem services
were held.

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

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

The funeral service took place
at Faith Temple, Church of God
in Christ, an old motion picture
theater at 147th Street and
Queens Avenue.

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Concrete Line Sidewalk

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

The police were all over—the street corners on Amsterdam Avenue, which had been blocked off for traffic from 145th to 149th Street, and in the roofs.

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

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

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

At 9:20 the doors of the church were opened, and the mourners filed past the body of Malcolm X. The body was carried to the church by a large number of men and women, carried by women were searched by the police.

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

The bronze coffin was wheeled into the converted movie theater and placed on a platform, draped in dark red velvet, in front of the altar. It was opened, and the first few mourners were able to view Malcolm's body in a white burial sheet, through a glass no-

Symbols of Christianity

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

To the rear of the altar, 60 newspaper reporters and photographers and television cameramen were jammed beneath two side murals depicting scenes in the life of Christ. The funeral was broadcast as it took place on N.B.C.-TV.

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

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

A Design of Carnations

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

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

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

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

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

Speaker Is Applauded

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

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

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

While the rite was proceeding inside, the crowd continued to grow outside.

A white girl in her mid-20's, speaking with an English accent, said of Malcolm: "He was a fascinating man—a remarkably fascinating man. That's why I'm here."

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

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

Bomb Threats

Original plans had called for part of the overflow crowd to be seated in the church basement, where they could hear the services through loudspeakers, but because of bomb threats the police closed off that section. The crowds standing in the street heard the services via loudspeaker, however.

Inside, Mr. Davis was starting his eulogy.

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

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

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

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

tions to the group at Post Office Box 1024, Church Street Station, New York City.

Under Moslem law, Malcolm should have been buried before the sun went down last Monday night, but his widow delayed the funeral to give several African leaders time to fly here.

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

After Mr. Davis's eulogy the brief prayers said for every Moslem at his death were intoned by Alhajj Hesham Jaaber of Ansar of Islam, Inc., a young Negro from Elizabeth, N. J.

Some of Malcolm's close associates and his widow and sister, Ella Mae Collins of Boston, then filed past the coffin before it was closed for the last time. The two women wore black mourning clothes and were heavily veiled.

Malcolm's body was placed in a light-and-dark-blue hearse for the trip to the nonsectarian

Ferncliff Cemetery in Harisdale. The hearse was followed by seven limousines and about 20 other automobiles.

More than 250 mourners heard Alhajj Hesham Jaaber wearing a brown cloak and black-banded white turban, deliver Moslem prayers at the graveside, and then six followers of Malcolm shoveled black earth onto the coffin.

Malcolm's grave will be marked only by a bronze plate 14 by 24 inches, flush with the ground.

Hunt Is Still On

The 39-year-old cultist, whose original name was Malcolm Little, was shot down Sunday afternoon at a rally of his followers in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 168th Street, in Washington Heights.

Two men have been arrested and charged with the slaying. They are Talmadge Hayer, 22, who was wounded by one of Malcolm's bodyguards immediately after the shooting, and Norman Butler, also known as Norman 3X, a husky karate expert, who was a Black Muslim guard.

Malcolm had defected from the Black Muslims last spring, and the police believe that this defection was behind the slaying.

Three other men are being sought in the crime.

At one point Mr. Davis said that an organization calling itself Concerned Mothers was raising money for Malcolm's widow and four children. "Those who want to continue what you so generously began," he said, "should send contribu-



BURIAL: The widow of Malcolm X watches his coffin being lowered into the grave at the Ferncliff cemetery in Ardsley, N.Y. Next to her, in robes, is Alhajj Hoshaam Jaaber of Elizabeth, N.J., a Moslem, who conducted the burial services according to the Muslim rite.

The New York Times

The Many Heirs to Malcolm's Mantle

By Claude Lewis
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

On the sidewalk outside the Unity Funeral Home where Malcolm X lay in a copper coffin last week, a young Negro was speaking about black nationalism. "This is the only possible answer to the black man's problems," he said. "Brother Malcolm tried to get this message across. He's dead now, but I'm still alive. And as long as there's a breath left in my body Malcolm X's words will not die."

The young man, who called himself "Comanche," was talking to a reporter, and within a few minutes a small crowd began to form and his voice began to rise, attracting one of the nearly 50 policemen who guarded the entrance to the funeral home. "Move along buddy," the white policeman said softly. "Please don't block the entrance."

As the young Negro, in the buffalo-skin jacket moved up Eighth Ave. toward 127th St., he continued to speak, his small crowd trailing along behind him. "The white man is a devil," he said. "And when Whitey gets angry you can almost see the horns rise on his forehead. The black man has to learn to do without Whitey. We got to do for ourselves. We got to stop drinking and stop smoking and stop letting the white man abuse our women."

FAMILIAR STORY

"Preach, brother," someone in the crowd shouted. "Preach in the name of Brother Malcolm." And the young man, his nostrils dilating in anger, continued to preach.

All over Harlem this scene was repeated last week. Sometimes it was on Seventh Ave. and sometimes it was on Lenox Ave. as policemen stood by trying to be as inconspicuous as possible. "Our enemy is the cops," one man at Eighth Ave. and 124th St. said. "They keep us locked up in this ghetto. We got to break out. I'm startin' a new organization in the memory of Malcolm. I want you to sign up!" The crowd, about 30 people, surged forward. At that moment, the Black Brotherhood, the newest of more than 20-odd nationalist organizations in Harlem, was born. The group, which has no headquarters yet, will be led, if it survives its next meeting in two weeks, by a 27-year-old Negro who calls himself Omar Naceem.

"The only way the black man is going to become whole is to build a black community," said Mr. Naceem between sips of dark coffee at a rear booth in Sally's Luncheonette on Seventh Ave. "I'm not talking about a separate state or anything like that. That idea is unrealistic. The only way you're gonna get a separate state out of Uncle Sam is to take it. And don't tell me that a bunch of black men with switchblades is gonna overthrow Sam."

"What we've got to do is to make Harlem a true black community. We've got to take over the businesses, build our own factories. We have to stop begging and start building. Somehow we've got to get rid of all our black leaders who are fronting for Whitey. We've got to get Whitey out of Harlem. Then we'll have true black nationalism."

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Black nationalism made its most important thrust back in 1919, when a West Indian named Marcus Garvey arrived in Harlem with a massive plan for a back-to-Africa movement. Garvey began his "Negro Improvement Association" to "rid the black man of the white man forever." But then he was convicted of using the U. S. mails to defraud, was jailed and later was deported. His organization, which had more than two million dues-paying members, collapsed without his fiery leadership and soon slipped into obscurity.

Since Garvey a number of black nationalist groups have attempted to separate the black man from the white, but almost none of them has made any significant imprint upon the Negro community. "We exist because we have lost faith in the American dream," says Mr. Naceem. "And the reason we have trouble surviving is because of the deep sense of hopelessness in the American black man's mind. He doesn't believe in anything. Not even in himself."

"We don't believe, as Dr. Martin Luther King does, that the white man will ever let the black man into the mainstream of American life. No, we are trying to build a black mainstream which is completely independent of whites. We believe that we can make Harlem a community instead of the ghetto it has been for all the years we've lived here. If we are successful, we think blacks and whites will benefit. If we fail, this country will become a blood-bath. We are for freedom, and by whatever means necessary. That's the lesson we learned from Brother Malcolm: Freedom. By whatever means necessary!"

Mr. Naceem's Black Brotherhood is new, but other organizations have been around for years.

The Nation of Islam, whose Lenox Avenue headquarters was destroyed by fire last week after Malcolm X was assassinated, is undoubtedly the largest and best-organized black nationalist group since Garvey. No one knows how big it is, but there are probably more than 1,000 members in New York City.

Often, when one thinks of black nationalism, James R. Lawson comes to mind. He has been around a long time talking and preaching the virtues of black nationalism. Mr. Lawson, who says he is 46 or 47, is a quiet, self-effacing man who operates something called the Harlem Council for Economic Development. Each week he puts out a news bulletin that carries the line of his United African Nationalist Movement.

"We believe that the United States should pay immediate reparations to black people whose ancestors were slaves and who have received unequal salaries," it says. "This formula for reparations would include about every black family in America. Our accountants figure that \$350 billion plus 5 per cent interest for 100 years is now owed the black people of America."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says black nationalism is not the answer to the Negro's problem. And Mr. Wilkins was around when Marcus Garvey founded it.

"Certainly I do not agree with most of what Garvey or Malcolm preached," Mr. Wilkins said last week. "But I do think Malcolm X's most significant contribution to the Negro was his unwavering insistence that Negroes develop good, sound family relationships. He campaigned against drugs and whisky, and he spoke up for self-respect among black people. He also encouraged Negroes to develop their own business and to seek a certain amount of independence. Every American must admire this side of Malcolm X. In this regard, he represents a great loss."

Most Negroes believe their future and the future of white Americans are inextricably bound together. Even Malcolm X began to reevaluate his position near the end. But black nationalists are difficult to dissuade. Mr. Naceem just smiled at the suggestion that he change his outlook and said simply: "Freedom. By any means necessary."

NEVER WORKED FOR A WHITE

Most of them are really organizations in name only. Some have memberships of only 10 people, others as many as 100. Few have offices with telephone numbers and many of their leaders operate from lunchrooms or from attache cases. Some meet in a member's apartment and a few hold their meetings on street corners, while still others meet at Lewis H. Michaux's famed bookstore, which is often referred to as Harlem's black nationalist headquarters. For more than 28 years the store has been located on Seventh Avenue near 125th Street.

Mr. Michaux himself, likes to boast that he has never worked for a white man. And, at 70, neither his convictions nor his energy has failed him. "We have lived in America for more than 350 years," he says with a shy smile, "and not one of us is a citizen of the United States. Men like Martin Luther King Jr. make me laugh. He preaches from a Bible, which he says tells him to love his enemies. The joke is that that's the same Bible that tells the cracker to kill his enemies. So while Dr. King is loving, the cracker is killin'." The smile left Mr. Michaux's face. "I read that Bible too," he says, "and the passage which keeps coming back to me says, 'money answereth all things' . . ."

MICHAEL HARRINGTON

MOST of the papers haven't understood what Malcolm X meant at all. They have reduced his death to a banal sermon about 'He who lives by the sword shall die by the sword.' That proposition doesn't bother the editorialists when it comes to Hiroshima or the nuclear deterrent. But it's useful for ignoring the real significance of Malcolm."

The speaker was Bayard Rustin, perhaps the most brilliant strategist of the Negro movement, a pacifist and an ardent proponent of non-violence.

"I don't want to pretend that our differences did not exist or that they were unimportant. One time at the Community Church in a debate I told him that his point of view led to jail, to exile or to assassination.

"And the terrible irony is, that for all the talk about violence against the whites, it is Negroes who are killed. That's because, leaving all questions of morality aside for the moment, a 10 per cent Negro minority can't defeat a white majority which controls the police. And so the frustration which Malcolm articulated could not be channeled outward as he demanded. So it went inward, to Malcolm himself."

"But," Rustin continued, "to use this pious platitude about living by the sword and dying by the sword is not only to miss the meaning of Malcolm. It's to guarantee that there will be more violence."

"Malcolm was made angry and violent. His mother was raped, his father was lynched, and he went into the streets selling dope and women and running numbers. He rose above that, but he couldn't leave that world completely. He brought part of it into the Civil Rights movement and it ended up by killing him. At the end, he seemed to be breaking with that past and moving toward an integrationist position, which makes his death all the more horrible. In any case, if Malcolm is not a hero of the movement, he is a tragic victim. He didn't choose violence. Violence chose him."

Rustin has gone to the heart of the matter, and this, I take it, is what James Baldwin was saying when he told reporters who asked him about Malcolm's death. "You killed him." For Malcolm was a child of the ghetto. By 19, he knew more violence than most civilians meet in a lifetime. And, as Rustin also pointed out, he spoke a bitter truth that every Negro, no matter how much he disagreed with Malcolm, recognized.

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Indeed, the editorial homilies are part of a larger trend: of the way in which America does not understand men with black skins and men who are poor. People tend to think of Negroes as middle-class whites in disguise and of the poor as solid citizens who temporarily don't have money. (In the Brotherhood posters the artist draws white kids—and then dips them in a light chocolate wash.) And then they look at someone like Malcolm and judge him as if his alternatives were a comfortable, happy career or a willful choice of violence.

Malcolm was born into the underworld, and one which still exists. He brought his own wrath down on himself, but that is at least as much the responsibility of racism as it is his. And at the end, he may well have been trying to do something that few people ever achieve: to rise completely above the premises and assumptions of his childhood and youth.

Bayard Rustin's last words to me were the most haunting. "As long as they don't understand the slums and the violence that made Malcolm, as long as they let those things go on, there will be more hatred and more death. And the good citizens will be bewildered and they will console themselves that he who lives by the sword, dies by the sword. And they don't even realize that white Americans have been living by the sword since the beginning."

Malcolm X: Quiet Dignity

By Dick Schaap

Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Betty Little Shabazz, dressed in black, her face hidden behind a heavy veil, pregnant with her fifth child, walked slowly to the bronze coffin. She stopped in front of it, shook her head, bit her lip and wept. Then she leaned forward and pressed her lips against the glass surface shielding the body of her husband, Malcolm X. Only his face, with the familiar goatee, was visible; his body was wrapped entirely in white linen. One woman moaned loudly. Another shrieked. Betty Shabazz turned back to her seat, back to the three special policemen guarding her and at 10:43 yesterday morning, the lid of his coffin closed on Malcolm X.

The strange magnetism of Malcolm X, who lived 39 turbulent years, some as a criminal, the last few as a fervid Black Nationalist, was still strong at his funeral yesterday, six days after he was shot to death while addressing a group of his followers at the Audubon Ballroom on Broadway and 166th Street. His funeral brought 1,000 people into the low, plain building of the Faith Temple Church of God in Christ on Amsterdam Avenue and 147th St. His funeral brought at least another 2,000 people into the streets around the church, where they stood, quietly and respectfully, behind police barricades.

And his funeral brought hundreds of policemen, probably as many in plainclothes as in uniform, to the area, fearful of another burst of violence, fearful that the division between the followers of Malcolm X

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and the Black Muslim followers of Elijah Muhammad might explode in the streets of Harlem.

There was no violence, no sign of violence either at the funeral service or along the 20-mile ride to the Ferncliff Cemetery in Hartsdale, N. Y., or in the brief ceremonies at the grave surrounded by hundreds of the faithful and the curious.

The bomb threats to the church and to the funeral parlor where Malcolm's body had lain all week, and had attracted some 30,000 viewers, were only threats, nothing more. It was a cold and clear day, and it was quiet.

Ossie Davis, the author-actor-producer, conducted the funeral ceremonies. He spoke slowly and carefully, with impressive dignity, and while he eulogized Malcolm X, who had been his friend, he did not play upon emotions or call for retribution. He called Malcolm X "a prince, our own black prince who did not hesitate to die because he loved us so."

Malcolm X, said Mr. Davis, "was our manhood, our living black manhood." Shouts of "Yeah," and "Right" echoed in the church and in the streets, where the overflow from the 1,000-capacity church heard Davis over loudspeakers. "In honoring him," said Mr. Davis, "we honor the best in ourselves." And then there was applause.

"Harlem has never produced a braver, more gallant young champion than this Afro-American who lies before us now, unconquered still," said Mr. Davis. "Brother Malcolm was most meticulous in his use of words. No one knew better than he the power of words. . . . He had stopped being a Negro years ago. . . . Malcolm was bigger than that. . . . Malcolm had become an Afro-American, and he wanted so desperately to see all his people become Afro-Americans, too."

Mr. Davis devoted part of his eulogy to defending Malcolm X against charges of hatred and racism. "They will tell us to revile him," he said. "They will tell us he was a fanatic and a racist, and we will ask: Did you ever talk to Brother Malcolm? Was he ever associated with any violence or public disturbance?"

Mr. Davis emphasized that since Malcolm X left the Black Muslim movement and made his pilgrimage to Mecca, he had come to believe increasingly that men of different color could live in peace. Another speaker at the 55-minute funeral service, Ahmed Osman, head of the Islamic Center of Geneva, Switzerland, reinforced Ossie Davis' point. "Malcolm never preached any hatred, any segregation, any separatism since he visited Mecca," said Mr. Osman.

Ruby Dee, the actress who is Mr. Davis' wife, read several letters and telegrams of condolence that Mrs. Shabazz had received. Many of them compared Malcolm with the Congo's Patrice Lumumba. And Davis read a

message from Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah, saying: "His work in the cause of freedom shall not be in vain."

A young Islamic priest, Imam Alhajj Haasans Jaaber, who would not say where he worked, conducted the actual Islamic prayer service in the church. A booklet was distributed outlining and explaining the Orthodox Islamic funeral service. The cover said: "In Memoriam of Hajj Malik Shabazz (the former Malcolm X) who died martyred for the cause of Islam and the enlightenment and uplifting of his people." The service of four takbeers, or prayers, was studded with the phrase, "Allah Akbar" (God is most great).

Every now and then during the service, women sobbed and moaned. But, usually, the church was silent except for the stirring of television cameramen and reporters. Policemen and policewomen and Malcolm's personal guards were scattered throughout the room.

CONVERSATION RECALLED

The people clustered inside the church had begun gathering outside as early as 8:45 a. m. By 9:45, there were more than 200 people in a line extending four abreast, up Amsterdam Ave. and around to 148th St. The handful of whites in the line stood out. A few mourners wore African garb, and many more wore Astrakhan hats and goatees. The crowd cut across factional lines. The Rev. Andrew Young, a top aid to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. came to the funeral, he said, because he happened to be in town on other business. He recalled fondly a conversation with Malcolm in Selma, Ala., a few weeks ago. "Malcolm said he could not align himself with us," said Mr. Young, "but he sympathized with what we were doing. He made our work, the work of all non-violent groups, much easier."

James Farmer, the head of the Congress of Racial Equality, sat only two seats away from Bayard Rustin, the organizer of the 1963 March on Washington. Dick Gregory, the comedian, was in the audience, and so was Michael Olatunji, the Nigerian musician. State Assemblyman Percy Sutton, who was Malcolm's lawyer, sat near the widow and Malcolm's sister, Mrs. Ella Mae Collins. Malcolm's two Black Muslim brothers—Philbert X and Wilfred X—did not come to the funeral. They were at the Black Muslim convention in Chicago.

Top police brass patrolled the streets outside the church. Chief of Detectives John F. Walsh and Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph Coyle had no new information on the murderers of Malcolm X. Two men have been arrested so far: Talmadge Hayer, who was captured at the scene of the shooting, and Norman 3X Butler, a Black Muslim whom the police have called "an enforcer" for the sect.

The funeral service began at 9:57 a. m., almost half an hour behind schedule, and finished at 10:50, when Malcolm's coffin was carried out to a silver blue Cadillac hearse. Policemen on roofs stared down at the calm scene.

POLICE ALWAYS IN SIGHT

A New York City police escort led the 50-car funeral procession up Amsterdam Ave., across 155th St. to the Major Deegan Expressway and then into the New York Thruway for the ride to Hartsdale. All along the route, policemen were stationed on the overpasses above the highway. Outside the city, Yonkers and Westchester police picked up the procession. There were always at least a few policemen in sight.

The ceremonies at the grave, in Arabic, as they were during the Islamic service, were again conducted by Imam Alhajj Haasans Jaaber. Two white cemetery employees lowered the coffin into the grave as Mrs. Shabazz looked on. Her face was still streaked with tears.

The grave was No. 150 in the Maplewood Section of Ferncliff Cemetery. Malcolm's head faced the east, toward Mecca, in accordance with Islamic practice.

Ironically, the assassinated nationalist's body lay only 150 yards from the grave of James Powell, the 15-year-old Harlem boy whose shooting by a policeman last summer touched off the Harlem riots.

Malcolm had missed the riots. He was in Mecca and in Africa then.



Harlem Tribune photo by JOE GARDNER
Malcolm X's widow at the bier.

The Week in Review

BY RICHARD MONTAGUE

BEING AN OLD farm boy myself," Malcolm X once remarked, "chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they always made me glad."

He said it on Dec. 1, 1963, in Manhattan Center to about 700 people. He was talking about the assassination of John F. Kennedy in Dallas eight days before.

The crowd laughed and cheered. Many had heard his nervy, contemptuous sallies against the "white, blue-eyed devils" often and the tall, lean, handsome Negro delivered them with an orator's phrasing and timing. They cheered not only because he dared to utter some of their thoughts aloud, but also because he was a man of prestige—No. 2 in the Nation of Islam, the "Black Muslims," and apparent heir to the Nation's frail and aging leader, Elijah Muhammad of Chicago.

Last Sunday afternoon, the crowd in the Audubon Ballroom at W. 116th St. and Broadway was smaller—about 400 altogether. At about 2:30, Malcolm X—he had discarded the surname Little as a legacy from white slaveowners—strode out upon the stage and the crowd rose, roaring him welcome.

After an ovation of several minutes, he began to speak, but he was immediately interrupted by a scuffle between two men on the floor.

"Now, now, brothers," he called out calmly, "break it up. Be cool, be calm."

And then the guns began firing. A shotgun crashed at least seven times and two pistols, a .38 and a .45, snapped and spat bullets at the man on the platform. He was slammed violently backward over a row of chairs, mortally wounded.

The hall dissolved in pandemonium, over which the anguished shrieks of the dying man's wife were heard as she dropped to her knees at his side. Malcolm X died 30 minutes later.

It was one day short of 15 months since Dallas. Many in Harlem wept, but even whites who thought they knew the strange man called Malcolm X, and hated or feared him, became sorrier and uneasy when they heard of his violent death.

