

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This pamphlet reprints twelve articles about the assassination of Malcolm X on February 21, 1966, and the trial, from January 21 to March 11, 1966, of three men charged with the assassination. The three defendants were sentenced to life imprisonment.

The articles were written for *The Militant*, weekly socialist newspaper. The three by George Breitman, written from Detroit, appeared during July and August 1965. The nine articles by Herman Porter, who reported the trial in New York for *The Militant*, appeared in its issues from January to March 1966.

George Breitman has requested that the following be added: "The questions I asked about the role of the police in the assassination of Malcolm X were transmitted to the defense attorneys in the hope that they would raise them during the trial. As Herman Porter's reports indicate, they deliberately avoided doing so. Readers should also understand that if the New York police were involved in the assassination (and nothing said or done at the trial, or in the four years since the crime, has absolved them of this charge), that involvement could not have been on their own initiative, but must have resulted from the decision and direction of the government in Washington, that is, the CIA."

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I. Unanswered Questions

By GEORGE BREITMAN

The Missing 'Second' Man

DETROIT, July 4 — Some mysterious questions about the assassination of Malcolm X arise if you carefully read the New York newspaper reports printed right after the assassination, as I have just done. Some of them concern the role of the police.

I should explain, at the beginning, that I have no fixed theory about the killing. I don't know if agents of the Black Muslims did it; or if agents of white racists did it; or if agents of the government or the police did it; or if agents of a combination of these forces, who all hated Malcolm, did it. I am, at this point, only asking some questions provoked by studying different editions of the six New York daily papers after the killing.

Certain things seem agreed upon by everybody:

The Organization of Afro-American Unity had scheduled a rally on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. This was one week after Malcolm's home was fire-bombed and he and his family narrowly escaped injury or death. People entering the rally were not searched. On the other hand, they were all scrutinized by OAAU aides as they entered the hall. Malcolm had just begun to speak when two men began a scuffle deliberately designed to distract the attention of Malcolm's guards. Three men rushed toward Malcolm, opening fire and wounding him mortally; they then ran out of the ballroom, pursued by several of Malcolm's supporters. Police said that one of the three, identified later as Talmadge Hayer,

er, 22, of Paterson, N.J., had received a bullet in the leg by the time he got to the exit of the building. The police also alleged that he had been wounded by Reuben Francis, a Malcolm guard. Hayer was seized outside the building by the people pursuing him. So was another man. The people began to beat and kick Hayer and the second man. Police arrived and rescued the two being beaten, taking them away from the crowd.

The third man got away. He got away because the crowd did not catch him. Hayer and the second man also would have got away if the crowd hadn't caught and held them until the police showed up.

Now let us turn to the New York Herald Tribune dated Monday, Feb. 22. This is a morning paper, which means that the first edition of the paper dated Monday actually appeared Sunday evening, a few hours after the killing. The top headline in the first (city) edition reads: "Malcolm X Slain by Gunmen as 400 in Ballroom Watch." The subhead, over the lead article by Jimmy Breslin, reads: "Police Rescue Two Suspects."

Breslin's story in this edition reports that Hayer was "taken to Bellevue Prison Ward and was sealed off by a dozen policemen. The other suspect was taken to the Wadsworth Avenue precinct, where the city's top policemen immediately converged and began one of the heaviest homicide investigations this city has ever seen."