

Roosevelt Torch

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WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?

(Editor's Note: The following article deals with the assassination of Malcolm X. Although admittedly long, it contains information not previously published or as coherently tied together. Some of the information is from a forthcoming book by Harold Weisberg entitled 'Coup D'Etat.' The printing of this article should in no way be construed as acceptance by the Torch or its editors of the author's conclusions and evaluations. But we do feel the information contained is important.)

By Russell Trunzo

On December 1, 1963, Malcolm X was asked at a New York rally what he thought about the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Despite Elijah Muhammed's orders to all Muslim ministers that they not make any comment, Malcolm said he thought it was merely a case of 'the chickens coming home to roost.' The news media carried that statement widely because it was dramatic, Elijah Muhammed saw the resultant outcry as the excuse he needed to remove some of Malcolm's power, and it brought about the split that had been developing between Malcolm and Muhammed for some time. What no one realized was that it was more accurate than any other analysis of the assassination given at that time. Malcolm said that night that it was 'the same thing as had happened with Medgar Evers, with Patrice Lumumba, with Madame

Nhu's husband.' In likening it to the assassinations of Lumumba and Ngo Dinh Diem, Malcolm became the first person to point the finger of guilt at the assassins of John F. Kennedy. Lumumba, Diem and John Kennedy were all killed by, or with the assistance of, the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

There are many strange parallels between the assassinations of four of our major leaders in the past five years: John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and Robert Kennedy. In many cases all four assassinations seem to have been staged by the same director. In this article we will explore some of the implausibilities and strange coincidences in the assassination of Malcolm X, and show that many of them are duplications of what happened in Dallas on November 22, 1963.

CIA Necessary

It was necessary for the CIA to eliminate Malcolm X because after his break with Elijah Muhammed he became one of the most visionary American leaders of this century. It took Martin Luther King until 1967 to join with the anti-war movement in opposition to the United States involvement in Viet Nam, and even then he was criticized by most of the other so-called Civil Rights leaders. Most of them have since realized that Dr. King was right. But Malcolm was speaking out against U.S. involvement in Vietnam in 1964. On

January 28, 1965, less than a month before his death, in an interview on WBAL-FM in New York, Malcolm said that the problem of Viet Nam was the same problem as the Congo and the same problem as Mississippi and New York: the problem of the oppressed versus the oppressor.

It was Malcolm X, in his speech 'The Ballot or the Bullet' who said:

'So our people not only have to be reeducated to the importance of supporting Black business, but the Black Man himself has to be made aware of the importance of going into business. And once you and I go into business, we own and operate at least the businesses in our community, what we'll be doing is developing a situation wherein we will actually be able to create employment for the people in the community. And once you can create some employment in the community where you live. It will eliminate the necessity of you and me having to act ignorantly and disgracefully boycotting and picketing some cracker

somewhere else, trying to beg for a job.'

It sounds like something Operation Breadbasket said in 1966 or 1967, but it was Malcolm X in 1964.

He also spoke out for Blacks controlling the political structure in their neighborhoods; it was Malcolm who first brought to the fore the need for Black pride. It was Malcolm who pushed for the Black Man to cast off the label 'Negro' and stop processing and straightening his hair. So on the domestic scene, sharp observers could see that Malcolm X was the most advance of all the leaders; and his charisma caused politicians and supporters of the Establishment some concern. When he realized that the Civil Rights struggle was a meaningless labor of Sisyphus, when he theorized that the Civil Rights struggle could be elevated to a human rights struggle and taken to the United Nations, he became the concern of the State Department. But when, in Spring of 1964, he announced that he was going to Africa to establish liason with African leaders, and when he said:

'The same man who has colonized them all these years colonized you and me too, all these years. And all we have to do now is wake up and work in unity and harmony, and the battle will

be over.'

it ceased to be a philosophy and became an action; and Malcolm X became the concern of the CIA.