Who killed Malcolm? Two suspects were in police custody. One, 22-year-old Talmadge Hayer, was in the Bellevue prison ward with a gunshot wound, allegedly inflicted by one of Malcolm's bodyguards after the murder.

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The other suspect, 26-year-old Norman (Norman XX) Butler, a Black Muslim, was arrested early Friday. Three more men are being sought.

Why was Malcolm killed? Again, there are only guesses. At his death, Malcolm was no longer a Muslim. Suspended and censured by Muhammad for his mockery at Kennedy's death, he left the Nation three months later and formed his own Organization for Afro-American Unity.

In recent months, he talked less frequently of Negro rifle clubs, of "breaking the white man's neck." Instead, he kept in contact with Negro civil rights leaders, seeming to be anxious for their approval and counsel and, perhaps, admission to their ranks.

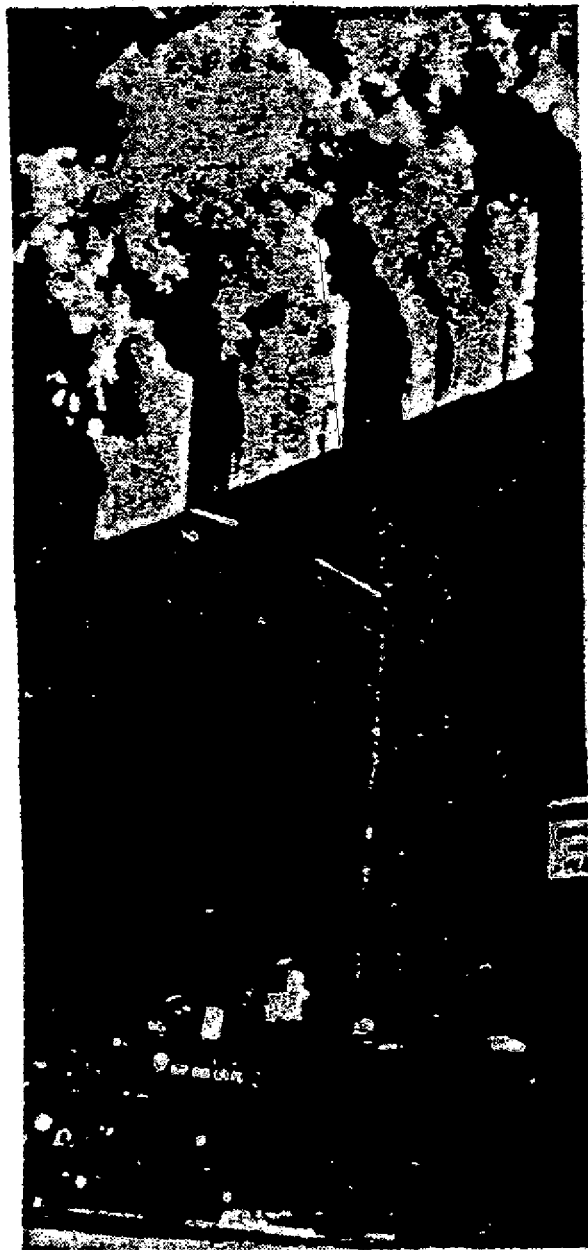
He said he expected to be killed for his defection from the Nation and he was said to have given police a list of persons he feared were plotting against him. Thus, in the aftermath of his death in New York, many were ready to conclude that the Muslims had been his executioners, despite the bland denials of Muhammad, who was preparing for this weekend's Muslim convention in Chicago.

The atmosphere in both cities was taut. Two days after Malcolm's murder, the main Muslim mosque in Harlem was gutted by a mysterious fire. Fears were expressed of a vendetta between Malcolm's followers and the Nation. There were reports of plans to assassinate Muhammad.

In Harlem, extra squads of police patrolled all week, as some 14,000 mourners passed by Malcolm's casket in a funeral home. In Chicago, a guard equal to that for a President was thrown around Muhammad.

Malcolm's funeral was scheduled for Saturday, but no one was certain what might follow the ceremonies. Some, however, hoped that his last words—symbolic of his altering views on the desperate question of Negro-white relations—might prevail:

"Now, now, brothers, let's break it up. Be cool, be calm."



Black Muslim Mosque in Harlem
Goes Up in Flames Tuesday

Hundreds Guard Malcolm Rites

BY RICHARD MONTAGUE

Hundreds of extra police—the heaviest guard force of a tense week—massed in Harlem Saturday to forestall any outbreaks of violence at the funeral of Malcolm X.

"An army of police" is the way one Harlem resident described it. There were uniformed men, many of them Negroes, policewomen and strangers who were obviously plain-clothes men, all of whom surrounded the Faith Temple Church of God in Christ, 1763 Amsterdam Av., near 147th St. and lined nearby streets.

Hours before the service, at least 200 persons lined up within the wooden barriers set up to confine the crowds stamped their feet and shivered in the morning cold.

Even as the funeral for the slain Black Nationalist leader got under way, a heavy police guard maintained its watch on the Nation of Islam convention in Chicago.

Malcolm's one-time mentor, Elijah Muhammad, addressed the gathering and derided the most famous defector from the Black Muslim movement. Norman 3X Butler, one of two men charged in the murder of Malcolm, has been identified by police as a Black Muslim.

The first of the 1,000 members the church can hold were admitted 45 minutes before the Muslim funeral services got under way. A basement auditorium, with room for another 800, was not being used on police security orders.

On the ground floor of the church—a former vaudeville house and movie theater—the massive bronze casket with a glass lid containing Malcolm's body lay on a platform draped in red velvet before the altar.

The casket was brought to the church early Saturday from the Unity Funeral Home, W. 126th St. and Eighth Av., where Malcolm's body had lain since Monday, the day after he was shot down by assassins as he prepared to speak in a Harlem ballroom to a group of follow-

ers
22,000 File By Rior

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BISHOP ALVIN CHILDS
Pastor of Funeral Church

the cortege would take from the church to the cemetery.

The church services were to last about an hour. They were being televised.

The Faith Temple, formerly the Lido Theater, were reportedly the only Harlem church made available to Malcolm's family for the funeral rites. It's 8,000 parishioners are of the Pentecostal denomination.

Some Will Remain Outside

The interior of the church—still equipped with the wooden theater seats upholstered in red leather—is white stucco, with marble wainscoting. There are three white and gold windows on either side of the building. Above the pews are six chandeliers of glass and brass. Behind the pulpit is a green curtain and the brass pipes of the organ.

Bishop Alvin A. Childs, pastor of the church and unofficial "Mayor of Harlem," said he had canceled his plan to deliver a eulogy. He said the dead man's family and friends decided at the last moment to have the ceremony conducted along the simple lines of Muslim tradition.

The clergyman said there had been a total of 14 telephoned bomb threats to both his office and home since it was announced the rites would be held in Faith Temple. All were checked and found false.

As the mourners convened, police were still tracking three other members of the five-men

team they believe carried out Malcolm's murder.

Butler, a wiry karate expert, was picked up at his home, 661 Rosedale, Av., The Bronx, and was arrested early Friday. The other suspect is Talmadge Hayer, 22, now in Bellevue Hospital's prison ward recovering from a gunshot wound allegedly inflicted in the melee following the murder by one of Malcolm's bodyguards.

The arrest of Butler, a member of the elite "Fruit of Islam" guard of the Black Muslims, indicated the first link between the organization and the murder, although police have been operating on the theory that Malcolm was slain for his defection from the Muslims last year. Hayer has refused to say whether he is a Muslim.

An attempt by Malcolm's admirers to impose a shutdown of stores along 125th St. as an "honor" to the slain Black Nationalist was generally unsuccessful yesterday. Most merchants refused to comply with requests they shut their doors from 3 p.m. Friday until after the funeral.

March Outside Blumstein's

Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray, one of the organizers of the demonstration, threatened to picket open stores "from river to river," but only 22 demonstrators turned out. They marched outside Blumstein's, largest Harlem department store.

Owner Jack Blumstein denied a charge by Gray that he had persuaded other Harlem merchants to remain open for business.

About 15 minutes before the store's regular closing time, Gray moved the pickets to a wig shop, owned by Miss Bunny Jones, a Negro. Asked to explain the shift, Gray replied:

"The woman is arrogant." As the pickets marched, Miss Jones appeared with a shotgun in the doorway of the shop and the demonstrators called for her arrest. Police took no action, however.

Although the picketing was ineffectual, merchants did report that the usually heavy Friday night turnout of shoppers was much reduced.

A hearse escorted by a dozen police cars, moving quickly through chill and deserted streets about an hour and a half after midnight, made the 24-block trip from the funeral home to the church without incident.

During the week, an estimated 22,000 persons had filed by the casket at the funeral home. In mid-afternoon yesterday, the home was closed while Sheikh Ahmed Hassoun, who conducts the burial service today, sheathed the body in a white robe.

Burial was to be in Ferncliff Cemetery in Hartdale, Westchester County. Police would not disclose in advance the route

Malcolm Is Buried in Pomp & Peace

In a sharp contrast to his violent life as a Harlem cokey and later as a hater against the whites, Malcolm X was buried yesterday calmly, quietly, with the subdued dignity of ancient Islamic ritual.

But at the grave's edge the assassinated Black Nationalist got in a bitter parting shot. As he was lowered into the ground at Ferncliff Cemetery in Hartsdale, sheathed in white linen from head to toes, head facing the



(NEWS photo by Paul Delmaria)
Brother nationalists fill in Malcolm's grave in Hartsdale.

east, his followers barred white gravediggers and themselves performed the last service of filling in the earth over his burnished copper coffin.

In life, Malcolm's street career had rarely attracted more than 500. In death he drew a nationally televised funeral, with an outpouring of white leaders and Negro clergymen, an overflow crowd of more than 2,000 mourners and a 45-car cortege in the Westchester

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Shortly after midnight the body was removed from the Duffy Funeral Home, Eighth Ave., near 126th St., where 22,000 persons had viewed it during the week. A dozen police cars rode escort as a hearse transferred the coffin to the Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, a converted movie house at Amsterdam Ave. and 147th St., for services at 9:30 A.M.

500 Cops on Hand

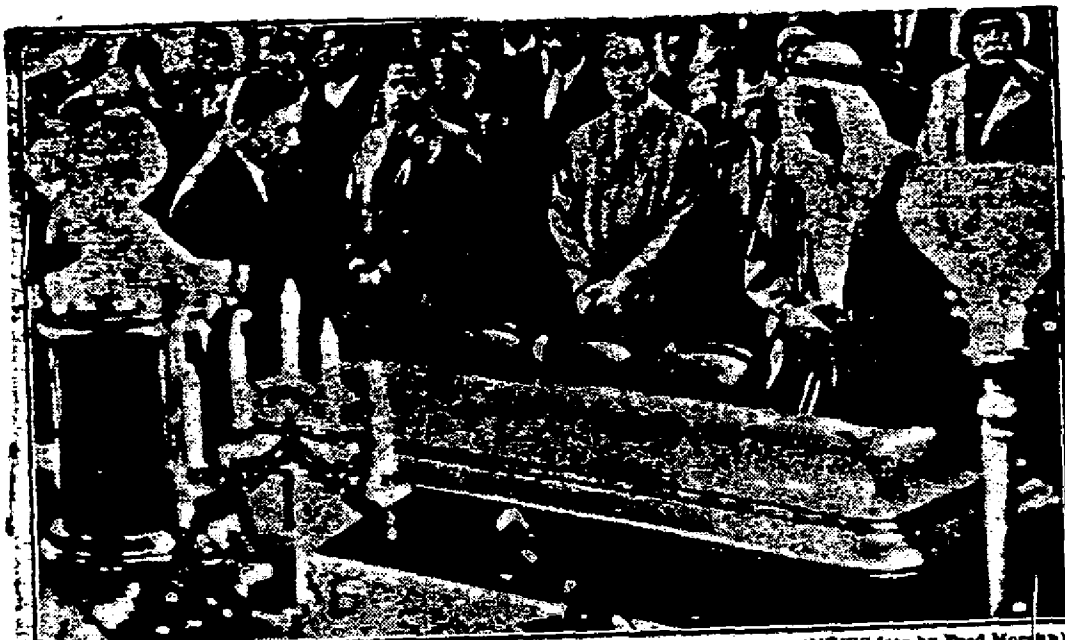
As early as 6:45 A.M. Harlem residents began arriving, but the police were already on hand—500 in all, including the top brass of the city police department. They cordoned three blocks from 147th St. to 150th St. and from the side streets through which the hearse was to pass. They were posted on the roofs of the buildings and in the church itself.

First Deputy Commissioner John F. Walsh, Chief Inspector Lawrence W. McKearney, Chief of Detectives Philip J. Walsh and Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph J. Coyle were all on hand. There were state troopers, too, in civilian attire.

As the mourners, chiefly Negro women, entered, they had to file past the police, one by one, and surrender their handbags for a search for weapons. When 800 had gone in, a loudspeaker announced no more would be admitted, and the others gathered across the street.

Police Guard at Bier

In the white-walled church, with a supporting color scheme of beige, pink and blue, Malcolm's casket was placed outside the marble altar rail, a lamp at each end and a surrounding guard of 11 police officers, including a cap-



(NEWS photo by Fred Morjan)

Malcolm's widow, Mrs. Betty Shabazz (veiled), stands in front row near conclusion of Muslim rites.



(NEWS photo by Paul DeMaria)

James Gray (L.) and Dick Gregory arrive at church for funeral.

tain and two policemen, all Negroes.

Affixed to the coffin was a plate which read, "Al Hajj Malik Shabazz—Malcolm X," and nearby one 8x4-foot wreath of red carnations, which also spelled out his name and the dates of his birth and death. "Al Hajj" indicated that he had been a believer who had made the haji, or pilgrimage, to Mecca.

Some of Kin Attend

Among the mourners were James Farmer, director of CORE; comedian Dick Gregory; Bayard Rustin, leader of the civil rights march out of Washington; Wally Duke, the basketball star; James Gray, rent strike leader; and African and Arab dignitaries, some wearing robes, others with turbans or astrakhan.

been closed. Malcolm's widow, Betty, and his sister, Mrs. Ella Mae Collins, took their places with other members of the family in the front row. Malcolm's four children did not attend, nor did his two brothers, Philbert X and Wilfred X, who have remained in the parent Black Muslim movement from which Malcolm broke away.

Before the services began, 27 minutes late, at 9:57 A. M., there was a last viewing of the body and then the coffin lid was closed. Heavily veiled, wearing a black Persian coat and black hat, the widow, who is expecting Malcolm's fifth child, wept as she pressed her face close against the glass cover.

A woman Muslim weened loudly, another shrieked.

plainclothesmen from the Bureau of Special Services and several of Malcolm's followers who served as ushers and body-guards, returned quietly to her seat.

Then Ossie Davis, the Negro playwright and actor stepped to a microphone and said, "Let us begin." His wife, Ruby Dee, the actress, read messages from Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League; NAACP's Los Angeles chapter, the Ambassador of Lagos and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, president of Ghana, who said Malcolm's "work for the cause of freedom shall not be in vain."

Sobs, Moans, Applause

During the 55-minute service there were sobs, moans and sometimes applause. The audience responded resoundingly when Ahmed Osmund, representing the Islamic Center in Geneva, Switzerland, told them:

"The highest thing a Moslem can aspire to is to die on the battlefield, and not to die on the backside. Those who die on the battlefield are not dead, but they are alive."

And the audience again responded with tears and cheers when Davis, delivering the eulogy, said that " seldom has Harlem found a braver, more gallant Afro-American champion" than Malcolm.

"If you knew Malcolm," he went on, "you would know that Malcolm was our manhood, our living black manhood. In honoring him, we honor the best in ourselves."

What are places in the ground

Continued on Page 2

is no more than a seed which will come forth again to meet us and greet us. And we will know him then for what he was—a prince, our own black shining prince—who didn't hesitate to die because he loved us so."

Eloquently Davis denied that Malcolm had been "a racist who was only bringing evil to the cause for which we struggle" and asked, "Was he ever involved in violence or public disorder?"

"No!" responded the audience. For the support of Malcolm's widow and children, Davis said, a committee of "concerned mothers" is soliciting funds, and he told the mourners that contributions could be sent to Post Office Box 1024, Church St. Station.

In white burnoose and long, brown flowing robes, Imam Ali Hajj Hessaans Jaaber recited four Takbeers, or funeral prayers.

A Ticklish Moment

Just before the coffin was taken out of the church, the police guards were startled by a crash of glass and loud yelling in nearby W. 147th St.

Wary of a possible trick to draw off police, a superior officer held back most of his men, and sent a few patrolmen to investigate. They returned a few minutes later, and reported the incident was "family trouble."

The coffin was placed in a sky-blue hearse, and the cortege, including mourners' blue limousines, newsmen's autos and police cars left at 11:05 A.M. for the 20 miles run to Ferncliff.

At Grave 150 in Ferncliff the willow stood dry-eyed as the Imam chanted the Tal-geen al-amata, the catechism of the dead, and the Muslim mourners stood with upraised palms facing the sun.

Finish the Job

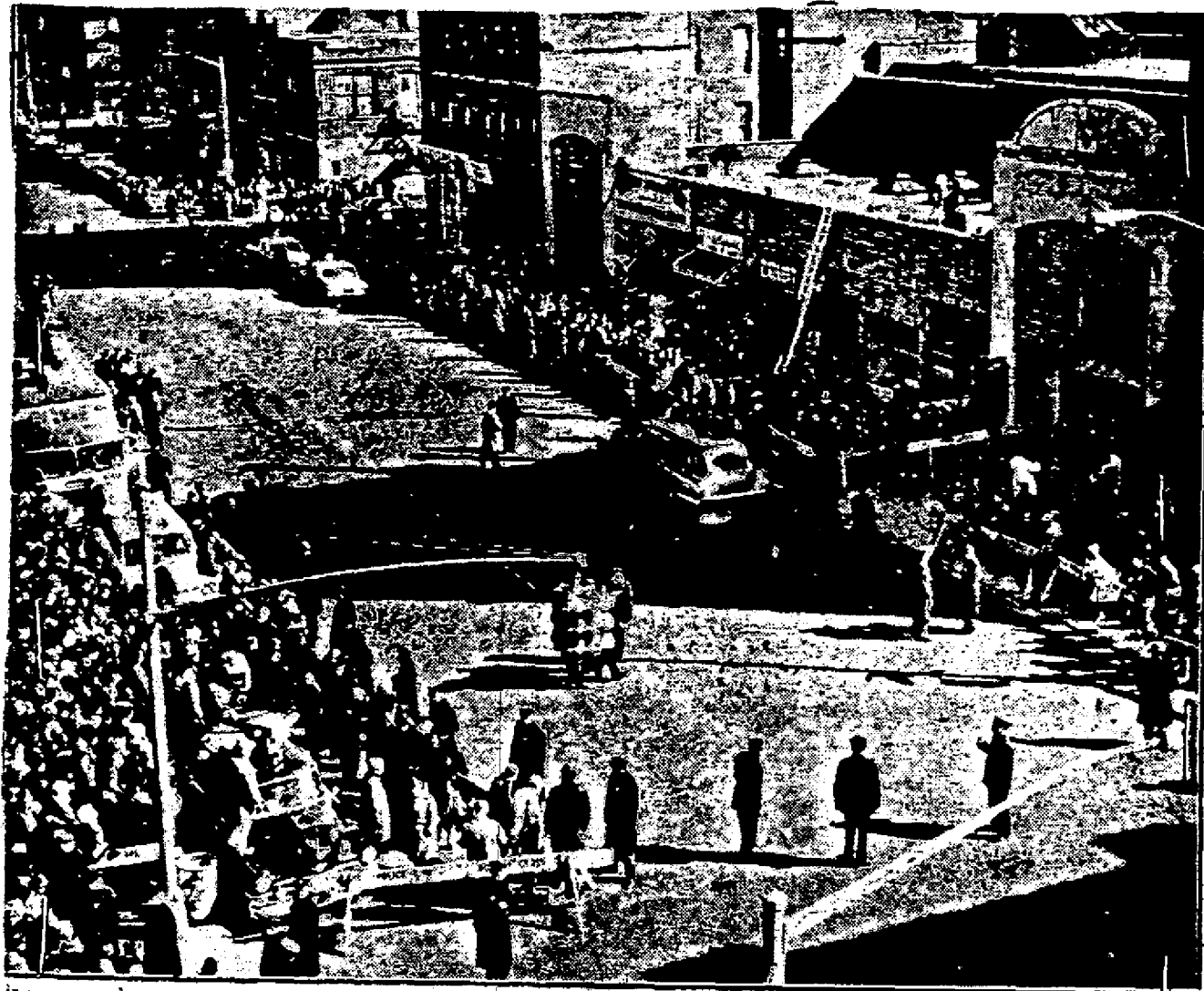
At 11:55 A.M. it was all over, but not quite all over because Malcolm's followers insisted on doing the last job for their leader.

First, with their bare hands, then with shovels they piled on the dirt, ignoring the pleas of Joseph Hall, the funeral director, to return to the city.

"I'll leave you here," he warned.

"We'll bury him first, ma'am," they said. "We'll walk."

And they went back and forth 150 feet, carrying shovels of dirt till the ground was level over Grave 150 and there was nothing left for a white gravedigger to do.



(NEWS photo by Jim Hughes)

Malcolm X Attracts His Largest Crowd

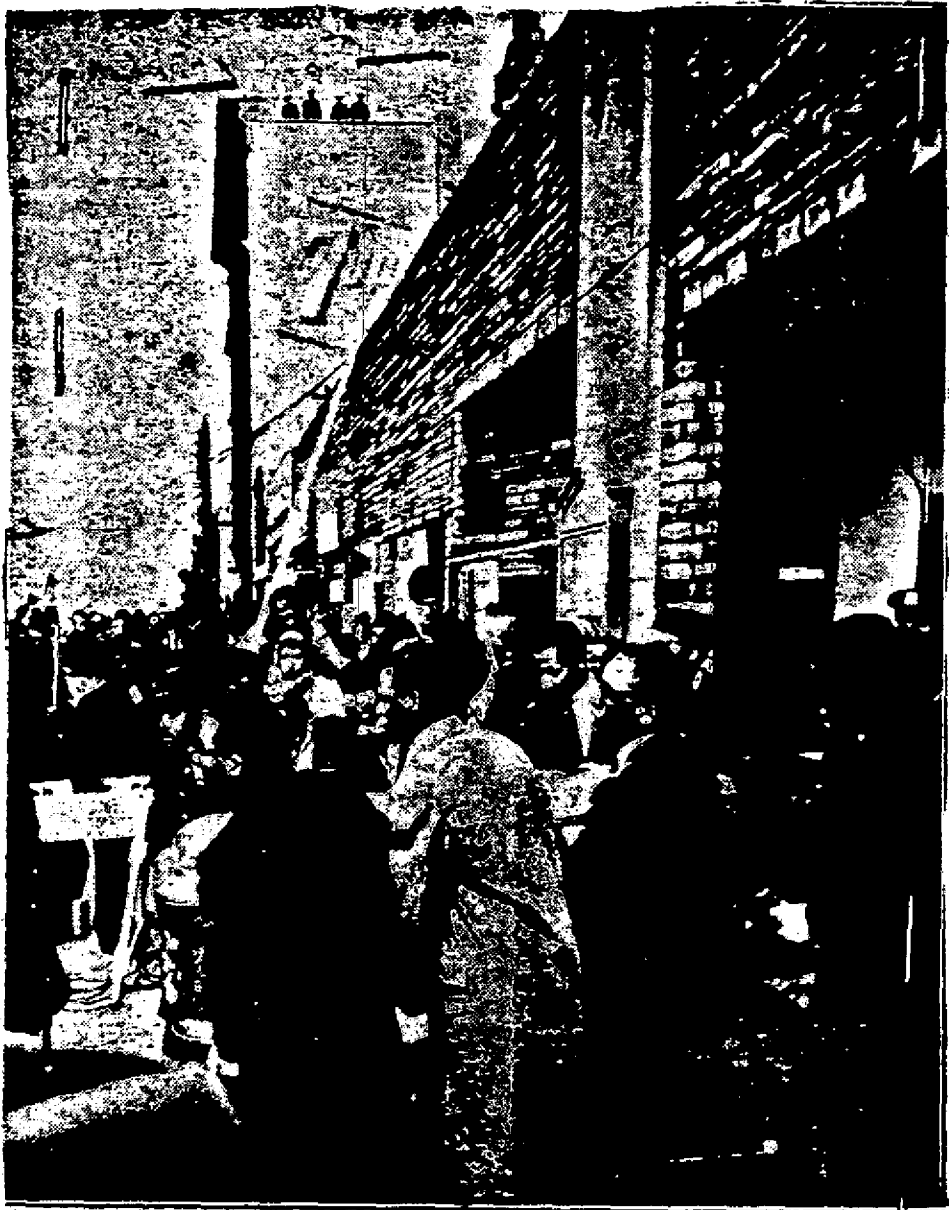
Cordon of cops holds back crowd outside Faith Temple of the Church of God in Christ, a converted movie house at Amsterdam Ave. and 147th St., where funeral services were held for the [See —>] assassinated Malcolm X. More than 2,000 gathered at funeral and millions watched it on TV.



(NEWS photo by Fred Morgan)
 Shoeless Brooklyn Muslims bow toward Mecca and pray over Malcolm's grave at Ferncliff Cemetery, Hartsdale.



(NEWS photo by Fred Morgan)
 Mrs. Betty Little Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, grieves.



(NEWS photo by Frank Hurley)
Cops on rooftop watch crowd as leader of Malcolm X leaves the church.

Malcolm Buried as True Moslem Despite the Unorthodox Ritual

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

Alhaji Malik Shabazz, who was called Malcolm X until his pilgrimage to Mecca, was buried yesterday as a Moslem.

Two sheiks acknowledged that many aspects of the funeral and the six days of preparation for it contravened Islamic laws, but they also said Malcolm had gone to his grave a believer in no other God than Allah.

Malcolm abandoned the religion of the Black Muslims during his first trip to Africa last year and embraced orthodox Islam. When he made the pilgrimage, which is one of the "five pillars" of the Moslem faith, he acquired his Arabic name and the honorary title "Alhaji"—signifying one who has gone to Mecca.

The religion of the Black Muslims, which Malcolm abjured, is an adaptation of some aspects of Islam to American conditions.

Elijah Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader, calls himself the "Messenger of Allah."

Theologies Conflict

Orthodox Moslems, however, do not recognize the movement as being any part of their faith. They point out particularly that Elijah's theology of the inferiority of the white races is contrary to Islamic doctrines, which teach that all men are brothers.

Yesterday, in a Pentecostal church in Harlem, a Moslem from Elizabeth, N. J., intoned the brief, simple prayers that are said for every Moslem at his death. When he came to the phrase "Allahu Akbar"—"God is most great"—the 40 or 50 Moslems in the audience of 600 placed their hands open at the sides of their faces in the posture associated with the phrase.

The man who recited the three minutes of prayers, Alhaji Shabazz Jaaber of Ansar of Islam, Inc., was substituting for Sheikh Ahmed Hassoun, who was ill. The sheik, a Sudanese who had taught in Mecca for 25 years before becoming Malcolm's spiritual adviser, had prepared Malcolm's body for the funeral on Friday.

At the time, Sheikh Hassoun had said the service was not a proper one because Islamic law says there must be no more than a day between death and burial. Malcolm was murdered last Sunday.

The sheik, however, washed the slain leader's body in accordance with Moslem ritual and wrapped it in seven white cloths.

Faisal, head of the Islamic Mission of America at 143 State Street, Brooklyn, said there had been several other unorthodox aspects of the funeral.

"Death is a private matter between Allah and the deceased," he said, and thus there should have been no public exhibition of the body.

Sheik Faisal also said nothing should have been done during the services to create emotion or a sense of bereavement. Thus the eulogies delivered before the Moslem prayers yesterday were out of order.

The sheik also pointed out that if there was even a hint of Christianity in the services at the Faith Temple Church of God in Christ yesterday it would make Malcolm a kafir—an unbeliever. Care was apparently taken that this should not happen.

Bishop Alvin A. Childs, pastor of the church, had prepared some remarks for delivery at the service and had distributed copies of them to the press. However, they were not delivered. The remarks ended with this thought:

"When one of our brothers is killed, all of us die a little because we are all one body in Jesus Christ."

According to the Koran, the bodies of the dead remain in their graves until the Last Day, the Day of Judgment. On this day of cataclysm the heavens are rent and the mountains ground to dust, the graves open and men are called to account by Allah.

Reward Awaits Blessed

The blessed—the godfearing, the humble, the charitable, those who have suffered and been persecuted for Allah's sake or fought in religious wars for Islam—are summoned to the Garden of Paradise.

There, according to the teaching of Mohammed, the Prophet, they live forever by flowing streams, reclining on silken cushions and enjoying the company of dark-eyed maidens and wives of perfect purity.

The damned—the covetous, the evil-doer, the follower of gods other than Allah—are sent to Eternal Fire, where they are fed boiling water and heated brimstone.

The sheik from which ye are sent back to the Koran of things that are true and He will tell you the truth of the things that are false.

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Walter Winchell OF NEW YORK

Man Reading the Papers

MALCOLM X WAS A VICTIM of his own exaggeration. He never reconciled the truth with his private delusions. He was a petty punk who pictured himself as an heroic figure. Even more incredible is the attempt to transform Malcolm X into a martyr...



The truth is that he was the victim in a gang war. He was a convicted thief who served a seven-year stretch for larceny. He was a dope addict and a pimp who preached hatred and terrorism. His strife with the Black Muslim hierarchy was not motivated by ideological differences. It was a brutal struggle for the real estate and other vast commercial enterprises operated by the Black Muslims. Bigotry is big business... Moreover, it is important to note that Malcolm X and the Muslims rejected integration as completely as the Ku Klux Klan.

★
OFFICIALLY, THE BLACK MUSLIMS preach non-violence. The fact is the bitter hate they propagate can lead only to violence. In addition, the Muslims have a secret army—the Fruit of Islam. They are well-drilled units schooled in the use of firearms. It's about time a Congressional committee investigated the Muslims. Their sources of income and methods of operation deserve to be spotlighted... Ironically, the Devil attracts the biggest headlines. The death of Malcolm X the criminal received more newspaper space than the passing of Nat King Cole, the gentleman.

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All Quiet ... And 'X' In a Grave Facing Mecca

By JOHN G. MITCHELL

Journal-American Staff Writer

Malcolm Little, the bearded Big X of Harlem, was buried yesterday in a white linen sheath, facing east toward the holy city of Mecca.

Despite threats that the corpse would be "firebombed," the funeral had none of the violence which surrounded the assassinated Black Nationalist for most of his 39 years.

It was, however, a rare kind of funeral, much like a costumed spectacle.

The funeral service was attended by 1,000—all that the Harlem church could seat. Many wore fezzes, African robes and astrakhan headgear of the Near East.

Thousands more outside including a virtual army of police guards, heard eulogies piped by loudspeakers onto Amsterdam ave.

And network television cameras allowed inside the church—brought the proceedings to millions more.

For Malcolm, who had rarely drawn more than 500 persons to his rallies, death brought the largest audience of

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all to the church—a converted movie theatre, where Islamic rites had been performed earlier.

It was 11:58 a.m. when the last shovelful of rich, dark Pennelliff Cemetery loam thudded down on the bronze casket in a grave near Ardsley, N. Y., in Westchester County, 30 miles north of Harlem.

A woman in the graveside crowd of some 150 shrieked.

One of the mourners, shovel in hand, stepped back from the grave, then, and raised his anguished face to the sun.

"Let it be known to one and all," he shouted. "The falling of one is the rising of another."

Malcolm's followers barred white grave diggers. Taking up shovels they filled the grave themselves, because, as one put it, "we won't let white men bury him. We'll bury him first, man."

A gust of icy wind whipped over the edge of the hill where the mourners stood, tugged at the corner of Mrs. Shabazz's black Persian coat.

Mrs. Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, turned and walked slowly toward a waiting limousine. Under the lace veil, tears lay chill against her cheek.

A LONG WAY

Malcolm—also known to his followers as Ali Haj Malik Shabazz—had come a long way to his hillside resting place.

Under cover of darkness early yesterday, the body of this eloquent ex-convict and maverick Muslim was conveyed by police from a mortuary to the Faith Temple—Church of God in Christ at 1763 Amsterdam ave., near 148th st.

A dozen police cars accompanied the hearse through the streets of Harlem while members of the Bomb Squad combed the church.

Night telephoned bomb threats had been received through the night by the pastor, Bishop Alvin A. Child.

MOURNERS GATHER

At 8:45 a.m., mourners began gathering outside the church. They stood four deep along Amsterdam ave., some stamping their feet in the 34-degree cold.

Police threw up barricades to hold back the curious, and searched suspicious packages—and women's purses—for weapons or fire-bombs.

Above the waiting throng, dozens of police sharpshooters stood on rooftops. They were ready for trouble; ready to shoot if they had to.

Faces appeared in tenement windows. Many watched the spectacle from fire-escapes.

By 9:30, the 1,000-seat church was filled.

'JUST ANOTHER'

A policeman at the scene said:

"As far as we're concerned, it's just another funeral."

It was not just another funeral, however, for the 700 mourners who could not get into the filled church. Ushered across the street and behind the barricades, they formed a human crescent around the church and listened to the eulogies piped over loudspeakers onto the street.

Inside, Malcolm's widow sat in the second pew with his sister, Ella Mae Collins of Boston. They were flanked by a coterie of dark-suited men from Malcolm's Organization for the Afro-American Unity.

Negro actor Ossie Davis opened the services. "Now," he said, standing on the platform over Malcolm's coffin, "now we will begin."

It was exactly 9:57.

GLINTING SUNLIGHT

The coffin lay on a red-velvet bier, its top up, a glass cover shielding the linen-sheathed body.

Sunlight streamed through high yellow windows, glinted on the bronze of the casket, dropped a warm blanket of muted light over the mourners in the left-hand pews.

And Ossie Davis said:

"Was he (Malcolm) ever involved in violence or public

disorder?"

"No," came the cry of the mourners. "No."

"Then let he who is without him cast the first stone," said Mr. Davis. And applause thundered down along the aisles and reverberated loudly off the alabaster walls.

For 55 minutes they spoke of Malcolm Little as if he were the Gandhi of Harlem. They called him "our own, black, shiny prince," and "our brightest hope," and "a brave and gallant champion."

MECCA PILGRIMAGE

In Arabic dress Aahmed Hassoun of the Islamic Center of Geneva, Switzerland, stood at the microphone and spoke of the softening changes that had come over the once-fiery Malcolm since his trip last year to the Holy City of Mecca.

Twice, Mr. Hassoun was forced to pause while the thunder of busy hands rumbled below him.

At 10:50, the veiled widow, pregnant with her fifth child, was escorted from her pew to view the face of Malcolm Little for the last time.

FAREWELL KISS

Her lips trembled once, then she bent over the coffin and pressed them to the glass—the glass put there by the funeral director to protect Malcolm from those who might try to desecrate him.

On a platform during the services were James Farmer of CORE; Bayard Rustin, organizer of the March on Washington, and other figures prominent in Negro civil-rights movements.

They filed out of the church behind Malcolm's widow to a 20-car cortege. The coffin was rolled quickly into the back of a blue hearse amid police

Across Amsterdam ave. the curious shouldered each other for a final look at the funeral procession.

Beyond the sun-splashed crescent of mourners, beyond the fire-escapes and the fire-tenement windows, it was, indeed, "just another funeral."

MORNING AFTER

In a bar one block from the church, a juke-box hammered away at the ears of the early drinkers, drowning out for them the sonorous sound of loud-speakers up the street.

This was Saturday morning in Harlem, the morning after the big night before.

About the time Ossie Davis was saying, "We will now begin," over Malcolm Little's coffin, a young man at the bar leaned over suddenly and kissed the woman beside him.

JUKEBOX BLARES

The bartender smiled and drew another beer from the tap. The juke-box slipped a new disc into the turntable.

"Hey," someone shouted. "That's cool. What's it called?" "That's 'Shetgun,'" said the bartender.

And it was a shotgun that snuffed out Malcolm's life last Sunday as he rose to address 400 of his followers at Harlem's Audubon Ballroom.

22,000 MOURNERS

In the week that followed, 22,000 persons visited Harlem's Unity Funeral Home where Malcolm's body lay in an open casket. Here, too, Malcolm was facing east toward Mecca.

In the bar near the church, it was apparent that not all of Harlem mourned Malcolm's passing.

This wasn't the Harlem of Ali Haj Malik Shabazz, the Bix X. This was the Harlem of an earlier, pre-Muslim Malcolm, when they called him "Detroit Red," and he wore \$200 suits on 7th ave., and peddled heroin and beetles whiskey, and procured for brothels.

EULOGIZED AS PRINCE

But Malcolm had come a long way, and now there were telegrams of condolence arriving from the Los Angeles chapter of the NAACP; from Whitney Young of the National Urban League, and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana.

Now Bix X was eulogized as a "prince" while a blanket of red carnations lay against the side of his burnished coffin between two tall flickering candles on a velvet pier. One stood at the foot, one at the head. The matted wax had hardened in puddles down their sides.

In the church, girls watched the service through the wood slats of a room behind the organ pipes.

All together, 800 police officers were assigned to insure a peaceful funeral for Malcolm X. They carried out their assignment splendidly.

Malcolm was indeed buried peacefully—if not with customary dignity.



CLOSEST associate of Malcolm: James Shabazz.



FIRE ESCAPES served as vantage point for viewing the funeral.



AMONG MOURNERS is Bayard Rustin (arrow) who organized march on Washington several years ago
(Journal-American Photo by Al Robbins)



ST PRAYER FOR MALCOLM X IS SAID BY SHEIK AHMED OSSMAN (LEFT), BESIDE THE WIDOW

Hartem Says Farewell to Malcolm X

Muslim rituals in an Eighth Ave. funeral home highlighted a solemn farewell yesterday afternoon to the assassinated Malcolm X. The funeral is planned for this morning at 9:30 in the Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ. The pastor of the temple said he has received eight telephoned bomb threats. Malcolm's followers demand that stores on 125th St. close today in his memory. Police pressed their search for a third assassin.

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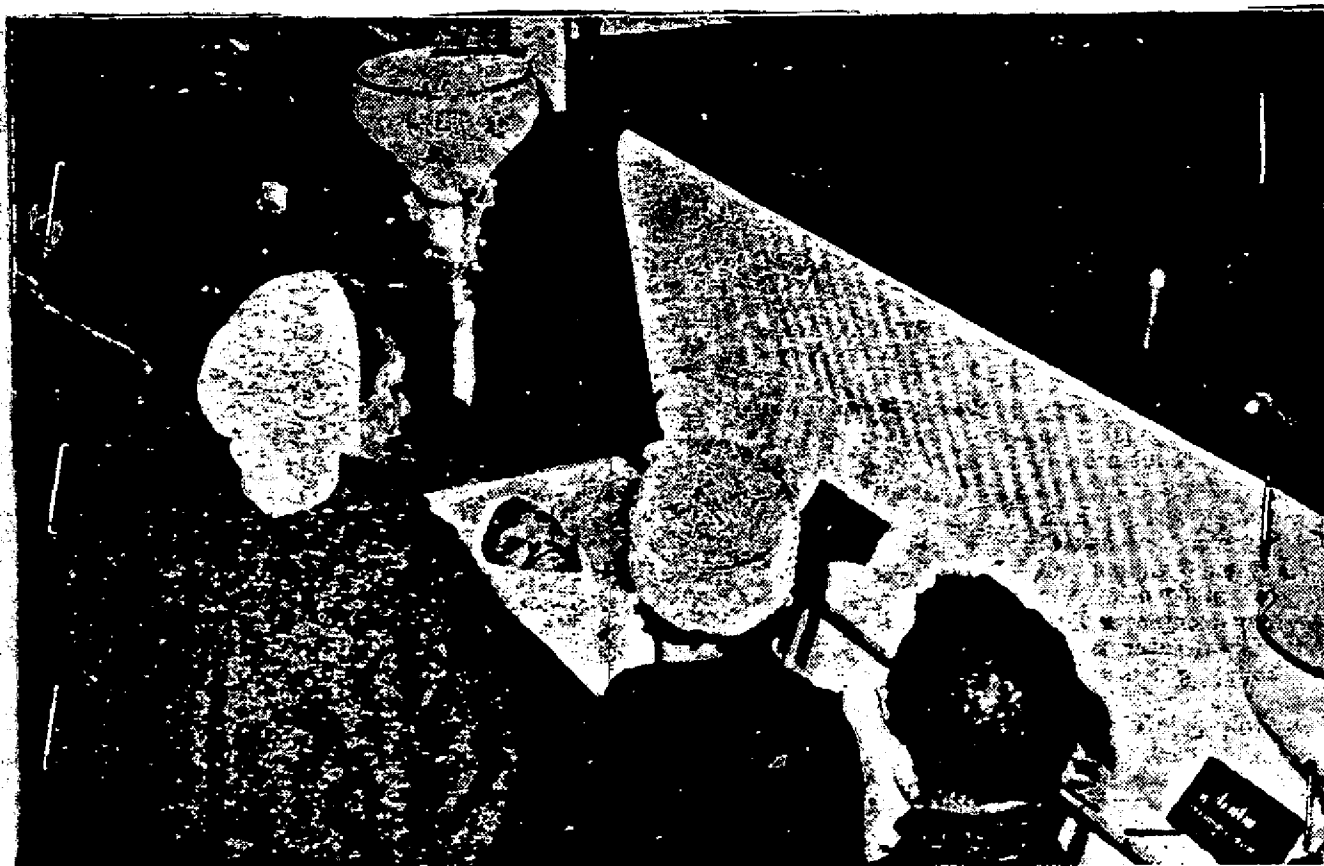
67C



Three children wait outside as they prepare to enter the funeral home. (NEWS photo by Jim Hughes)



Man calls at 27th St. as police arrive to close off funeral. (NEWS photo by Jim Hughes)



(NEWS photo by Jim Hughes)

The body of Malcolm X is
heathed in white linen of
Muslim faith at Unity Funeral
Chapel, 2352 Eighth Ave.

FBI

Date: 2/27/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED] b7c

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO [REDACTED] (P) b7c

RE: [REDACTED] aka b7c
IS - CUBA
RMRe report of SA [REDACTED] dated 2/9/65 b7c
at San Antonio.Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 8 copies of LHM
on captioned individual.Dissemination is being made locally to OSI, ONI, 112th
INTC, and two copies to Secret Service, San Antonio.Two extra copies of this communication and LHM are
being sent to the following offices since they have an interest
in activities relating to the deceased MALCOLM X: New York,
Chicago, and WFO.3-Bureau (Enc. 8) (AM RM)
2-Chicago (Enc. 2) (AM RM) b2
② New York (Enc. 2) (AM RM) [REDACTED] 105-8999-5552
2-WFO (Enc. 2) (157-350) (AM RM) [REDACTED]
5-San Antonio b2 b7c

(1-100-9191 NOI)

(1-157-285 MMI)

[REDACTED] b2 b7c
(14)

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SA 100-1983

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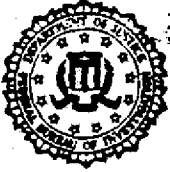
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CLASSIFICATION

The enclosed LHM is classified CONFIDENTIAL as it contains information from [REDACTED] of continuing value, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in identification and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

[REDACTED]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Antonio, Texas
February 27, 1965

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Antonio, Texas
February 27, 1968

Title

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Character

Reference San Antonio Memorandum, dated
and captioned as above

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2000 AT MALCOLM RITES

Cops Concentrate On Harlem Church

By TOM COLLINS and ARTHUR GOLDEN
of the World-Telegram Staff

Solemn rites were held today for slain Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X while one of the heaviest police concentrations in the city's history braced for possible violence.