First Trip

During that first trip to Africa, and his pilgrimage to Mecca, Malcolm was received warmly by everyone. But what was most disturbing to the United States government was the number of high officials who received him. In the month he was abroad he first stayed at the home of Dr. Omar Azzam, United Nations city planner who is directing the reconstruction of Arabian holy places. In Algeria he was heralded by the Chinese Ambassador, the Algerian Ambassador, the Nigerian Ambassador, the Ghanaian Minister of Culture, the Ghanaian Minister of Defense, and Mrs. W.E.B. DuBois. The Chinese Ambassador gave a state dinner in his honor, the Press Club in Ghana gave a soiree, the Nigerian High Commissioner a luncheon; and the Cuban Ambassador, a party; all to honor Malcolm X. He spoke at the University of Ghana and the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute in Ghana, as well as the Ghanaian Parliament.

He also had personal audiences with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Prince Faisal of Arabia. In

one month Malcolm had not only become a world figure, but had forever shattered the myth that Black Africans were not interested in what was happening to their American brothers.

When Malcolm returned, neither the Civil Rights leaders nor the Black People of the United States rushed to join his United Nations campaign. The civil rights leaders had been successfully brainwashed by the White Establishment, and still didn't believe that Africans felt any tie with Afro-Americans. Malcolm was too radical for them; many who now evoke Malcolm's name as a great leader--some right here in Chicago--were very quick to reject him then, in 1964.

The people of Harlem, where his Organization of Afro-American Unity had its headquarters, were still wary of Malcolm: as Muhammed's Harlem leader he had done little more than talk, and they seemed to be waiting for him to prove that now he was committed to action. His lieutenants in the O.A.A.U. were very unhappy about his being away so much; they needed him there in Harlem to organize the community.

Return to Africa

In spite of this, Malcolm returned to Africa and the Middle East in the summer of 1964. This trip was much more effective than the first one. He had a private audience with, among others: President Gamal Abdel Nasser, of Egypt; President Julius K. Nyerere, of Tanzania; President Nnamdi Azikiwe, of Nigeria; Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana; President Sekou Toure, of Guinea; President Jomo Kenyatta, of Kenya; and Prime Minister Dr. Milton Obote, of Uganda. In July, Malcolm was in Cairo, and was invited to address the African Summit Conference. This was the chance he'd been waiting for; to urge all the African nations, together, to take a stand opposing racism in the United States.

The American Embassy tried

to block his speaking to the Conference, but both the Egyptian Government and the Conference organizers refused to yield. By special invitation, Malcolm was staying aboard the Isis, a yacht moored on the Nile, with Freedom Fighters from the unliberated African nations. But when the yacht became full and guests were still arriving Malcolm took a room at the Nile Hilton with his friend Milton Henry, a lawyer from Detroit. On the day before he was to address the Conference, Mal-

colm became ill after eating dinner in the hotel dining room and was rushed to a hospital where his stomach was pumped. Analysis of this showed that a 'Toxic substance' was in his stomach.

Despite the attempt to murder him, Malcolm addressed the Conference, and the delegates received his speech with adulation, passing a resolution that condemned U.S. racial policies. Malcolm urged them to take the question to the United Nations, but the Conference balked. Malcolm continued to lobby for bringing it before the U.N., and many delegates and government leaders agreed to work with him.

Success Beginning

On January 2, 1965, the New York Times indicated that Malcolm's campaign was beginning to have some success. M. S. Handler, on page 6, reported that Malcolm had been urging African delegates to raise the question of U.S. racial policies during the debate on U.S. intervention in the Congo. The article states:

'The spokesmen of some African states acted precisely within the framework of these recommendations last month in the Congo debate at the United Nations. They accused the United States of being indifferent to the fate of Blacks and cited as evidence the attitude of the U.S. government toward the civil rights struggle in Mississippi.

'The African move profoundly disturbed the American authorities, who gave the impression that they had been caught off guard.'

Threats against Malcolm were not unusual, but they had become so frequent that in late January when he went to Los Angeles and Chicago, he was met in both cities by special squads of police, assigned to protect him while there.

In early February, 1965, Malcolm returned to Europe, arriving in France on February 9, to address the Congress of African Students in Paris.