There was none.

Subdued mourners filled the 500 seats in the Faith Temple Church of God in Christ, Amsterdam Ave. and 147th St., and another 1500 persons stood outside in the 22-degree cold and heard the services over a loudspeaker.

As mourners filed into the church, a score of Malcolm's followers methodically were searched for concealed weapons. One woman was ejected after a knife was found in her purse.

Malcolm's sympathizers distributed a 12-page interlinear translation of the Arabic service to each member of the audience. A picture of their assassinated leader was under the inscription:

Malcolm X died - martyred

for the cause of Islam and the enlightenment and uplifting of his people."

Malcolm's bronze coffin rested on a platform draped in dark red velvet in front of the altar. A floor lamp had been placed at the head and foot of the casket.

Shortly before the service started, Malcolm's widow, Betty, arrived with an 18-member party that included his mother and sister. The women could be heard to sob softly.

A plainclothes policeman was seated next to Malcolm's mother.

From a platform above the coffin, actor Ossie Davis eulogized Malcolm. Other persons

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY World Telegram & Sun

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...ent figures at the rite included James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, Bayard Rustin, coordinator of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington, and Assemblyman Percy Sutton, Malcolm's lawyer.

Alerted for the threat of violence, police took every precaution. Moments before the funeral started, all traffic was detoured on Amsterdam Ave., between 145th and 149th Sts.

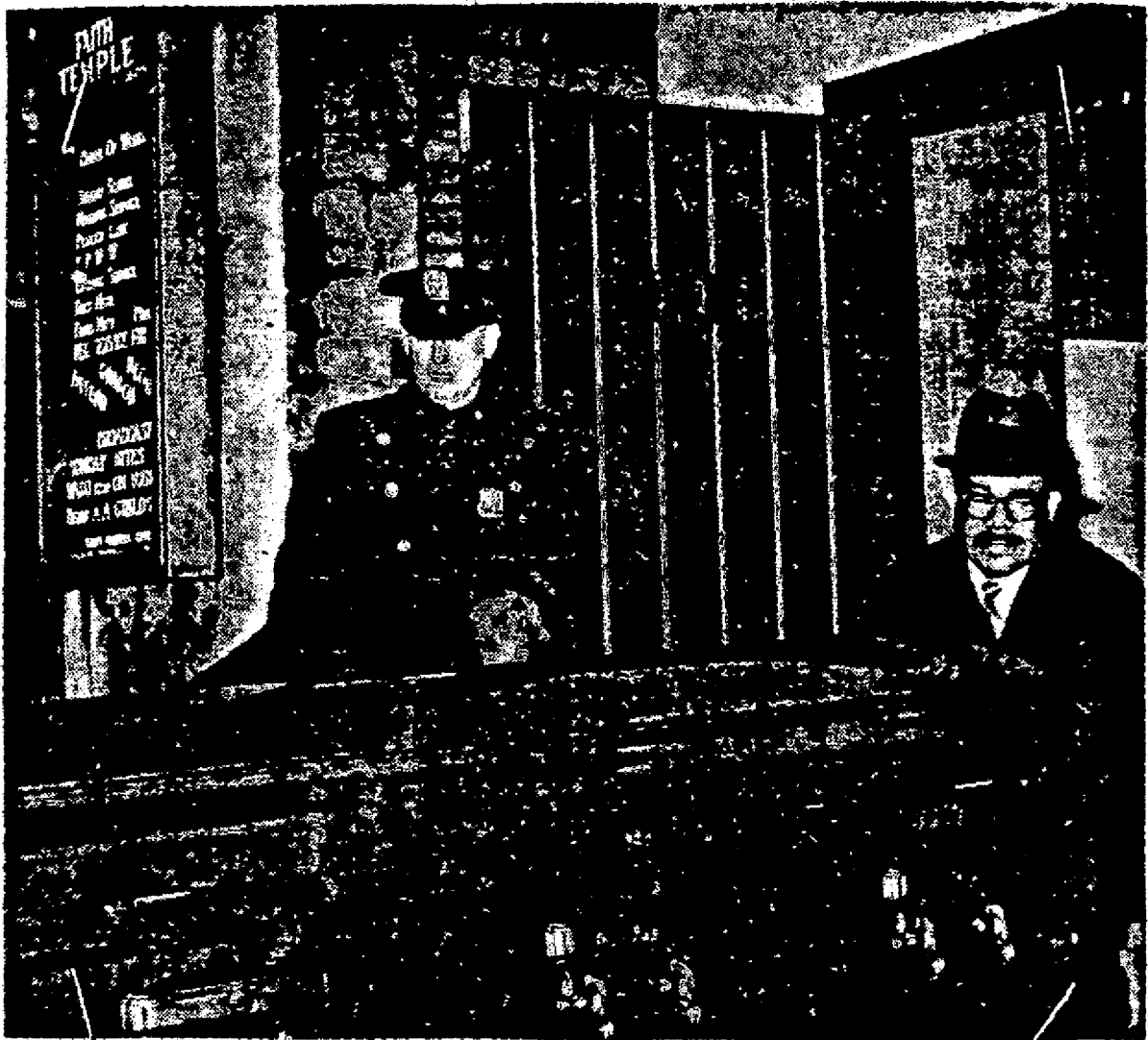
At least 50 uniformed police were stationed in front of the church and kept the crowd moving behind barricades.

The line of mourners waiting to be admitted to the church formed at daybreak. They waited quietly through the chill morning hours until police began to admit them, one by one.

But no one was on hand earlier this morning to witness the 20-block trip of the remains of the apostate Black Muslim from the Unity Funeral Home on 126th St. and Eighth Ave. to the church.

A dozen police cars accompanied the black limousine bearing Malcolm's body.

After the services, a funeral procession took the body to Ferncliff Cemetery, Hartsdale, for burial.



AP Photo
The coffin of Malcolm X is brought into Faith Temple Church of God in Christ for funeral.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

'Malcolm's Loss A Great Tragedy' Chicago Urban League Head Says

The loss of Malcolm X is "a great tragedy" for America, Chicago Urban League executive director Edwin C. Berry declared last week.

Berry, who was vacationing in Kingston, Jamaica last week, commented on the assassination of the controversial black nationalist leader during a telephone interview with a reporter.

"Although I disagreed with his philosophy and methods, I had to have great respect for his intellect," Berry said.

"He was extraordinarily brilliant — one of the sharpest minds I have encountered in this generation.

"He was very frustrated and very bitter, not only for himself, but for all his people," the Urban League executive stated.

Berry continued:

"It was one of the greatest pities, a great waste, that a man of Malcolm's sort was driven to be destructive.

"We lost something great when that happened."

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

THE NEW CRUSADER
3 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 2-27-65
Edition: WEEKLY EDITION
Author:
Editor: BALM L. LEAVELL
Title:
MALCOLM X

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The 'Rebel' Goes To His Grave As a Muslim

The Funeral

"Due Process Due"
See Page 10

By DONALD R. FLYNN

Journal-American Staff Writer

Malcolm X went to his grave today in the linen robes of a Muslim. In death as in life, he was attended by commotion and clamor. And his legacy was violence and the threat of more violence.

The maverick Negro advocate of black separatism, who in death drew 22,000 faithful or curious to his side in four days of public mourning in a Harlem funeral home, was given Muslim rites at his funeral services today.

His body was moved swiftly and secretly today from the Unity Funeral Home at 2353 8th ave. to the Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, at 1763 Amsterdam ave., near 145th st. for the funeral rites.

POLICE ESCORT

The bronze casket holding his body was carried to a hearse and driven quickly up St. Nicholas ave., west on 145th st. to Amsterdam and then to the church, with a police escort of a dozen cars, some in front and some in back.

There were no incidents. Funeral director Joseph E. Hall's comment: "Thank God." One hundred uniformed policemen, members of the Beulah

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NY

Herald Tribune

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Some of plainclothesmen mingled with the crowds in and outside of the temple.

MOSTLY CURIOSITY

There was not so much of carry as of high curiosity in it.

A typical scene:

Across the street from the temple a man was selling irises at 95 cents a bunch from a large cardboard box. He was hustled off by police after they searched the box for a bomb or any other weapons.

That's how it went at the funeral of Malcolm X.

Malcolm's body was wheeled into the church and placed outside the marble altar rail on a platform draped in dark red velvet.

BARRICADE STREETS

At each end of the casket, a lamp burned, illuminating Malcolm's body. It was sheathed in linen from head to toe, with only the face showing.

Before the body was brought in, police searched the Faith Temple for bombs, but found none. At least six bomb threats have been phoned to Bishop Alvin Childs, the pastor and "unofficial Mayor of Harlem."

Elaborate precautions were taken to prevent trouble, including the stationing of police inside and outside the temple throughout the night and during the Islamic rites.

Streets approaching the temple were barricaded to traffic, and other barriers controlled the crowd movements.

WESTCHESTER BURIAL

The temple, once the mosque house "Lide" but converted into a church about 15 years ago, was to open to the public at 8:45 a.m., with services beginning at 9:30 a.m., conducted by Sheikh Ahmed Hassoun, a member of the Sunni Muslims who reportedly met Malcolm X in Mecca last year and returned to Harlem to be "chaplain" and religious teacher of Malcolm's Organization for Afro-American Unity.

Hassoun went to the Unity Funeral Home yesterday, dressed in a brown toga and carrying a worked stick, and wrapped the body in white linen. "Now, the

body is ready for burial," he declared.

After services, the body was to be driven to Ferncliff Cemetery at Greenburg, for burial, going north on Amsterdam ave. to 155th st., east over the Macombs Dam Bridge to the Major Deegan Expwy., and north on the Thomas E. Dewey Thruway to Ext. 7 in Ardsley, and thence to Ferncliff.

The temple accommodates 1,000 worshippers. Some of the seats were designated for the press, and television cameras had been set up inside the temple to film the rites.

A handful of people arrived last night and stayed, including Mrs. Marie Phillips of Brooklyn, who said, "I expect this to be one of the biggest funerals Harlem has seen since the death of Bill 'Bojangles' Robinson."

Also in the temple through the night was C. B. Hughes of the funeral home, who said that the body of a Muslim must never be left unattended.

"I hope and pray that everything will be peaceful," commented Brother Therion Murphy, chairman and trustee of Faith Temple. "But then, there is always the fear that certain people might just want to cause trouble in a holy place."

"After all, if there is a certain element that will break into churches and rob poor boxes, then we must be prepared for anything," he said.

A group of prominent Negro women have announced they are soliciting contributions for the widow of Malcolm X and her four young children.

The committee of Concerned Mothers headed by Mrs. Sidney Pottier, actress Ruby Dee, singer-actress Abby Lincoln and Mrs. Michael Olatunji, said its sole purpose is to raise funds for "the family's pressing need for food, clothing and shelter."

Mrs. Betty Shabazz, pregnant with her fifth child, was left homeless when a fire bomb wrecked the Queens house they were living in. The group said the widow is "totally without resources."

The last persons to see Malcolm's body last night before the transfer were his widow, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, and his sister, Mrs. Ella Collins of Boston, who arrived at the funeral home in tears.

DODGES TV CREWS

Mrs. Shabazz was greeted by the glare of television camera lights and refused to leave the car until they were shut off. But the camera men refused to turn them off, so Mrs. Shabazz rode into a garage and entered by a side entrance.

Finally, the doors were shut and everyone left. And a few hours later a casket rested before the altar rail of Faith Temple, identified by two plaques which said:

"Al-Hajj Shabazz—
Malcolm X."

.Moved Under Cover of Night

Police Guard Body of Malcolm X.

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NY Journal American

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DATE 2-27-65

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A PATROLMAN TAKES POST BY COFFIN OF MALCOLM X INSIDE FAITH TEMPLE . . .



... AND OTHER POLICE STAND OUTSIDE CHURCH AT AMSTERDAM AVE. AND 14TH ST.

Journal-American Photo by John H. ...

Close In on Third Man In Malcolm X Killing

By JOHN MALLON, EDWARD DILLON and HENRY LEE

A third suspect in the Black Muslim assassination team that cut down Malcolm X in view of 400 of his followers in the Audubon Ballroom Sunday probably will be in custody today, high police sources told THE NEWS last night.

The execution squad numbered three, these sources said, and police have now accounted for all of them.

The first, Talmadge Hayer, 22, shot and beaten at the scene, is in Bellevue Hospital. The second, Norman 3X Butler, 26, described by police as a 5-foot-11 karate expert, Muslim enforcer and suspect in the shooting of another defector last month, was seized yesterday. The third, his identity known to the cops, has gone underground, but detectives hoped to find him overnight.

Flunked on Character

Only two years ago, the authorities disclosed, Butler tried to become a policeman. He passed all



Norman 3X Butler
Called Muslim enforcer

the exams except character, which he flunked badly when his record was checked out.

With the disclosure, police admitted there had been a Muslim effort to infiltrate the department. They refused to say whether they were investigating themselves to determine if any of the white-hating fanatics had slipped onto the force.

At the Unity funeral home, 2352 Eighth Ave., public viewing of Malcolm's body was barred for half an hour in mid-afternoon while Muslim rituals were performed.

Sheik Conducts Service

Sheik Ahmed Hassouni, an elderly man in white turban and dark robe, his white beard flowing to his chest, carried a forked stick as he arrived with a retinue of 12. The sheik, who had met Malcolm in Mecca and came here to teach at Malcolm's mosque in the Hotel Theresa, read passages from the Koran as the mourners stood at the bier.

Afterward, in preparation for the funeral at 9:30 A.M. today at Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, the sheik sheathed the body from head to foot in white linen, leaving only the face exposed.

Bishop Alvin A. Child, pastor of Faith Temple, said he has received eight telephoned threats of bombings.

Plead for Calm

Responsible Harlem leaders pleaded for community calm. The Amsterdam News, America's largest weekly Negro newspaper, counseled:

"This will not only show due respect to Malcolm X, but it will also serve to confound his critics."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Daily News

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PAGE 3

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who would like nothing better than to see black people rioting over his remains."

Boycott Fizzles Out

Similarly, leaders of the United Council of Harlem Organizations, formed after the Harlem riots, deplored the closing of stores under threat of boycott as a memorial to Malcolm X. The demand came from Jesse Gray, rent strike leader, and an outfit calling itself the Federation for Independent Political Action, but the proposal fizzled out.

A mere handful of stores closed, and Gray could muster only five pickets outside a 125th St. department store.

"I have no reason to believe that the people who called for this boycott have the interest of the community at heart," said former Manhattan Borough President Hulan Jack, co-chairman of the council's steering committee.

Food, Medical Needs

With co-chairman L. Joseph Overton, a labor leader, Jack said that the closings "would paralyze the entire community" because no consideration had been given "to the needs of the people in terms of food, medical supplies and sundries."

The merchants expressed bitterness over the threats from Gray's group. A luggage store proprietor exclaimed:

"Who do these guys think they are! No one came around and ordered us to close when President Kennedy died."

Butler, the reputed Muslim enforcer, was seized at his home, 561 Rosedale Ave., Bronx, and booked at 4 A.M. at the Wadsworth Ave. station. The short affidavit signed by Detective Ferdinand Cavallaro said that, "while acting in concert" with Talmadge Hayer, now in Bellevue, Butler "did assault one Malcolm X Little with guns, causing his death."

As a precaution, police obtained a van from the E. Fifth St. station to move Butler to W. 54th St. station for the remainder of the night. He was handcuffed to one of the four detectives who rode with him. A patrol car followed the van.

Mum About Injury

Similar precautions were taken when Butler was removed to headquarters for photographing and

then to the Criminal Courts Building for arraignment. Judge Mitchell D. Sherwin held him without bail for hearing March 3.

Butler's record includes a charge of unlawful assembly in the Bronx in 1954, dismissed; a burglary charge there six years later, reduced to disorderly conduct, on which he was jailed 30 days and fined \$50, and his arrest Jan. 7 in the shooting of City Corrections Officer Benjamin Brown, a Muslim defector like Malcolm X.

Last week, Butler and Thomas

15X Johnson, 30, of 1041 Bryant Ave., Bronx, were indicted for first degree assault. Butler has been free in \$5,000 bail, Johnson in \$10,000, pending pleadings March 3 in Bronx Supreme Court.

Disillusioned by Violence

Brown, 31, who lives at 635 Castle Hill Ave., Bronx, joined the Muslims about five years ago and belonged to Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, which was fire-bombed after Malcolm's assassination. Last spring, he became disillusioned by constant talk of violence, and repudiated the Harlem outfit, although he insisted he was still loyal to prophet Elijah Muhammad in Chicago.

Brown then established his own mosque, Universal Peace, in a store on Boston Road, Bronx, and hung the prophet's picture there.

According to police, Butler, Thomas 15X and a third man who was not indicted, visited Brown's mosque and Brown was shot in the back. His lung was punctured and he remains on sick leave.

Malcolm X Funeral Guarded —2d Assassination Suspect

By Sue Reinert

Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Police ordered extra men into Harlem today to prevent possible violence at the funeral of Malcolm X, the Black Nationalist leader who was assassinated last Sunday.

A police spokesman, however, said the ceremony at 11:30 this morning would be "just another funeral." He added: "We think that nothing will happen, but we have to take every precaution."

More than 8,000 persons viewed Malcolm's body yesterday at the Unity Funeral Home, 2352 Eighth Ave., bringing to 22,000 the total number who filed past since the public was first admitted on Tuesday.

Preparations for today came after the arrest, early yesterday, of a second suspect in the assassination. He was identified as Norman 3X Butler, 26, of 661 Rosedale Ave.

the Bronx. Police said he was an "enforcer" for the Black Muslim mosque—since destroyed by a fire bomb—that Malcolm headed before he broke away from the Muslim group.

Police also described Butler as an expert in karate (the art of breaking bones with a blow of the edge of the hand) and, several years ago, an unsuccessful candidate for the police force.

Like other Black Muslims, Butler took another name—"3X"—upon his induction into the movement. The "X" represents a repudiation of all ties with the white race. Muslims with common first names often put a numeral before the X to avoid confusion in identification.

The other suspect, ~~Tammage~~



Associated Press
Norman 3X after arrest.

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NY Herald Tribune

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Hayer, 22, was arrested Sunday outside the Audubon Ballroom, 186th St. and Broadway, where Malcolm was shot to death. Hayer had been shot by one of Malcolm's bodyguards, Reuben Francis, police said, and is under heavy guard while he recovers. He has not said whether he is a Muslim, police said.

The identification of Butler as a Muslim was the first police link establishing a connection between the Chicago-based movement and the assassination. Police have worked on the theory that Malcolm's defection from the Muslims lay behind his murder. Elijah Muhammad, the Muslims' leader, has denied that his group was implicated.

Malcolm's funeral will begin at 9:30 a. m. at the Church of God in Christ at Amsterdam Ave. and 147th St. The pastor of the church is Bishop Alvin A. Childs, the "Mayor" of Harlem.

Police refused, as is their custom, to give the size of the force they will post, but the indications were that it would be large. But they did announce the route of the funeral cortege from the church to Ferncliff Cemetery in Hartsdale.

The Muslim Mosque at 116th St. and Lenox Ave. was destroyed by fire the night after Malcolm's assassination, and the funeral home where his body lies has received bomb threats daily.

A student at the High School of Music and Art, 125th St. and Convent Ave., reported that school had been dismissed for the day at 1 p. m. yesterday. He said his teacher had told him the school had received a bomb threat.

A Board of Education spokesman denied that there had been a threat but confirmed that school had been dismissed early. He said the action was taken because of fear for the safety of students if they were in the 125th St. area at 3 p. m., the time set in a demand Thursday that stores on the street close in memory of Malcolm. The majority of the students are white.

It was a quiet and an unusually slow day on store-lined 125th St. at 3 p. m. yesterday. The threat of a boycott if the stores didn't close at 3 p. m. yesterday and all day today, out of respect for Malcolm—was generally ignored by merchants, but publicity apparently scared snooper away.

The demand that the stores close was made by a group called the Federation of Independent Political Action. Jesse Gray, the rent strike leader and a founder of FIPA, promised picket lines at stores that stayed open, but by 5 p. m. Mr. Gray had rounded up only 11 pickets, four of whom were white.

He put them in front of Blumstein's Department Store, at 230 W. 125th. Blumstein's was chosen, according to Mr. Gray, because other merchants on the street had been ready to go along with the closing until Jack Blumstein, the store's president, talked them out of it. Mr. Blumstein said he had not been contacted at any time by Mr. Gray, and doubted that other merchants had either.

The Police Department had sent dozens of extra men into the area yesterday, but there was no hint of trouble. There was one moment of excitement, though, when police spotted an old Army ammunition box in a truck parked in front of Blumstein's. The contents proved to be one can of Vista One-Step Cleaning Wax.

Earlier in the day, the United Council of Harlem Organizations, a group set up after last summer's riots, denounced the boycott threat and urged Negroes not to honor it. The council, of which Mr. Gray is a member, also includes representatives from the conventional civil rights groups and black Nationalist organizations.

In a statement, the council condemned Malcolm's assassination and asked "maximum cooperation between the Police Department and the community." It said that closing the stores on 125th St. without providing "food, medical supplies and sundries" from other sources "would paralyze the entire community."

At the offices of Muhammad Speaks, the official newspaper of the Black Muslims, a man who refused to give his name said that Norman 3X Butler had been a member of the Harlem mosque, but he added: "We have no enforcers. We

recognize this as religious persecution. The man is a scapegoat. There is more to this than meets the eye. We smell a rat—a smelly rat. Put that in the headline."

Later, a man who said he was Minister Henry, referred all inquiries to the Black Muslim headquarters in Chicago.

Butler spent the day in the men's prison at 125 White St. after being arraigned in Manhattan Criminal Court yesterday morning. Efforts to find out whom he had requested to be his attorney were unavailing. The telephone at his home, where he lived with his wife, Theresa, and four young children, was not answered.

Butler was awaiting trial on

another charge when he was arrested yesterday. He and two other mosque members were accused of shooting Benjamin Brown, a city corrections officer, last month because Mr. Brown, also a Muslim, had allegedly tried to start his own mosque in the Bronx.

Mr. Brown said yesterday that he had known Butler for two years, but that Butler had not made much impression on him one way or another. "He was just like any other Muslim," Mr. Brown said.

He said that Butler had told him several times that he was taking karate lessons "on the outside," and that this "might have got him a pro-



Herald Tribune photo by NAT FEIN

HARLEM PARADE—Negro and white pickets march past stores on 125th St. near 7th Ave., yesterday afternoon.

motion" in the Muslim organization. Both Mr. Brown and Butler, like all male members of the Muslims, were in the Fruit of Islam, supposedly the defensive force of the movement.

The police refused to give out any background information about Butler except for his arrest record and the fact that he had once tried to join the police force. He passed the written tests but failed on "character," police said. A police spokesman said the specific reason for his failure on "character" was "confidential" and could not be disclosed.

At the funeral home where Malcolm's body has been reposing since Tuesday, the Unity Funeral Home, Eighth Ave. and 126th St., mourners continued to view the coffin. Several women wept, and one was taken to Harlem Hospital after she collapsed in front of the home crying hysterically.

In midafternoon, the home was closed to the public for half an hour while a friend of Malcolm's from Mecca prepared the body for burial according to Moslem ritual. The friend, Sheik Ahmed Hassoum, who has been teaching Arabic at Malcolm's headquarters in the Hotel Theresa, will conduct a graveside service today

at Ferncliff Cemetery, Hartsdale, N. Y.

Sheik Hassoum told newsmen after he finished the preparations that he had sheathed the body in white linen, leaving only Malcolm's face exposed. He also read passages from the Koran to 12 men who accompanied him stood by the coffin.

James Farmer, the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, reiterated his doubts yesterday that the Black Muslims had been responsible for the assassination of Malcolm. "Whose interest could have been served?" he said.

An organization that had been named in other speculations about who was behind the killing, the Revolutionary Action Movement, issued a statement yesterday denying any involvement. RAM also denied having anything to do with the alleged plot to blow up three national monuments.

The mimeographed statement bore the address, "Black America, Box 359, New York N. Y. (10025)," and was signed "WE WILL WIN" and under that, the name of the group. The statement called Malcolm's death "a damaging blow to the struggle of Afro-Americans and the oppressed peoples of the world."

World Pays Little Attention to Malcolm Slaying

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Feb. 27—The murder of Malcolm X has made no great impact on world opinion. Malcolm himself is not generally being treated as a martyr, even in African and Asian areas sensitive to the American race problem.

Those are the conclusions of a survey by New York Times correspondents who have reported on reaction around the world to the killing of Malcolm X in Harlem last Sunday.

The assassination drew headlines in many countries, but there was relatively little comment after the first day or so. And less use of the murder as a reason to attack the United States than might have been expected.

In Nairobi, Kenya, for example, local observers agreed that the murder had made little or no impression, despite newspaper headlines the first day. Statements about American violence, which are made on many occasions, were not forthcoming.

In Lagos, Nigeria, editorial comment deplored the murder but did not treat Malcolm as a martyr or endorse his views. In fact, his approach was contrasted unfavorably with the nonviolent approach of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Klan Blamed

In Algeria, the first headline said Malcolm had been "assassinated by the Ku Klux Klan." An editorial in the pro-Communist daily, Alger Republican, blamed the killing on "American Fascism." A correspondent said there were signs of Malcolm's being raised to martyrdom in Algeria.

In Georgetown, British Guiana, pickets marched outside the United States consulate accusing American "imperialists."

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of the murder. They were supporters of Dr. Cheddi Jagan, the leftist former premier.

In Peking, a Communist party daily, Jenmin Jihpao, said that Malcolm had been killed by American "ruling circles and racists." The paper pictured him as a martyr and said his death showed that "in dealing with imperialist oppressors, violence must be met with violence."

Moscow presented an interesting contrast in its treatment of the murder. There was the briefest of stories in Pravda and no editorial comment of any kind.

Ignored by Poles

In Poland there was no noticeable reaction of any kind. A correspondent said few Poles had heard of Malcolm or were interested in the racial issue.

Malcolm's conversion to the Moslem religion apparently did not give his death very great significance in the Middle East.

From Cairo, a correspondent reported that the murder had been reported but no great fuss made over it. He said there was no evidence of an attempt to raise Malcolm to the martyr status of the late Patrice Lumumba of the Congo.

In Beirut, where newspapers represent all the political trends in the Arab world, not a single paper had an editorial comment on the murder. A correspondent saw no sign of his being considered an important figure.

From New Delhi and Saigon reports were that the murder had had very little notice and that public interest was slight.

In Western Europe the murder was essentially a one-day sensation, rating big headlines but drawing no significant political reaction.

Paris reports found no sign of Malcolm's being regarded as a major figure or a martyr. The West German press handled the

murder as if it were in the Chicago gangster tradition.

The London newspapers have probably played the story harder and longer than most, giving continuing emphasis to the police work on the murder in New York and on the security precautions in Harlem and for Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims.

There were only two editorial comments in The Times and The Daily Telegraph, neither treating Malcolm as a major figure.

Among younger liberals in Britain, where Malcolm visited last month, there is more sympathy for him. He made a strong impression in a speech at the London School of Economics, in which he favored not

Negro separatism but genuine integration.

A London group calling itself the Council of African Organizations has violently attacked the United States over the murder. The group is made up of students and other unofficial African representatives here.

A press release from this council described Malcolm as a "leader in the struggle against American imperialism, oppression and racialism." It said "the butchers of Patrice Lumumba are the very same monsters who have murdered Malcolm X in cold blood."

In tomorrow's editions The Weekly Observer begins running excerpts from an autobiography of Malcolm X.

The Manhunt

An intense manhunt was on today for a third Mr. X in the bizarre public killing of Negro racist Malcolm X as two other Black Muslim "enforcers" sat silently behind bars, disowned by cult leader Elijah Muhammad.

Police reportedly know the identity of the third man who cut down Malcolm with a hail of slugs last Sunday, and may also know who the other two men—the decoys—are.

Police swarmed through Harlem trying to pick up the trail of the suspects, all of whom are considered dangerous. They were part of an even larger task force which was dispatched today to maintain order during the observance of Malcolm X's funeral.

KEEP CLOSE WATCH

Several hundred extra police and two dozen or more radio cars — the Department never gives specifics on protection—kept watch on the Faith Temple, site of the funeral services, and along W. 125th st.

Silent and defiant in jail today is Norman 3X Butler, 26, muscular karate expert and reportedly a member of the "Fruit of Islam" guard of Harlem's Mosque No. 7 at 102 W. 116th st.

A spokesman of the mosque insisted again yesterday that Norman 3X, while admittedly a member of the Black Muslims, was not "an enforcer," as police have labeled him.

"We have no enforcers," the man said. "The man is a scapegoat. We recognize this as religious persecution. There is more to this than meets the eye. We smell a rat—a smelly rat."

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Butler is in the men's prison at 125 White st., apparently making arrangements for a defense lawyer. Until yesterday, he was free in \$10,000 bail in another case, the shooting of another Black Muslim, Correction Officer Benjamin Brown.

(And in Chicago, cult leader Elijah Muhammad said he had never heard of Butler.)

Butler, ironically, applied for appointment to the Police Dept. only two years ago, and passed all his tests with flying colors—except one. His character was marred by a criminal record.

He was charged with unlawful assembly in 1954 in the Bronx, but that was later dismissed. However, a burglary charge in 1960 in the Bronx, later reduced to a charge of disorderly conduct, resulted in a 30-day jail term and a \$50 fine.

TWO MORE SOUGHT

Also jailed in Malcolm's murder is 22-year-old Talmadge Hayer of Paterson, N. J., another silent witness who reportedly has not admitted he is a Black Muslim.

Police also want to find two other men who stood up in the audience of the Audubon Ballroom, 166th st. and Broadway, on the day of the slaying and went through a phony quarrel routine to attract attention.

When Malcolm's guards ran to quiet them, three men opened up on Malcolm with a shotgun, a .38 and a .45, killing him with 16 slugs.

THREATEN BOYCOTT

Hayer reportedly fired the shotgun, police say. Butler is accused of being one of the other gunmen, and of "acting in concert" with Hayer in the murder.

As the manhunt went on, police also kept a wary eye on Harlem's "Main Street" — W. 125th st. — as a new Negro organization tried to clamp a "boycott" on stores to force them to close "in respect" for Malcolm.

The "boycott" flopped yesterday, and storekeepers generally said they'll also stay open today.

Police said they'll make sure no store is forced to close unless it wants to.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm X - Nat 'King' Cole, Two Men

By JIM POWELL

Strange that fate should decree that two men one hundred and eighty degrees out of phase with each other, should die just seven days apart. Nat King Cole, a singer, humanitarian and American extraordinary, was being given a memorial service at Tabernacle Baptist Church, 4100 S. Indiana, when the Rev. Louis Rawles, announced that Malcolm X had been assassinated. Malcolm X, a Black Nationalist, they call him but a man fighting for a place in the Sun is what I call him. Malcolm X was the most eloquent spokesman of the Black Muslim movement in America. He fell into disfavor in 1963 following the death of President Kennedy when he said of the death that it "Was just a case of chickens coming home to roost."

He was in heavy demand as a public speaker and held his own with any group in any discussion. But he was not for being beaten with a billy club or turning the other cheek, for any reason.

Reared in violence (his father was lynched while Malcolm watched), abounding in narcotics, burglary and robbery, Malcolm X had come a long way. He was well thought of in the Negro community, regardless of his philosophys. I guess I'd better classify that remark. Some Negroes claim that Malcolm X was the holdback, if we were rid of him we could progress in peace, free from any threat of violence. Well, if you think so just keep your ears and eyes open and we'll see.

The irony of America, the land

that could produce a Malcolm X, has also produced a Nat King Cole. He could have easily become embittered because of adverse treatment; he was beaten on the stage in Birmingham, Alabama, in California, the neighborhood that grew to love him so well, had actually attempted to bar his moving in.

When one of the lawyers of a resident told him: "We don't want any disgraceful characters coming into our neighborhood..." to which Nat retaliated: "If I see anybody like that trying to move in I'll be the first one to complain."

This was typical of Nat King Cole, he was a quiet man with dignity. When he did aid his fellow man he did it quietly without fanfare. Others in his field adored him, the British Broadcasting Company played Nat King Cole records for eighteen hours in one day in tribute to him; the Queen of England dedicated a forty-five minute program to him; The Los Angeles professional baseball teams donated an award to him as fan of the year.

During memorial services at the Tabernacle Baptist Church, Captain Walter Dyett clarified an old question, did Nat King Cole attend Wendell Phillips High School or Du Sable? Captain Dyett explained it this way: "When Nat King Cole attended Du Cable High School as it came to be known, it was an extension of Wendell Phillips."

Wendell Phillips at 49th and State Street was renamed DuSable in honor of the French Negro who was the first man to settle in Chicago. Nat was a student when the change in name occurred.

Had Malcolm X lived he probably would have continued to grow in popularity and power and do not think for one minute that he was not needed. As long as America produces Ku Klux Klans, John Birchers, Nazis and other bigoted sects, the likes of Malcolm X to meet them on their own terms is needed.

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

THE NEW CRUSADER
5 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

By Crusader Brown—

Last week NAT "KING" COLE was buried. Saturday REV. BODDIE died. Sunday MALCOLM X



was assassinated. Not many weeks ago, S A M COOKE was murdered and many others and the year 1965 is still very young. Death is our constant companion — the question in many cases is, "Why" are we (The whole Human Race), as civilized as we think. Have we progressed as far as possible — Mentally, and now reverting back to the Days of Noah — where virtue and morals had been substituted for Lust and Gold. When a person's life can be snuffed out for kicks, or a Thrill. Where a Mother, or a Father can kill their whole Family and themselves because of tension and insanity. Where Children or Youths ages 10 to 19 years, carry guns to school, and in the street, to kill if necessary. Where Parents, who know the kind of (Little Angels) they have made, yet they try to prove to the Courts. Its not the Child's fault, makes one wonder.

Is this the "Great Society" I hear so much of lately. If this is it, forget it. Where Presidents are assassinated, where freedom of speech is only for certain people, where Civil Rights Laws were passed to assure all people the right to vote. That is, if you're not beyond the Mason-Dixon Line. After you pass there, "Black Man," you're on your own. Don't call UNCLE SAM, he is too busy in Viet Nam, or some foreign country.

The Great Society who makes no comment about the JOHN BIRCHER SOCIETY, or the NAZI PARTY, Bund Organization, the Murderous White Citizens Council and the K.K.K., and yet the Black Muslims, Malcolm X, the Slain Leader of the Afro-American Organization, those two Organization's leaders and members are called fanatic groups. "Why?"

I haven't heard of either of the two organizations members going out to beat some innocent white person for kicks, or otherwise. But they believe in an eye for an eye. I go along with that. I think the UNITED STATES believe in the same thing. Remember last week when the North Viet Nam soldiers bombed a shelter where 24 or 25 American soldiers were killed, the next two days, the American airmen were bombing North Viet Nam in retaliation, yet the members of the White Citizens Council and the K.K.K. can murder three Civil Rights Workers, and other NEGROES.

Yes, the government knows the guilty ones, yet no one has been convicted as yet, the "Great White Father," and his Great Society with the same constant companion "Death" is drawn closer to War with China, who regards him as a paper Tiger. It would be a very wise move on the Great White Father, to extend a Hand of Brotherhood to his Dark Brother, who is really the only help he really has, to count on, and if anything should happen to Rev. King, no matter what course you may take, the Negro may not give you the help you will want and need.

Malcolm X died, because of the things he believed in. I personally respected the man for the way he pulled himself up from the gutter and really became No Two Negro on TV and Radio Show Panels of Discussion. Not only did his followers lose a very good leader, but also the Black Muslims lost a very good member and leader. I hope this murder was not done by one of the Muslim members, because this is the kind of thing that has helped Mr. Charley keep us down for years. That is to create hard feelings between the different groups and organizations and start us fighting among ourselves and then we lose all the respect and gains we once had and achieved.

I still believe that we have a few Judases in our midst that will kill any "NEGRO LEADER" if MR. CHARLEY would offer them 13 PIECES OF SILVER.

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

8 THE NEW CRUSADER
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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

CHARGE 2d MAN IN MALCOLM X SLAYING IN N.Y.

Called an Enforcer for Black Muslims

BY JOSEPH EGELHOF
(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

New York, Feb. 26 — Police today linked the shotgun assassination of Malcolm X, 39, last Sunday to the Black Muslims. They did this by arresting a 26-year-old Negro, Norman Butler, known as "3X," and describing him as an enforcer for the Chicago-based sect.

Butler was the second man seized in the murder of Malcolm X, who defected from the Black Muslims to lead another black nationalist group.

Funeral services for Malcolm X are scheduled for tomorrow. The other slaying suspect,



(AP Wirephoto)
Butler in custody

Talmadge Hayer, 22, was captured Sunday after he was shot in the thigh by one of Malcolm's bodyguards.

Charged with Homicide

Hayer has refused to say even whether he is a Black Muslim. Butler glowered silently this morning as he, like Hayer, was charged with homicide.

Police believe a team of five killers, three with shotguns and two with pistols, carried out the assassination in the Audubon ballroom. Tuesday morning the New York headquarters of the Black Muslims was destroyed by fire believed touched off in revenge by a bomb.

At the time of his arrest early this morning, Butler was free on \$10,000 bail. He had been seized in the wounding Jan. 6 of Benjamin Brown, 31, a New York City corrections officer, who like Malcolm X, was a defector from the Black Muslims.

Wife Tells of Visit

Police also had picked up William [Willie 8X] Gaines, 27, as a member of the gang that shot Brown, who was hit in the chest and is still on sick leave. They are seeking Thomas (15X) Johnson, 30.

Brown's wife said Brown was attacked late at night several hours after Butler and other men had visited him at his mosque in the Bronx and asked him to take down a small picture of Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, for whom Brown retained an admiration.

She said Brown retorted that they should all live in peace. But after her husband was shot, she said, he gave up his venture in religion.

Police Withhold Evidence

Butler, 6 feet 2 and husky, has a wife and four children, police said. They withheld information on evidence against him.

Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph Coyle said Butler was picked up "as a result of our investigation" and that "the case is still under investigation." He said, "This is a very important arrest."

According to detectives, Butler is a member of Black Muslim mosque No. 7—the one wrecked by the fire bomb—and an officer of the Black Muslim guard known as Fruit of Islam. He is said to be a karate expert.

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

4

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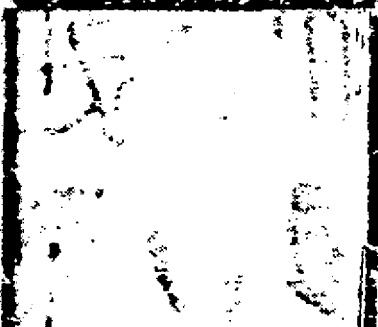
(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

COMMUNIST PLOT MAY HAVE FIGURED IN MALCOLM X MURDER

His defection from an extreme left-wing group which considers Stalinism and Soviet Communism as excessively conservative, may have been a factor in the assassination of Malcolm X, according to some observers.

The group is a splinter of another extremist organization, the Socialist Workers Party.

Both groups are made up of followers of the late Louis Brockway, the late socialist leader who was killed in 1954 after being indicted for the formation of the party.



From the dissidents against the party of:

1. "The group of nationalists which expressed itself in a lack of interest for building an international movement and a lack of domestic reaction which gave impetus to anti-imperialist politics."

2. "Stalinism and skepticism against the possibility of making a group of leaders and therefore skepticism about the necessity of ourselves — the revolutionary Marxists — to play in the immediate struggle."

The dissidents call themselves the Revolutionary Tendency, Young Peoples Socialist League.

In the current issue of their publication, Spartacist, they charge that Malcolm X, the man whom they rated "top candidate for Black Leader," had "sold out" to "imperialism" and involved himself in international intrigue.

The Spartacist writes: "Malcolm X has now become the protégé of Sheikh Muhammad Sarraf Al-Sabhan, head of the World Muslim League and described by Mr. X as 'the richest

and most powerful in Saudi Arabia today... Many very responsible Arabs refer to him as the 'real king of Hejaz,' this is, Arabia — the last bastion of legal chattel slavery (of black Africans) in the world today. From that land of oil-imperialism it is no wonder that he murdered Malcolm X in his now position as official representative of the World Muslim League, has assured the American bourgeoisie that he is not anti-American, un-American, seditious or subversive.

In proclaiming his new-found Brotherhood of all Mankind he has the effrontery to proclaim

before the Negro people that some of his dearest friends are — Uncle Tom!

"He goes on to say 'I take all religious, political, economic, psychological and racial arguments to make the Human Family and the Human Society complete. We must forget politics and propaganda and approach this (the race problem) as a Human Problem' calling for 'real meaningful actions, sincerely motivated by a deep sense of humanism and moral responsibility. It has now become the prime responsibility of Negro leaders to make their own people see that with equal rights go equal responsibilities.'"

The group openly advocates violence as a means for attaining its purpose.

"We raise the demand of organized armed self-defense by Negroes against racist violence and call for the formation of black councils in the urban ghettos," it declared.

Such councils, the statement continued, "have a natural basis for the organization of defense patrols to protect the community against future police riots — and such patrols are the embryo of that workers militia which will defend the coming American Revolution."

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

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1 THE NEW CRUSADER
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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm X Man of Controversy

By NEGRO PRESS INTERNATIONAL

Malcolm X packed a lot of living into 39 years.

Born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, he was one of 11 children who grew up in poverty.

His father rallied to the pied-piker-like call of Marcus Garvey's "Black Nationalism" of the 1920s.

Malcolm's ambition was to become a lawyer. Instead, he became involved in the New York rackets, where he earned the nick-name of "Big Red."

His reward was prison. But in jail, he was converted to the philosophies of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, Messenger of Allah.

A law career eluded Malcolm, but he did become one of the nation's most gifted orators.

He rose rapidly in "Black" Muslim ranks under the tutelage and guidance of Muhammad, reaching the point where he was generally considered heir apparent to the aging Muslim leader.

Then came Malcolm's intemperate remarks concerning the slaying of President John F. Kennedy, in which he stated: "The chickens have come home to roost."

He was suspended by Muhammad and eventually left the organization to set up his own militant black nationalist group.

His blood-splattered body was rushed to the Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center nearby, where he died in the emergency room.

Officials at "Black" Muslim national headquarters in Chicago declined immediate comment on the slaying of Malcolm X.

Malcolm became a follower of Muhammad while serving a prison term.

After his release, he became active in the movement, rising to a high position in the Muslim hierarchy.

He often gave "The Messenger" (Elijah Muhammad) credit for salvaging him from a life of sin and crime.

A blood brother of Malcolm, Philbert X, a Muslim minister in four Michigan cities, accused Malcolm of trying to lead Negroes into "violence, bloodshed and loss of life."

Malcolm had stated at the time of his break with the Muslims that it is "dangerous and criminal for Negro leaders to stress the non-violent approach."

"Negroes must be taught how to defend themselves under attack. They must be taught how to use rifles and shotguns."

The black nationalist's approach was also criticized by Bayard Rustin, organizer of the Historical March on Washington on Aug. 28, 1963.

"The history and spirit of the American Negro reject the idea of rifles, bullets and gun clubs," Rustin declared.

Shortly before his departure from the "Black" Muslims, Malcolm made a tour of Egypt and the Moslem world. He returned with a new name, Malik Al Shabazz.

Malcolm's father, a Baptist minister, died under mysterious circumstances while the family was living in Michigan. He was found crushed under a street car.

On one occasion last spring, Malcolm X remarked:

"We need lots of Mau Mau here. The Mau Mau were the greatest people in Africa, the greatest freedom fighters in Africa."

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

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On a more recent occasion, Mal-
colm target Negro Americans in
a speech at Afro-American Broad-
casting company meeting in the
Ford Auditorium in Detroit, "to
organize and strike back when you
or your homes are attacked by
the anti-Negro group, the Ku

Klux Klan."

He stressed, however, that he
was not inviting Negroes to be
"violent without a cause." He
added though, that he felt "the
black man is justified in stand-
ing up and defending himself."

"The Klan goes through the
country frightening black people,
and I say it is time for black
people to organize to pull the
white sheets off the Klansmen,"
Malcolm declared.

Still unsolved is the mysterious
fire-bomb which routed his fam-
ily from their home in the As-
toria section of Queens. An un-
explained bottle of gasoline was
found later on a dresser in Mal-
colm's home. He had charged that
the "Black" Muslims had touch-
ed off the fire. They, in turn, ac-
cused Malcolm of setting it in
order to gain publicity and sym-
pathy.

FBI NEW YORK

FBI WASH DC

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TO BOSTON AND NEW YORK A---7---

FROM DIRECTOR \25-330971\

NATION OF ISLAM, IS - NOI.

IN CONNECTION WITH SLAYING MALCOLM X LITTLE, BOSTON SHOULD,
THROUGH SOURCES AND INFORMANTS, DETERMINE CURRENT WHEREABOUTS OF
ALL INDIVIDUALS PREVIOUSLY INVOLVED IN INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE
CONNECTED WITH THE NATION OF ISLAM. ALSO DETERMINE WHEREABOUTS
OF SUCH INDIVIDUALS ON FEBRUARY TWENTY-ONE LAST, THE DATE OF
MALCOLM X LITTLE'S MURDER. THIS WILL INCLUDE INDIVIDUALS WHO
b7c ATTACKED [REDACTED] ON DECEMBER TWENTY-FIVE LAST, THOSE WHO
ATTACKED TWO NATION OF ISLAM DEFECTORS IN ROXBURY AND THOSE
INVOLVED IN THE STOPPING OF LITTLE'S FOLLOWERS EN ROUTE TO LOGAN
AIRPORT, BOSTON, DURING ONE NINE SIX FOUR. ALL SOURCES MUST
ALSO BE SPECIFICALLY QUESTIONED REGARDING POSSIBLE REPRISALS ON
PART OF NATION OF ISLAM OR FOLLOWERS OF LITTLE. SUBMIT RESULTS
BY RETURN TEL.

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FBI NEW YORK

Re Malcolm X Little
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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-7809)
NATION OF ISLAM, IS DASH NOI

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2-New York
(105-8999)
1-Supervisor #43

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page 2

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2/26/65

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-399321)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)
SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE
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3-Bureau (RM)
1-New York

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105-8999-5934 pages 2-4

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-7809)

DATE: 2/26/65

FROM : SAC DONALD E. RONEY, DIVISION IV

SUBJECT: *Malcolm Little*
NATION OF ISLAM;
IS-NOI *yes - in info*

Inspector J. A. SIZOO called from the Bureau this morning and referred to information we had previously furnished the Bureau to the effect that the NYCPD had today arrested NORMAN 3X BUTLER as one of the participants in the shooting of MALCOLM X. The Bureau noted that according to information previously furnished the Bureau by the NYO, BUTLER had been arrested by the NYCPD on about 1/6/65 with two other individuals, THOMAS JOHNSON and [REDACTED] charged with shooting one BENJAMIN BROWN in front of a store wherein BROWN had set up a Muslim worship hall at 1473 Boston Road, Bronx, New York. BROWN [REDACTED]

BROWN [REDACTED]

Mr. SIZOO pointed out that in view of the obvious propensities for violence [REDACTED]

Mr. SIZOO said we should also consider that since BUTLER was involved in the shooting of MALCOLM X, his two associates in the shooting of BENJAMIN BROWN should also be considered as likely suspects, THOMAS JOHNSON and [REDACTED] and that we should determine from our informants, by questioning them and exhibiting photographs, whether JOHNSON and [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
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DE [REDACTED]
(6)

1 - Supervisor #43
1 - SAC D. E. RONEY

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105-7809

were present in the Audubon Ballroom when MALCOLM X was shot. Mr. SIZOO pointed out it would be a real feather in our cap if through our informants we were able to identify other assailants in the MALCOLM X shooting.

Mr. SIZOO reiterated previous instructions that we should be continually giving our informants specific assignments to aggressively endeavor to determine through their contacts and conversations identities of participants in this shooting, and whatever further information concerning it can be developed in order that the Bureau may be promptly and fully advised.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

New-Yorker

Seized At Muslim Meeting

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

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DATE 2/8/89 BY 6219 JHE/WES/89

Arrest Heightens Tension

Hunt 'Brothers'
At Convention,
Man Tells Police

The Black Muslim national convention opened Friday in the Coliseum in an air of high tension with the arrest of a New York man who tried to enter the building without permission.

The man, a Negro, identified himself as Donald Williams, 35, who said he came here to see his "brothers."

Williams did not spell out for police the identity of his "brothers" and this led to speculation for a time that he might be associated with either the Muslims or a rival black nationalist group.

He was carrying a shopping bag that contained an empty coffee can, a water cup and a loaf of bread. He was charged with loitering and is scheduled to appear Saturday in Holiday Court.

ONE OF the first Muslims to arrive was heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay, accompanied by eight men.

The usually talkative Clay, who has been mentioned as a possible assassination target of black nationalists, walked by reporters without saying anything.

Clay, dressed in a blue suit and tie, took a seat on the speakers' platform.

THE COLISEUM, scene of five presidential conventions, was decked with political campaign-type signs. Some of them said "There Is No God But Allah." "Muhammad Is His Apostle" and "We Must Protect Our Women."

The main floor was arranged in political convention style, with a speakers' platform in front and the press section adjacent to it.

More than 100 reporters were covering the convention opening. They underwent a double search by two teams of Muslim bodyguards, known as the Fruit of Islam, before being admitted to the hall.

FIFTY uniformed policemen surrounded the Coliseum, 1513 S. Wabash, on the alert

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Date: 2-26-65

Edition: RED STREAK

Author:

Editor: CREED C. BLACK

Title:

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Character:

or

100-35637

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for possible bombers or assassins.

Police had received anonymous phone calls that the Coliseum would be bombed Friday while the Muslims were meeting there.

Police also received tips that Elijah Muhammad, 67, head of the Black Muslim cult, would be slain during the convention by followers of murdered black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

JOHN ALI, Muhammad's secretary, at a brief press conference before the convention opened, said the Muslims were making their own investigation of the arrest of Norman 3X Butler, 26, in New York, in the slaying of Malcolm X last Sunday.

"We are attempting to determine his identification," said Ali. New York police have identified Butler as a Black Muslim — the first official link of the Chicago-based cult to the slaying.

Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N.J., who was captured outside the New York ballroom in which Malcolm was speaking when he was slain, has refused to disclose whether he is a Muslim. He was hit in the leg by one of Malcolm's bodyguard.

The arrest of Williams was made by the police task force unit detailed to the Coliseum as the police bomb and arson unit searched the building.

No bombs or weapons were found in a 2½-hour search by the eight-man detail, led by Lt. Ronald Rae. He said the Coliseum will be searched before the convention reopens on Saturday and Sunday.

THE ARREST indicated the tightness of the security around the Muslim meeting place.

A fire department rescue truck was stationed in front of the Coliseum. Firemen shoveled snow from around nearby hydrants so they would be ready for use.

Malcolm X was once a protégé of Muhammad.

Some of Malcolm's followers have blamed the Muslims for

his death and vowed to seek revenge.

MUHAMMAD, whose mansion at 4847 S. Woodlawn has been protected by a cordon of police and personal bodyguards, was scheduled to address an afternoon meeting in the Coliseum.

Muhammad is also scheduled to speak at another session at 2:30 p.m. Sunday.

Lt. Ronald Rae, head of the police bomb and arson unit, led a seven-man team in a search of the Coliseum.

CAPT. WILLIAM Duffy, head of police intelligence, said police were still not discounting an FBI report that six followers of Malcolm X were coming here to seek revenge.

Gary Police Chief Conway Mullins alerted his men to be on the watch for any autos bearing New York license plates.

Mullins said that Gary, with about 90,000 Negroes, could be a good place for the New York terrorists to hide out. "They could drive from downtown Gary to Muhammad's home in 20 minutes," he said.

LT. ROBERT Lynskey, head of the police task force, ordered the Coliseum guard increased from nine to 50 men because of potential trouble from the black nationalists.

Lynskey said another 50 policemen would be available "within seconds" if the need arises.

ALL MUSLIMS and others attending convention sessions were scheduled to undergo the same type of search given reporters.

Such a search would be designed to find any guns, knives or other weapons.

Lt. Rae directed his men to be on the watch for such hidden weapons, in addition to bombs in the Coliseum search. Police said a potential assassin might have hidden a weapon in the building a few days ago, knowing he would have to undergo a search before entering the Coliseum once the convention began.

Two London newspapers, the Daily Express and the Daily Observer, sent reporters here to cover the convention, and the British Broadcasting Corp. sent a television crew here from London for film coverage.

ILLINOIS Bell Telephone Co. installed special phones in the Coliseum for the convention.

Friday was "Sa'ior's Day" at the convention, an observance held annually on the birth date of W. D. Fard, who founded the Muslims in Detroit in 1930.



Police arrest man identified as Donald Williams, 35, who tried to enter Coliseum, site of Black Muslim convention.

Killer Accused,

The Accusation and the 'Strongmen'

By DONALD R. FLYNN and GUS ENGELMAN

Journal-American Staff Writers

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

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

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

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

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

Picked Up at Home

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

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

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

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

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NY Journal American

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Brown admitted that he had been a member of Black Muslim Mosque No. 7, and had tried to convert prisoners in his care on Rikers Island to the cult.

But he defected, like Malcolm X, and set up a mosque of his own at 1473 Boston rd., Bronx.

SHOT OVER PICTURE

He was shot, he said, both because he had defected and because he refused to take down a picture of the "prophet," Elijah Muhammad, the Chicago-based self-proclaimed leader of the Black Muslims.

Arrested with Butler in that shooting was Thomas Johnson, 36, of 1041 Bryant ave., known as Thomas 15X in the Black Muslims. A third suspect, William Gaines, 27, of 155 N. Elliot st., Brooklyn, known as Willie 8X, is still being sought.

The Black Muslim leader of Muhammad Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, Capt. Joseph X, has insisted that his followers had nothing to do with the murder of Malcolm X or of any other beatings of defectors.

BEATEN IN BOSTON

But defector Leon 4X, a top lieutenant in Mosque No. 7 when Malcolm X was in command, and afterward told The Journal-American early today that Butler is one of Capt. Joseph X's lieutenants.

"He is one of the main enforcers," said Leon 4X. "He is a lieutenant under Capt. Joseph X, leader of New York Mosque No. 7."

Leon 4X was a Black Muslim until only two months ago, when he was viciously beaten by Black Muslims enforcers on

Christmas Day in Boston, and decided to defect.

Leon 4X was sent by Malcolm X to form a Black Muslim mosque in New Haven when he was still in the fold, and:

"Norman 1X (Butler) was the one I assigned to take over the teaching of karate at Mosque No. 7 when I left for New Haven," he said. "He's very skilled in karate. I knew—I taught him."

Leon 4X also said that Thomas 15X, one of the men accused of shooting officer Brown, is also a lieutenant under Capt. Joseph X.

Thomas 15X, Norman 1X and another Black Muslim "enforcer," Edward 15X, are all lieutenants under Capt. Joseph X, and together they command the Black Muslims in the Bronx, said Leon 4X.

Other "top lieutenants" are Clarence X in Brooklyn, the "top enforcer" and next-in-line to Capt. Joseph X; Alvan X in Queens; Robert 19X in Manhattan; and Louis 11X in New Rochelle, he said.

All but Louis X are enforcers.

He also asked how Butler, who has no job and no money, could have gone free in \$10,000 bail.

"Now where did he get that money?" Leon 4X asked. "The Black Muslims gave it to him. They have unlimited money."

Butler was jailed in the W. 54th st. station overnight, and was to be arraigned in Criminal Court.



Close-up of Norman 3X Butler, 28, called "The Enforcer" of the Black Muslims, at the Wadsworth ave. precinct where he was formally charged with the murder of Malcolm X. The hunt is on for others.

(Another Photo on Page 8.)

*Journal-American photo by
Sheldon Guttman*

Muslim

Overlords Here Named

'I Knew Him...'

By WILLIAM McFADDEN
Journal-American Staff Writer

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

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

ASSAULTED BY TRIO

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

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

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

CRITICIZED MALCOLM

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

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

Mr. Brown added, cryptically:

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

are beginning to come into place."

But he would not explain that further.

BELLIGERENT TYPE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NY N. Y. JOURNAL AMERICAN

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DATE FEB 26 1965

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Hits Africa Press on X

Washington, Feb. 25 (AP) — United States Information Agency Director Carl Rowan said today that some African newspapers are portraying Malcolm X as a martyred integrationist hero instead of as "an ex-convict, ex-rape peddler, who became a racial fanatic."

Rowan, a Negro, expressed amazement at some of the press accounts in Asia as well as in Africa in a speech at a Foreign Service Association luncheon. He stressed that his agency is needed to spread accurate information about America abroad.

Rowan said the government

agency and its radio arm, the Voice of America, "did a zealous job" in telling the world about the Malcolm X murder.

"But it has not been enough to prevent a host of African reactions based on misinformation and misrepresentations of the issues involved," he said.

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

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Reveal Malcolm and Muhammad Held Peace Talks

By WILLIAM FREDERICK

After his break with the Black Muslim movement, Malcolm X conferred secretly several times with Elijah Muhammad, but he and the prophet, leader of the Muslims, could not agree on the terms of his return to the parent organization, THE NEWS was told last night.

The prophet would accept Malcolm back only in a humble position, and the young Negro extremist refused to disband his own following.

"Lack of Cooperation"

Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph Coyle, who on Wednesday had expressed optimism that his detectives were "on the right track," later reported "slow progress" in the investigation.

Other high police sources complained that there has been a complete lack of cooperation from Malcolm's supporters, even those who had seen their leader cut down Sunday in the Audubon Ballroom.

As mourners continued to file



Elijah Muhammad



The late Malcolm X

Effort at reconciliation failed

past Malcolm's coffin in the Unity Funeral Home, Eighth Ave. near 126th St., the Federation for Independent Political Action demanded that Harlem merchants close their stores from 3 P. M. today until Monday in tribute to the slain Black Nationalist.

"If the stores refuse to close, they identify with our enemy—therefore we must close them—now—thank by," warned handbills.

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NY News

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that were distributed "river to river" along 125th St.

Jesse Gray, the Harlem rent strike leader and spokesman for the federation, admitted that he had received a "negative response" from the Uptown Chamber of Commerce about the proposed closing.

According to police, they have received numerous reports of threats to merchants throughout Harlem, but no formal complaints have been made. Several merchants reported privately that an unidentified group had demanded "donations" in the form of merchandise or cash.

Will Ignore Threats

Services for Malcolm X are scheduled for 9:30 A.M. tomorrow at the Church of God in Christ, a Pentecostal church, Amsterdam Ave. and 147th St. Bishop Alvin A. Childs said he had offered his church, a converted movie house that seats 1,700 on the first floor and basement, "as a humanitarian gesture."

In spite of several phone calls threatening that both the church and his home would be bombed if the funeral is held there, he expects no trouble, he said, and has no intention to change the arrangements.

"He was a militant and vocal person," Childs said. "I did not agree with all of his philosophy, but this did not affect our friendship."

After Muslim services which will last about 45 minutes, he reported, he plans to deliver a brief eulogy.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Muslim Held in Malcolm Case

By RALPH BLUMENFELD and KENNETH GROSS

A 26-year-old Black Muslim was charged today with the murder of Malcolm X.

The suspect is Norman Butler, an unemployed 6-foot-2 karate expert also known as Norman 3X. He lives at 661 Rosedale Av., The Bronx.

Butler's arrest at 4 a.m., after three hours of questioning, forged the first police link between the national Chicago-based Black Muslim organization and the murder of Malcolm X, the nation's No. 1 Muslim defector.

The arrest came on the eve of the Black Muslims' national convention in Chicago, where police said their security plans for Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad exceed anything provided for any other person except a U. S. President.

There are persistent reports that Malcolm X followers have picked this weekend to strike against Muhammad to avenge Malcolm's murder.

The lone previous suspect, Talmadge Hayer, 22, who is charged with helping gun down Malcolm at the Audubon Ballroom in Washington Heights last Sunday, has refused to say whether he is a muslim.

Police, still searching for at least three more assassins, say Butler was identified as a Black Muslim in the shooting of another Muslim defector, city corrections officer Benjamin Brown, on Jan. 6.

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

3 NEW YORK POST

Date: 2/21/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: BLUMENFELD & GROSS
Editor: DOBSONY CHIEF
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: CUL-NOI
or
Classification: BU 100-30032
Submitting Office: NYC
☒ Being Investigated

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Chief Insp. Joseph Coyle, in charge of the investigation, would not disclose Butler's alleged role in the murder pending arraignment today in Manhattan Criminal Court.

"The investigation is continuing," Coyle said, "but this is a very important arrest."

Butler Called Leader

Another police source said Butler was the commander of the murder squad.

There were other indications that Butler had been identified by an eyewitness who "placed him" at the ballroom when the shots rang out in front of 400 persons.

Butler, wearing a tweed coat over a blue pinstripe suit and a sportshirt when he was booked at the Wadsworth Av. station, was silent but glowered angrily.

"He's a hard man and he's in great shape," said Insp. Thomas Reneghan, the Manhattan North detective chief.

"When we arrested him for the shooting of the other fellow [Brown], we entered his house wearing protective masks. "Butler gave one cop a karate chop with his hand that broke the mask," Reneghan said.

Confidence Wanes

Butler was confident when brought in for questioning that "we had no evidence against him," Coyle said. "But as time wore on, he took it seriously."

Before being taken to a W. 54th St. station cell for the night, Butler asked police to call his wife and notify her of his arrest.

Mrs. Butler, reached by The New York Post, sobbed over the telephone, "I can't discuss it."

Another man arrested with Butler the day after Officer Brown was shot, William (Willie 8X) Gaines, 27, of 158 N. Elliot Walk, Brooklyn, told The Post: "I don't know anything about it, sir."

A third suspect in the Brown case, identified as Thomas Johnson, 30, of 1041 Bryant Av., The Bronx—also known as Thomas 15X—was reported out of town.

Butler has been free on \$10,000 bail in the Brown case, police said. The case is under adjournment and probably will

be continued indefinitely now, they said, with the "murder" charge taking precedence.

Brown, 31, of 635 Castle Hill Av., The Bronx, was hospitalized with a severe chest wound for some time after the shooting. He is now home on sick leave from his job as corrections officer.

Brown told police he had been attacked for opening his own Bronx mosque and trying to recruit young prisoners at

his Rikers Island police post to a splinter Muslim movement after breaking with the national organization.

There was no indication that Brown had been working for Malcolm, but police were proceeding on the assumption that both cases—plus an unexplained fire which demolished the Muslims' Harlem headquarters two days ago—were the result of a continuing "war" between the Muslims and their

defectors.

James Shabazz, who served as secretary to Malcolm and seems to have inherited his following, met with Muslim leaders here last night and tried to "call off the war." The Post learned.

The meeting reportedly was a failure. "The Muslims won't accept any thing but abject surrender from Malcolm's people," a Harlem source said.

Malcolm himself initiated peace talks with Muslim chief Elijah Muhammad more than once in the 11 months between their split and Malcolm's death, it was learned. Malcolm conferred secretly with the 67-year-old Muslim leader several times in Chicago.

Muhammad reportedly offered to take Malcolm back into the Muslim fold in a subordinate position if he would disband his own movement. But the 39-year-old Negro leader would not accept either provision.

He spent the last two months of his life predicting to all who would listen that "the Muslims are out to get me—they can't let me live now." Police here and in Chicago have spent the five days since the murder trying to head off retaliation against Muhammad and other Muslims.

Tries to Fill Shoes

In Boston, Malcolm's sister, Mrs. Ella Mae Collins, said, "No one can fill Malcolm's shoes," but she added she will try.

"I will endeavor to carry out his program," she said. "I will function in the capacity of choosing those I feel equal to work in his place."

In Harlem, rent strike leader Jesse Gray issued a mimeographed demand that all stores

on 125th St. remain closed this afternoon and all day tomorrow in observance of Malcolm's funeral tomorrow. If they don't, Gray said, more than 250 pickets will march in protest from "river to river."

The climate of fury lingering since the assassination prompted one police official to express elation over Butler's arrest as proof that steps are being taken to solve the case.

"The Muslims are afraid of Malcolm's people and Malcolm's people are afraid of the Muslims," he said. "The city is afraid and Harlem is afraid. Everyone asks what the police are doing, and this is what we are doing. This is something we can show."

Coyle, who spent most of yesterday protesting the reluctance of witnesses to the assassination to "come forward," said after Butler's arrest that it had resulted from "intensive investigation and of questioning of many witnesses."

Police would not disclose the identity of two Negro men seen under questioning in the Wadsworth Av. station several hours before Butler was brought in.

They were later spirited out of the station by a side entrance. One reportedly remained under interrogation at a different station.

Coyle said Butler did not resist when detectives arrived at his Bronx home to take him into custody. "But he seemed surprised," the inspector said.

Asst. District Attorney Herbert Stern conducted the questioning of Butler and would say nothing later except: "I have ordered him booked for the homicide of Malcolm X."

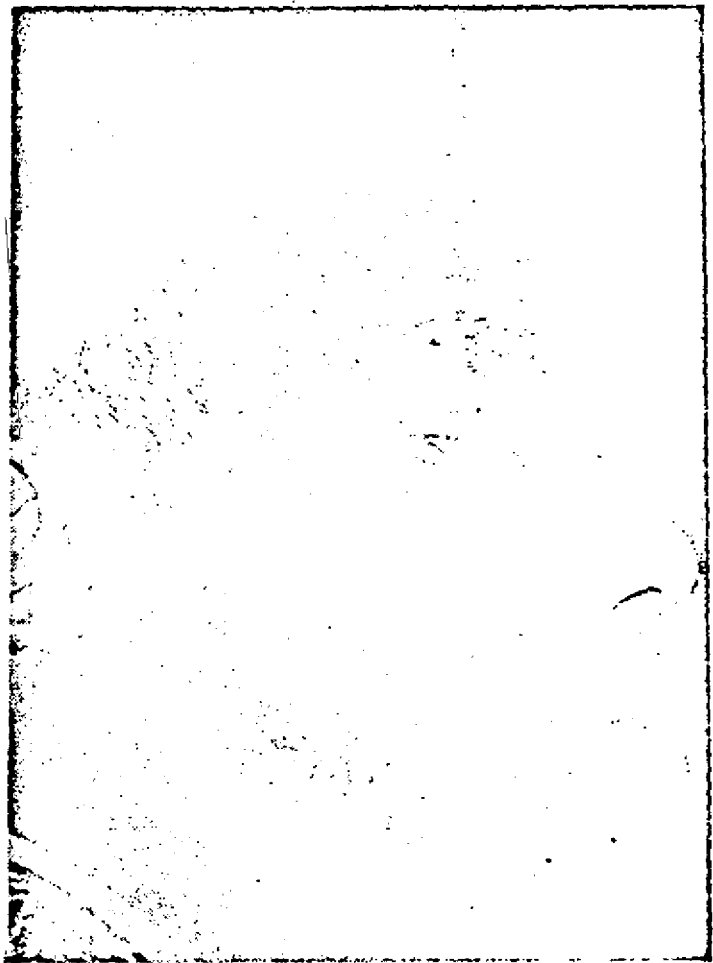
Did He Fire At Malcolm?

Nor would police say whether Butler had actually fired any of the 16 shots which medical examiner Dr. Milton Helpern said had killed Malcolm. Hayer was specifically said to have wielded a sawed-off double-barreled 12-gauge shotgun, later found in the ballroom. It was not known whether any other weapons have been recovered.

Bronx detective Gus Harms said Brown had been warned by the Muslims not to continue recruiting for his mosque because he didn't have the permission of the national organization.

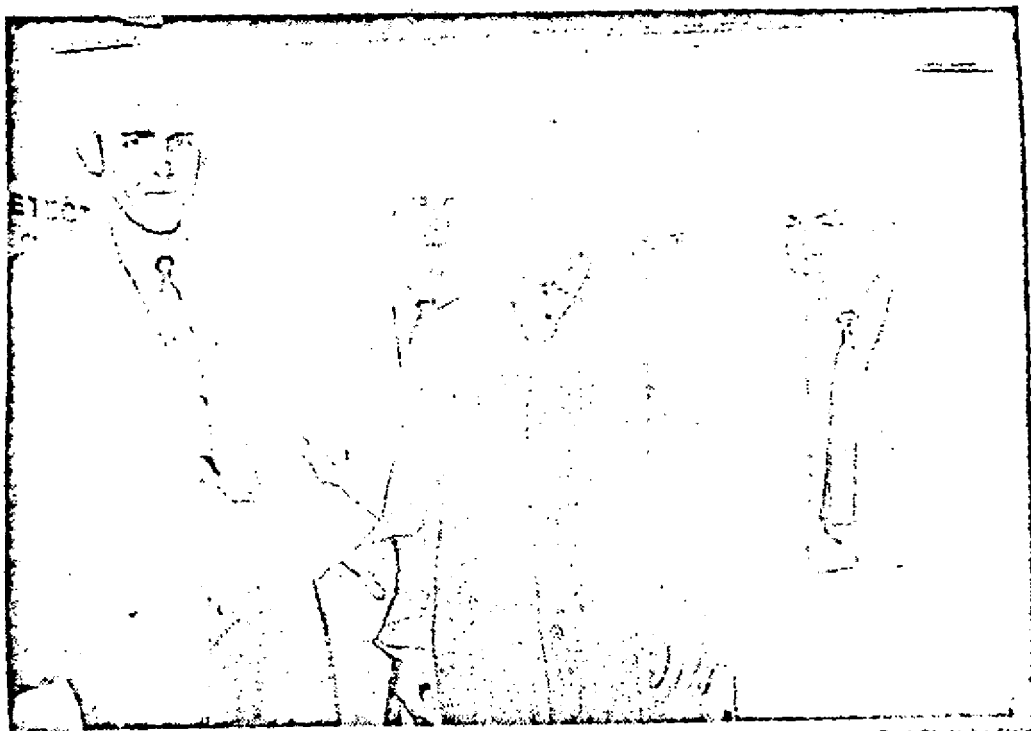
Police said that Thomas 15X had admitted firing the shot which felled Brown and that they had recovered a Winchester .22 repeating rifle from his home. Brown probably would have been killed, they said, if the 15-shot rifle had not jammed after the first shot.

Thomas 15X was described by police at the time as one of the Muslims' top "enforcers".



Police today named Norman 3X Butler as part of the team which gunned down the Black Nationalist leader.

Fast Photo by Stern



Post Photo by Stein

Norman SX Butler (c) is led into Wadsworth Av. station for booking.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

STORES PRODDED TO HAIL MALCOLM

Group Demands Closings in
Harlem but Chamber of
Commerce Says No

The Uptown Chamber of Commerce rejected last night a Harlem organization's demand that stores on 125th Street close at 3 P.M. today and remain closed all day tomorrow in "respect" for Malcolm X, the murdered black nationalist leader.

The demand that the stores close was made early in the week by Jesse Gray, the rent-strike leader, and repeated at a rally last night at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue by the Federation for Independent Political Action.

Mr. Gray, main spokesman of the two-month-old organization, urged a "picket line from one end of 125th Street to the other" against stores that refused to close.

However, Leopold Phillip, the president of the Uptown Chamber of Commerce, said the executive board of the chamber's 125th Street division met after the rally and adopted a resolution urging the stores to stay open.

The resolution also recommended that the merchants per-

mit their employees to attend the funeral of Malcolm tomorrow with full pay.

It was understood that 150 extra policemen were ordered stationed along 125th Street today. According to the Uptown Chamber of Commerce, there are 650 ground-store businesses on the street from St. Clair Place eastward to Second Avenue.

In its call earlier this week for the closing of 125th Street stores, the Federation for Independent Political Action said: "Without question, the brazen bombing of North Vietnam and the intervention in the civil war in South Vietnam by the United States Government, the militaristic support of the lackey Tshombe by the United States Government, the denial of the right of the Cuban people to self-determination... set the stage for the vicious killing of Brother Malcolm X."

The rally, from 6:50 to 8:15 P.M., attracted 250 spectators, guarded by perhaps 75 to 100 uniformed and plainclothes policemen. Mr. Gray denounced as false some published reports that unidentified individuals had demanded "donations" in merchandise and cash from some merchants under threat of violence.

Bomb Threats Received

Meanwhile detective chiefs conferred with the District Attorney's office on the hunt for more suspects in the murder, in which the Muslim leader was shot down at a rally last Sunday. Further crank bomb threats were received at the funeral home, where 4,000 more visitors saw Malcolm's body yesterday, and at the church that is to hold a funeral service for him tomorrow.

In Boston, Malcolm's half-sister, Mrs. Ella Mae Collins, told a news conference that "whether it is through justice by law or divine justice, he will be avenged." Mrs. Collins asserted Malcolm's death was the "ultimate result" of a year-old order by Elijah Muhammad, from

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

1 NEW YORK TIMES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/18/84 BY 8869H/EF
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Date: 2/26/65
Edition: LATE CITY
Author:
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-MOI
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Submitting Office: NYO
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105-8999-52X
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45

whose Nation of Islam Malcolm broke away in March, 1964.

Muhammad has denied any role by his Black Muslims in the killing. In Chicago, where his segregationist sect is to start a national convention this afternoon, his secretary, John Ali, declared, "It's against the law to threaten someone." He charged that it was "highly unusual that the authorities and the press have permitted open threats."

Negro leaders of a wide political range, including the far left, appealed here yesterday to their people against "fratricidal strife." The Amsterdam News, a Harlem weekly, in an editorial headlined "Steady, Eddie!" said that orderly tributes to Malcolm "would 'confound his critics, who would like nothing better than to see black people rioting over his remains.'"

The Harlem Progressive Labor Club, affiliated with a movement paralleling Chinese Communist lines, asserted Malcolm's Negro slayers had acted "on orders from the white ruling class."

"Our Common Enemy"

An editorial in the monthly Liberator, whose editor, Daniel H. Watts, calls it "an intellectual voice of the Black Nationalist movement" with a claimed national circulation of 20,000, called for unity "against our common enemy, white America's hate and racism" instead of "fratricidal war."

Last night's rally was held with a police permit for a loud-speaker behind police barricades in front of Lewis Michaux's bookstore at 2107 Seventh Avenue. Mr. Gray said "10 drugstores" had agreed to close at 1 P.M. today.

He called for a Negro to run for Mayor this year "in the name of Malcolm," to poll perhaps 100,000 votes.

Heralding handbills said that "if the stores refuse to close, they identify with our enemy—therefore we must close them—pass them by."

"Those that shop along 125th Street during the hours that the stores are to be closed," the handbills continued, "identify with the murderous stooge that allowed the terror structure to use his hands to kill Brother Malcolm."

The Federation for Independent Political Action has its headquarters at 139 West 125th Street in the office of the Harlem Unemployment Center. The center's director, James Haughton, said that member groups include Mr. Gray's Community Council on Housing, the Harlem Parents Committee and the



Associated Press Wirephoto

Mrs. Ella Mae Collins, the half-sister of Malcolm X, as she talked of his death with reporters in Boston.

Northern Student Movement among others.

Bishop Alvin A. Childs said he had offered the use of his Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, at Amsterdam Avenue and West 147th Street, for tomorrow's funeral service at 9:30 A.M. "as a humanitarian gesture," despite his disagreement with some of Malcolm's philosophy.

The stocky, gray-mustached clergyman—unofficial locality Mayor of Harlem—said the announcement had brought five bomb threats to his unlisted home telephone number, and three more to the church, whose telephone number is only announced during regular Sunday evening services.

The church was converted from a movie theater 15 years ago and can seat 1,000 persons on its main floor and 700 in its basement.

The Unity Funeral Home, at 2352 Eighth Avenue, at West 126th Street, had one more telephoned bomb threat. During the afternoon a six-inch paint-can cover was apparently thrown from a window or roof in front of the building. At 9:45 P.M. a Negro youth announced he wanted to die beside Malcolm's coffin and challenged a policeman to shoot him; he was hustled away.

Detroit Memorial Service

A Detroit memorial service for Malcolm X is to be held at 7 P.M. today by the Afro-American Broadcasting Company in International Masonic Hall there. The concern's president, Milton Henry, a lawyer, said that Malcolm's widow, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, would make a statement that could shed some light on his murder.

New York police investigators asserted that those of Malcolm's followers whom they could find generally contended that they had not attended the meeting in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and West 185th Street, at which he was killed.

In Boston, Leon Ameer, who asserts he was designated by Malcolm before the leader's death to take charge of his Organization of Afro-American Unity in New England, urged that a mediator confer with Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm's leaders "to prevent further slayings, bloodshed, bombings and property damage."

Mrs. Collins, Malcolm's half-sister, said she had broken away from Muhammad's movement herself in 1959 after Muhammad had declared that a children's day care center she operated was "off limits" to Black Muslims.

According to The United Press International, Mrs. Collins asserted that she would choose the top leaders to succeed Malcolm.

Dynamite Found in Rochester

ROCHESTER, Feb. 25—Five sticks of dynamite were found in an abandoned car by the police here tonight after they received an anonymous telephone call saying that it would be used to demolish a Black Muslim mosque.

The police said a woman told them the location of the car and added that she had overheard a group of black nationalist youths say the dynamite would be used to avenge the death of Malcolm X.

The dynamite, tied together with twine and tape and wrapped in a plastic bag, was found on the motor of the car, about three miles from the mosque. The police said the strength of the explosive was sufficient to destroy the mosque and do considerable damage to nearby buildings.

Additional policemen were assigned to guard the mosque.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

HINT SILENCING MOTIVE**Link Chicago Trial
to Malcolm Slaying****BY GEORGE MURRAY**

The assassination of Malcolm X in New York City, coming only 48 hours before he was due to testify against the Black Muslim movement in a Chicago court, may have been intended to silence his testimony.

Malcolm was shot to death during a public speech Sunday.

Malcolm X was to testify against the Black Muslim movement here Tuesday in the federal District court of Judge Richard B. Austin, in a lawsuit brought by a convicted Illinois murderer.

100-Year Sentences

The convict, Thomas Cooper, 24, is serving two 100-year sentences in Stateville prison for the murders in 1961 and 1962 of two bartenders.

Cooper was sent to prison in 1953. In 1957 he said he was converted from Roman Catholicism to the Black Muslim cult of Elijah Muhammad. In 1962 Cooper sued for the right to practice his "religion" in prison.

Cooper's petition was dismissed by a federal court here in a ruling which was upheld by the United States Court of Appeals, which held the Black Muslims to be not a religion but a racist organization.

The United States Supreme court has ordered a review of the Cooper case.

Witness for State

Cooper reaffirmed his suit on Jan. 24, and Austin was to hear it Tuesday. Malcolm X, a defector from the Black Muslim movement and one of its most

ardent critics, said he would testify for the State of Illinois. City Councilman William Clark asked his first assistant, Richard E. Friedman, to drop Malcolm X when he arrived here Saturday, Jan. 27, on a plane from Los Angeles.

Friedman was accompanied by Thomas Decker, another assistant attorney general who would defend state officials against the charges brought by Cooper in court.

Also meeting Malcolm X at the airport was Police Sgt. Edward McClellan of the intelligence unit.

Life Was Threatened

Just before Malcolm X's plane left Los Angeles it was delayed while its baggage was searched for bombs. A threat had been made there on Malcolm's life. Los Angeles police were told that a group of Black Muslims planned to kill Malcolm publicly.

McClellan remained with Malcolm X thru the 2 days he was in Chicago. McClellan said Malcolm X told him at O'Hare International airport and later in front of the Bismarck hotel that he noticed he was being followed by persons he identified as Black Muslims.

"Malcolm told me he feared for his life," McClellan said. "He said those people were telling him from all over the country to kill him."

8 Armed Guards

Friedman and Decker arranged for eight armed men from Clark's office to protect Malcolm X during his stay in Chicago. When he left it was with the understanding that he

would be there for the opening of Cooper's petition hearing this week.

When Malcolm X was killed Sunday the hearing on Cooper's suit was deferred to March 22. Friedman and Decker went to New York City to contribute whatever they could to the investigation.

Friedman told CHICAGO'S AMERICAN by phone from New York that Malcolm X had welcomed the opportunity to use the federal court in Chicago as a forum to criticize Elijah Muhammad and the Muslims.

Began Own Movement

Malcolm X had defected from the Muslim movement, in which he was heir-apparent to Elijah Muhammad, more than a year ago. He began his own black nationalist movement, promising to enter the civil-rights fight and use political action, rather than remain aloof as does Elijah Muhammad.

Friedman and Decker had several phone conversations with Malcolm X while he was in Los Angeles before he came to Chicago.

While here Malcolm X appeared on a television program and again stated his opposition to the Muslims.

Spoke of Assassins

Friedman said Malcolm X spoke to him of "Black Muslim assassins" and that after Malcolm's TV appearance there was "a personal confrontation." Friedman did not explain this. He was asked:

Q.—Was Malcolm to be your witness? A.—Yes, definitely.

Q.—Did you have to give Cooper's lawyers the names of your witnesses? A.—No, for this is a civil suit, rather than a criminal one.

Cooper's suit is being presented for him by two lawyers for the American Civil Liberties union, Seymour Buchholz and Harold Silverman. Cooper is suing under the federal civil rights act.

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

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED****DATE 2/8/84 BY SP6CJH/ELW****CHICAGO'S AMERICAN
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Edition:

Author: 3 STAR FINAL
Editor: GEORGE MURRAY
Title: LUKE CARROLL

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2ND MUSLIM SEIZED IN MALCOLM KILLING

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

1 NEW YORK WORLD
TELEGRAM AND SUNALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Date: 2/26/65
Edition: METRO
Author: SAMUELS & MERRIL
Editor: RICHARD D. JETTER
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

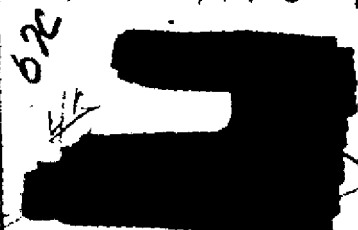
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Classification: BU 100-329321
Submitting Office: NYO

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By ROBERT SAMUELS and PAUL MESKIL

Of the World-Telegram Staff

A Negro gunman described by police as a Black Muslim "enforcer" was arrested today in the murder of Malcolm X.

He was identified as Norman 3X Butler, 26, of 661 Rosedale Ave., Bx. According to detectives, Butler is a member of Black Muslim Mosque No. 7—the Harlem headquarters that was wrecked by a firebomb Tuesday in reprisal for Malcolm's death—and an officer of the Muslim "army" called Fruit of Islam.

Police said Butler was one of three gunmen who blasted Malcolm with a sawed-off shotgun and two pistols Sunday in front of 400 persons at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. near Broadway. Two of the gunmen escaped. A third suspect, Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N. J., was shot in the thigh by one of Malcolm's bodyguards.

Homicide Charge

Rescued by police from a lynch mob, Hayer was charged with homicide. Butler has also been charged with homicide and with acting in concert with Hayer.

When detectives called at his apartment in the Soundview housing project early today, Butler was at home with his wife and four children. He offered no resistance but, according to one arresting officer, "he seemed surprised."

A tall, husky, round-faced man, he dressed in a beige sportshirt, black trousers, black shoes and socks, black hat and black-and-white tweed topcoat, then accompanied the detectives to the Wadsworth Ave. station.

Orders Him Booked

He was questioned there by Assistant Chief Inspector Joseph Coyle, in charge of the murder probe, and Assistant District Attorney Herbert Stein. Around 4 a.m., Stein emerged from the detective squad room and told newsmen: "All I can say is that I have ordered him booked for the homicide of Malcolm X."

Coyle said Butler was picked up "as a result of our investigation" and added that "the case is still under investigation." The third gunman and at least two other men who took part in the carefully planned rubout are still being sought.

When arrested, Butler was free in \$10,000 bail in connection with another Black Muslim shooting. According to police, he was one of three Muslim goons who shot Correction Department guard Benjamin Brown on Jan. 6 because Brown had broken away from

the Black Muslims to form his own mosque in the Bronx.

Wounded in Shoulder

Brown, 31, of 635 Castle Hill Ave., Bx., was wounded in the left shoulder with a 22-caliber rifle. Now recovering at his home, he told a reporter he was "very surprised" to hear of Butler's arrest for the Malcolm X murder.

Brown said he had known Butler since the latter joined Muhammad's Mosque No. 7, to which Brown also belonged, two years ago. Ironically, Butler was taught the Muslim creed by Malcolm X, who then was the mosque leader.

According to Brown, Butler was a "faithful follower" of Malcolm until the man called X broke with the cult to form his own Negro nationalist group.

Several other Muslim defectors have been beaten, shot and even killed, but Malcolm's murder was by far the most spectacular. Butler's arrest seemed to support the original police theory that Malcolm was killed on orders of the Muslim high command. Malcolm himself had charged that Elijah Muhammad had marked him for death.

The homicide arrest heightened the tension between Black Muslims and Malcolm's followers.

Fear for Elijah

Chicago police fear an attempt to kill Muslim chief Elijah Muhammad might be made at the cult's national convention which opened today in the Chicago Coliseum. Some 6000 delegates are on hand for the three-day conclave. The police bomb squad searched the ancient auditorium this morning and hundreds of patrolmen and detectives were stationed in the Coliseum area.

Leon Ameer, one of Malcolm's top lieutenants, told newsmen in Boston that he "would be surprised" if Muhammad is still alive when the convention is over.

In upstate Rochester, an anonymous telephone call alerted police to a plot to blow up a Black Muslim mosque. On information supplied by the caller, detectives searched an abandoned car and found five sticks of dynamite in a plastic bag. Detective Sgt. Anthony Cuiuke said the caller overheard four members of Malcolm's Black Nationalists discussing plans to dynamite the mosque.

7000 Visit

Malcolm's body remained on view today at the Unity Funeral Home, 2332 Eighth Ave. at 126th St. Some 7000 persons visited the funeral home yesterday, compared with 5000 on Wednesday and 2000 Tuesday night.

Though several bomb threats

were received by the mortuary, the only real disturbance came last night when a Negro youth shouted that he wanted to die beside Malcolm's coffin. "Shoot me," he yelled at police. "Kill me." Patrolmen took him away.

Funeral services will be held at 9:30 a.m. tomorrow in the Faith Temple Church of God in Christ, Amsterdam Ave. and 147th St. The pastor, Bishop Alvin A. Childs, received eight bomb threats—five on his home phone and three more on the church phone. Both telephones have unlisted numbers, but the church number is announced during Sunday evening services.

Memorial Rally

Jesse Gray, left-wing Negro leader whose activities during last summer's Harlem riots were investigated by several agencies, held a "memorial rally" at 125th St. and Seventh Ave. last night. The rally attracted about 250 spectators and 100 police.

Gray demanded that Harlem stores close at 3 p.m. today and remain closed tomorrow "in respect for" the murdered Malcolm. He threatened merchants with boycotts and picketing if they refuse to shut down.

The Uptown Chamber of Commerce replied that stores will remain open and "continue to serve their customers."

Condemn Merchants

A resolution adopted by the chamber's executive board called on merchants to ignore Gray's ultimatum. The resolution also recommended that Harlem merchants permit their employees to attend Malcolm's funeral at no loss in pay.

Malcolm's half-sister, Mrs. Ella May Collins of Boston, arrived here today for the funeral. She announced that she would serve as "caretaker" of Malcolm's Black Na-

Sticking with the Muslims. Butler rose to the rank of lieutenant in the Fruit of Islam guard. Members of this enforcement unit, known to police as the Muslim goon squad, are trained in karate and the use of firearms.

According to Brown, Butler and other Fruit of Islam lieutenants in the Harlem mosque took their orders from a mysterious "Capt. Joseph." The only higher-ranking Black Muslim in this area is Joseph X, Malcolm's successor as leader of Mosque No. 7.

No Regular Job

"He seemed like a very ordinary youngster," Brown said of the homicide suspect. "He had no regular job as long as I knew him. He and his family were on welfare."

Asked why he left the Muslims, Brown replied: "I had many reasons. Maybe some of them aren't so good. The main reason was I wanted to strike out on my own. I'm unaffiliated now, but I still try to follow Elijah Muhammad's teachings."

MALCOLM CALLED A MARTYR ABROAD

Rowan Asserts Murder Was
Misunderstood by Many

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25—

Carl T. Rowan, director of the United States Information Agency, said today that African and Asian countries interpreted the murder of Malcolm X as the martyrdom of a great integrationist because they did not know what he stood for.

In a speech before the American Foreign Service Association here, Mr. Rowan, who is himself a Negro, said that people in this country deplored the shooting of Malcolm X last Sunday because "we detest violence, murder, the very notion of punishing or assassinating people for what they believe, no matter how foolish those beliefs."

As soon as he heard of the murder, Mr. Rowan said, he knew it would be grossly misconstrued in some countries where the people did not know what Malcolm represented. But despite zealous efforts by his agency to inform people and the press in Africa of the facts about Malcolm X and his preaching, Mr. Rowan acknowledged that these efforts had failed to prevent "a host of African reaction based on misinformation and misrepresentation."

Excerpts From Editorials

"Mind you," said Mr. Rowan, there was a Negro who preached segregation and race hatred, killed by another Negro presumably from another organization that preaches segregation and race hatred, and neither of them representative of more than a tiny minority of the Negro population of America. Yet listen to how the killing is viewed in some of the grass in Africa."

Mr. Rowan then read excerpts of editorial comment from several papers.

The Daily Times of Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, commented:

"Like all mortals, Malcolm X was not without his faults... but that he was a dedicated and consistent disciple of the movement for the emancipation of his brethren, no one can doubt. Malcolm X has fought and died for what he believed to be right. He will have a place in the palace of martyrs."

The Ghanaian Times of Accra eulogized Malcolm as "the militant and most popular of Afro-American antisegregationist leaders" and added him to "a host of Africans and Americans," from John Brown to Patrice Lumumba, "who were martyred in freedom's cause."

Another Accra paper, The Daily Graphic, said:

"The assassination of Malcolm X will go down in history books as the greatest blow the American integrationist movement has suffered since the shocking assassination of Medgar Evers and John F. Kennedy."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Times

EDITION Late City

DATE 2-26-65

PAGE _____

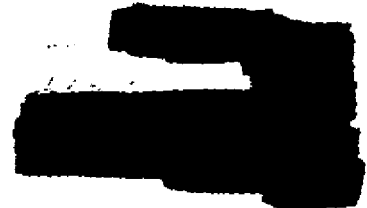
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Malcolm's Death

MAX LERNER

One might well call the death of Malcolm X and the acts of violence in its wake the acts of racist gangsters. The vendettas of the anti-white black far-outers who have now turned against each other, blacks against blacks, recall the vendettas of the gang wars from the Twenties through the Forties, spilling over into our own decade, when the "mobs" turned against each other in the struggles for power and for a larger share in the division of the loot taken from the people. What is common to the two is the explosive and continued violence, the assassinations, the threats and retaliations, the bombings, the pall of terror hanging over the communities involved, the helplessness of the police, the private war conducted in the public view.

But there is a difference, too. The current war, inside and between religious sects, is actually far more than a struggle for power and pelf between rival gangs of thieves and racketeers. It is a political war. The stakes are high. Malcolm's death was not an obscure killing in a tangled saga of gang warfare. It is death, like his life, was an episode in the struggle for leadership of an important segment of the Negro masses in America.

* * *

After his mean birth, his shun upbringing, his criminal apprentice years, his years of jail reflection, Malcolm clearly meant to do something with his life and talents. His aim was power, and a lot of it. Had he been born somewhere in Africa—in the Congo, say—he would have been content with nothing short of the top post in the new state. In America this was unlikely. He followed the Negro tradition of aiming at power and leadership through religious-political movements. People as unlike him and each other as Adam Clayton Powell and Martin Luther King also got their start in such movements.

It may have been an index of his power dreams that, as his first vehicle toward power, he was drawn to the Black Muslim movement, part of whose credo was the carving out of separate Negro states in America, with Negro heads-of-state. He found for a time in the Black Muslims the combination of bitterness against the whites, the fanatic assertion of Negro superiority and the power potential he wanted.

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

41 NEW YORK POST

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Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
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He helped draw national attention to the Black Muslims, through books like C. Eric Lincoln's and Louis Lomax', through his university lectures and his dramatic statements of the Black Muslim position. He sensed that the way to get national attention was through the young white elite.

His tour of the universities—of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and the rest—was almost a triumphal procession. Everywhere he was careful to make obeisance to Elijah, the head of the movement, and to act as a vessel through whom Elijah's wisdom and authority were being conveyed. Yet the impression one got was that of a shadowy king sitting inarticulately somewhere in the Chicago hinterland, while the brilliant young prime minister, operating out of his New York headquarters, got all the attention.

Until the documents are available one cannot guess at the extent to which Malcolm may have counted on Elijah's complacency and may have meant to make use of the movement for his own purposes. If he did, then he failed to reckon with Elijah's tenacity about his leadership.

In his breakaway Malcolm tried to build a new and more realistic road to power. He eased up on the doctrines of total racial separation which the Black Muslims had derived from their mythology of the origins of the races. He didn't want to be left out of the main currents of the civil rights revolution in America and of the African revolutions with their bid for new roles on the stage of world history. While maintaining his own special racist doctrines he was willing to form a united front with some of the other extremist Negro leaders, and even with some whites.

Yet this phase of his activities, in the internal American struggles, was strikingly ineffectual. As a force in the civil rights movement Malcolm's new organization never seems to have gotten off the ground. Where he did have some slight impact was in his visits to Africa and the Middle East and his lobbying among the African delegations in the UN corridors. By the name of his movement he was committed to "Afro-American unity," and the role he had cut out for himself was as the leader of an African nationalist movement in America similar to the nationalist movements in Africa.

It didn't work, because the conditions in Africa and America were wholly incomparable. It was the irony of Malcolm's life that his death, when it came, had so little to do with his stated aims and his ambitions. By breaking from the Black Muslims and denouncing its leadership, Malcolm aroused currents of conflict inside the extremist Negro movements which he was powerless to control. There is as yet no way of saying how and whether he became the victim of such currents. But it is worth noting and saying that, from the standpoint of the American Negroes as a whole, these movements are marginal and not central. The promise of Negro life in America lies not with fanatic hatred but with the fulfillment of the American promise to Negro and white alike.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)

DATE: 2/26/65

FROM:

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SUBJECT: MMI
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- 1 - NY 105-8999 (MALCOLM X (Mentioned) (43)
- 1 - [REDACTED] (43)
- 1 - [REDACTED] (43)
- 1 - [REDACTED] (43)
- 1 - [REDACTED] (43)
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- 1 - [REDACTED] (43)
- 1 - [REDACTED] (43)
- 1 - NY 100-152759 (MMI) (43)

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FBI - NEW YORK
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2/26/65

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109-12-366

~~SECRET~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-366)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (109-238)

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS -
GHANA

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3-Bureau

2-New York

(1- 105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (INFO)

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Declassify on: OADR

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SAC (157-927)

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FEB 26 1965

SA [REDACTED] (#353)

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT
IS - RAM

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by request), [REDACTED] has furnished both reliable and unreliable
information in the past.

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- 1 - 105-8999 (M. K. LITTLE)
 - 1 - 100-152579 (MMI)
 - 1 - [REDACTED]

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The above is furnished for information and any action deemed necessary. It will confirm oral information furnished to SA [REDACTED]

It is to be noted that the only connection with RAM is the suggestion of the source.

MALCOLM'S SLAYER IS HUNTED

By Maurice C. Carroll
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

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

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

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

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

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

In New York it was announced that Muslim rites would be held for Malcolm X at 9:30 a. m. Saturday in the Faith Temple Church of Christ, 1764 Amsterdam Ave., conducted by the pastor, Bishop Alvin A. Childs, and there was soon another of the threats that have come to seem inevitable in the angry days since the murder. Some-

one telephoned the pastor's wife and said, "If Malcolm's funeral is held there we will bomb the place."

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

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

Sharpshooters were stationed on rooftops, plainclothes law-

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NY Herald Tribune

EDITION Late City

DATE 2/25/65

PAGE 3

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105-8997-5918

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FBI - NEW YORK

#43

men mingled with the crowd, barricades were set up across the street, as well as in front of the two-story building. Walkie-talkie communication linked the security forces.

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

The first of the day's bomb threats there came from a male telephone caller at 1:05 p. m. The mourners were cleared out briefly for a search.

In Chicago, too, headquar-

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

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

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

Talmadge Hayer, 22, the uncommunicative young man who was rescued by police outside the ballroom and charged later as one of Malcolm's murderers, remained under extra-heavy guard yesterday in Bellevue Hospital.

Reuben Francis, 33, of 871 E. 179th St., the Bronx, a bodyguard of Malcolm's who is accused of shooting Hayer, was brought into Criminal Court yesterday and continued in \$10,000 bail.



Herald Tribune photo by NAT FEIN

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



Herald Tribune photo by NAT PRIN

WATCHFUL POLICEMAN stands outside the Unity Funeral Home, where the body of Malcolm X lies, on guard.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999)

DATE: 2/25/65

FROM :

[REDACTED]

b7c

SUBJECT:

MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka
IS-MMI

Classified by 8260TH/BJH/BJH
Declassify on: OADR 2/28/84

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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FBI - NEW YORK

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105-8999-5917

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Harlem Shops Bare Boycott Threats

By PAUL HATHAWAY
Of the World-Telegram Staff

A movement to pressure Harlem merchants along 125th St. to close their shops tomorrow afternoon and Saturday in memory of Malcolm X was revealed today.

The drive to close the stores is being mounted by the newly-formed Federation for Independent Political Action, of 139 W. 125th St.

Jesse Gray, one of the group's leaders, threatened boycotts and picket lines for those merchants who "refuse to cooperate" and who show "contempt for our community and especially for our bereavement over our beloved Malcolm."

Distribute Handbills

Handbills asking merchants to "close your stores" and urging Harlem residents to observe a moratorium on shopping during the memorial period were distributed today throughout the community.

Gray said that boycotts of those stores that fail to comply would be limited to the moratorium period, from 3 p.m. tomorrow through Saturday evening.

He denied that any threats of violence had been made against stores that refused to close and denied that FIP had pressured storekeepers for "donations" of cash or merchandise to a Malcolm X fund.

Threat Reported

Police officials said they have received reports of threats of violence but said they have not received complaints from Harlem store owners.

The manager of a 125th St. shop said an unidentified visitor last night threatened that the store's windows would be smashed if the business was open tomorrow afternoon and Saturday.

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

1 N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM
AND THE SUN

Date: 2/25/65
Edition: SEVEN SPORTS
Author: PAUL HATHAWAY
Editor: RICHARD D. PETERS
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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

☒ Being Investigated

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CORE CHIEF CALLS SLAYING POLITICAL

Farmer Sees International
Link in Malcolm's Death

By FRED POWLEDGE

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said yesterday he believed the killing of Malcolm X was a political act, with international implications and not necessarily connected with black nationalism.

He refused to elaborate, but he said he would ask President Johnson for a Federal inquiry into the murder last Sunday of the black nationalist leader.

No official finding, if any, has been disclosed in the murder. There has been widespread speculation that it resulted from disputes between Malcolm and the Nation of Islam, a rival nationalist organization of which he was once the No. 2 man, after Elijah Muhammad.

Mr. Farmer spoke at a news conference called to discuss the slaying and to explain details of the 1965 summer project of the Congress of Racial Equality, which is known as CORE. He said the project would be broadened to include all of Louisiana, parts of Florida and South Carolina and sections of the North.

Mr. Farmer said he had heard from a reliable source that Malcolm sought protection from the State Department a week before his death.

A State Department spokesman in Washington said the only communication from Malcolm had been a telegram to Secretary of State Dean Rusk on Feb. 18, complaining of France's refusal to let him enter while he was touring abroad.

The CORE leader said he had "grave suspicions that it will go deeper" than mere nationalist rivalries "and will have in-

ternational implications." Later, in answer to questions from newsmen, he said, "I believe that his killing was a political killing."

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

Malcolm once described all white men as devils. But after a recent trip to Mecca, in Saudi Arabia, he told friends that he had found blond-haired, blue-eyed men who were devout Muslims.

Mr. Farmer said CORE's summer project would include community-organization and voter-registration campaigns in Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina and in Baltimore, Boston, Seattle, Cleveland and Philadelphia.

Half the CORE activists in the Southern campaigns, he said, will be recruited among student and other young people in the South.

He said CORE would continue its project in part of Mississippi, where both CORE and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee operate.

He added, however, that CORE would not seek large numbers of out-of-state activists for Mississippi. It will be "local involvement," he said. A lesson learned last summer, he declared, was that more activity by local people was needed.

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

30 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 2/24/65
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Author: FRED POWLEDGE
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL
Title: JAMES L. FARMER

Character: INFO CON

or

Classification: BU 100-433744

Submitting Office: NYO

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**Closing of 125th St. Stores
To Honor Malcolm X Asked**

A Harlem organization demanded yesterday that all stores on 125th Street close tomorrow at 3 P.M. and remain closed all day Saturday in respect for Malcolm X, the murdered black nationalist leader. Leaflets distributed by the Federation for Independent Political Action, 139 West 125th Street, declared that stores that refused to close would be showing "contempt for our community" and might face a retaliatory shoppers' boycott.

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

18 NEW YORK TIMES

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For Weekend as Malcolm 'Tribute'

"A Test for Police"—See Page 20

By DONALD R. FLYNN

Journal-American Staff Writer

Harlem merchants are being pressured for "donations" to the memory of slain Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X, and threatened with an organized boycott unless they shutter their stores in memoriam from 3 p. m. Friday until Monday morning.

Handbills calling for all

were being placed all over Harlem by the Federation for Independent Political Action.

And an unidentified group called upon various storekeepers to demand "donations" in the form of merchandise—television sets, jewelry, tape recorders—as well as cash.

BOMB THREATS

At least two merchants were told that unless they "donate" merchandise and shut their doors they will be "bombed out." The Journal-American was told.

"If you don't close down by 3 p.m.," one merchant said he was told, "you won't be in business by 3:30."

One store owner said he was ordered to "donate" two television sets and a tape recorder, and another related his "donation" was to be \$100 in cash and four watches.

The group said it would "be back later to pick it up."

Members of the group did not identify themselves as the representatives of any specific organization.

his life. Sister Betty C. Husband, Four Babies Gave Their Father."

It urged that store owners "show your appreciation" by closing at 3 p.m. Friday, and noted that stores which remain open will be "showing contempt for our community and especially our bereavement over our beloved Malcolm."

"If the stores refuse to close, they identify with our enemy—therefore we must close them—pass them by," the handbills stated.

"Those that shop along 125th st. during the hours that the stores are to be closed identify with the murderous stooge that allowed the terror structure to use his hands to kill Brother Malcolm," it said.

"We must not be led into fratricide. This should not be war between rivals of a religious sect, but open season on the main story, our common enemy that suppresses us all."

The demand for community

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mourning came as the investigation into the public slaying of Malcolm X continued under the direction of Asst. Chief Insp. Joseph L. Coyle of Manhattan North Detectives.

PROBE CONTINUES

At the Wadsworth ave. station, the question of possible witnesses to Malcolm X's slaying continued, and plans were to have Mrs. Betty Shabazz—Malcolm's wife—look at photographs of alleged suspects as soon as possible.

Police reportedly have photographs of the four suspects being sought. They have pictures taken at the Audubon Ballroom, 185th st. and Broadway, on the day of the murder, it was learned.

An atmosphere of tense expectancy surrounded all the principals in the Muslim movement, and bomb and murder threats criss-crossed the nation.

BELLEVUE GUARD

Additional precautions were taken at the Bellevue Hospital prison ward, where one of Malcolm's accused killers is in custody, as it was learned there is a plot to kill the prisoner.

The suspect, Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N.J., was already under heavy guard. He is recovering from a bullet wound and a broken left ankle suffered when he was attacked by a mob after Malcolm X was slain.

A police source confirmed that there are plans to kill Hayer.

"They don't want this guy to testify," the source said.

Another bomb threat was directed at the Unkui Funeral Home at 2352 8th ave., where Malcolm's body lies, and at the church where his funeral will be held at 9:30 a.m. Saturday.

BEATEN BY TWO

Another of Malcolm's followers, a man identified as Clifford Stanbury of 1095 Madison ave., was reportedly jumped and beaten by three Black Muslims yesterday afternoon at 115th st. and Lenox ave.

He refused to press charges against the attackers, and insisted he would "take care of himself," according to police.

A scheduled meeting last night to celebrate the 16th anniversary of the Mount Ebenezer Baptist Church at 2455 8th ave. was cancelled when the pastor, Rev. J. W. Jackson, pleaded illness.

Rev. Henry Dudley Rucker, pastor of the New White Rock Baptist Church of Christ, 600 W. 153d st., was to have been guest speaker.

"If fear was the real reason for the cancellation," he said, "I'd like to know. The community will never be what we want it to be unless the leaders are brave, courageous, stand-up people."

BEARER FOR VIOLENCE

"No church should be so frightened as to close its doors. They blamed the violence on the pent-up hatred Negroes feel toward a white society which suppresses them."

"Every other Negro in America is a potential Man Man because of the hatred in his bosom caused by the clowns."

Among the thousands who filed slowly past the bier of Malcolm X yesterday was Bayard Rustin, who directed the 1963 "March on Washington." Moved to tears by the sight, Mr. Rustin said:

"The last time I talked with him was about a week ago. We kidded a lot, and I told him that although he didn't know it, he was walking in the direction of Martin Luther King."

SCHOLARSHIP FOUNDED

And a group of 21 ministers calling themselves the Harlem Upper Manhattan United Church Assn., announced the creation of a scholarship fund for the education of Malcolm X's four children. They launched it with \$125. It was set up at the Freedom National Bank, 211 W. 123d st.

ANONYMOUS CALL

The wife of Bishop Alvin S. Childs of the Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, 1763 Amsterdam ave. at W. 147th st., told police an anonymous caller declared:

"If Malcolm's funeral is held there, we will bomb the place."

One of Malcolm's possible successors in the Organization for Afro-American Unity, Leon 4X Ameer, 33, of Boston, told The Journal-American by phone that an attempt will be made to murder him by Saturday.

"I will personally take action if the threats continue against my life or if any harm comes to my wife or seven children," he said.

"Nobody believed Malcolm X when he said his life was in

about 50 Negroes gathered for a demonstration. The outbreak was staged while the Board of Estimate was considering the 1965-'66 education budget proposals.

Five of the demonstrators were paroled for a hearing March 9 and the sixth, a 16-year-old boy, was paroled to the custody of a truant officer.

**China Reds Say Malcolm X
Was Slain by 'Imperialists'**

Special to The New York Times
HONG KONG, Feb. 24—A Pe-
king newspaper declared today
that American "ruling circles
and racists" murdered Malcolm
X, whom it depicted as a mar-
tyr in the Negroes' fight
against "U. S. reactionary"
forces. Jenmin Jibpao, official
organ of the Chinese Commu-
nist party, declared in an edi-
torial:

"The blood of Malcolm X will
not have been shed in vain.

"American Negroes will un-
doubtedly realize from his mur-
der that in dealing with impe-
rialist oppressors violence must
be met with violence, as Mal-
colm X himself taught."

The editorial represented
Malcolm X as an advocate of
violence and said he had be-
come "a thorn in the side of
U. S. rulers."

"Their murder of Malcolm X
indicates that they are pre-
pared to use any despicable
means to intimidate American
Negroes and quell their strug-
gle," the paper said.

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NY Times

EDITION Late city

DATE 2-25-65

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