He was met at the Paris Airport by French authorities, who said he'd been declared an 'undesirable person' by the French government, and they refused to allow him to enter France. He boarded another plane and returned to London.

Eric Norden, who has done considerable research throughout the world on political assassinations, reports that a North African diplomat told him (Norden) that the French Department of Alien Documentation and Counter-Espionage knew that the C.I.A. planned to assassinate Malcolm, and that's why they wouldn't let him remain in France; they didn't want it to happen in their country. The diplomat's country had been informed

of this as a safety precaution, in case Malcolm had gone there after being refused entry to France. Of course, this is hearsay from an unidentified source, and as such not admissible as evidence in court. But by examining it a little closer, perhaps we can get a better understanding of its possible veracity.

Norden has told me that the diplomat offered him the information only on condition of his remaining totally anonymous. He was from a country that was a likely choice for Malcolm had he determined to continue his trip. The political structure of the country was very shaky, and Malcolm being killed on their soil could have been disastrous. The diplomat was, by giving the information to Norden, risking his position. He wasn't a headline-grabber neither was he trying to crack the world-wide espionage establishment of the CIA: he was simply offering knowledge that he had gotten. Following the assassination, the French press was one of the first to reject the official version, and consistently stressed that it had international implications. And of course, the assassination did, in fact, take place less than two weeks after the Paris airport incident.

Returns to New York

Malcolm returned to New York on February 13th, and in the middle of the night his house was torn apart by a bomb blast: someone had thrown Molotov cocktails through the living room window.

All through these incidents, Malcolm had been blaming the Muslims, saying that they were getting their revenge. Malcolm had helped organize the Muslim retaliatory forces, and had a profound respect mixed with a little pride for their ability to do almost anything. He often remarked that he knew what they could do, because he had taught them. But finally, on February 20, he conceded in a phone conversation with Alex Haley, his biographer:

'I'm going to quit saying it's the Muslims.'

The next day Malcolm X was dead, shot down during a rally at the Audubon Ballroom.

One of the most noticeable things at the Audubon on February 21, 1965, was the absence of uniformed police. Normally at Malcolm's rallies there were at least a dozen standing by the entrances and inside the ballroom. But on this day, less than a week after his house had been fire-bombed, less than a month after the Los Angeles and Chicago police had taken extraordinary precautions to protect him, and after he had applied for and been refused a permit to carry a pistol, the New York City Police Department felt no need to have uniformed patrolmen inside the ballroom.

They did station one, a Patrolman Gilbert Henry, in a side room; the rest were stationed in the hospital across the street. Patrolman Henry was equipped with a walkie-talkie, on which he was told to notify the police in the hospital if anything happened, such as shots or other sounds of trouble. Why were they stationed across the street if they were expecting trouble? The only answer can be that they wanted to arrive after it was over.

As Malcolm began his speech, there was a disturbance in the audience. Someone yelled, 'Get your hand outta my pocket, nigger,' smoke was seen at the back of the ballroom, Malcolm started to step away from the podium, and suddenly several men began firing at him. In a matter of moments, he was on the floor of the stage, mortally wounded. There have been several different eyewitness accounts of how many men were firing and from where.

One says that the men rose from the center of the audience and walked toward the stage, another says they were at the back of the room, and in another they were seated in the front row and merely stood up. But these all may have been

part of a team, and each different witness just say one part of the team.

A police car cruising past the Audubon stopped when the two patrolmen saw a man being pursued by a group of Malcolm's followers who were shouting 'Malcolm's been shot, get him.' They arrested Talmadge Hayer (also known as Thomas Hagan), who'd been shot in the thigh, and charged him with the assassination.

Patrolman Rushes In

Patrolman Thomas Hoy, who was outside the Audubon, heard the shooting and rushed inside. Peter Khiss reported in the New York Times of February 22, 1965, page 10, column 3:

'Patrolman Thomas Hoy, 22, said he had been stationed outside the 118th Street entrance when 'I heard the shooting and the place exploded.' He rushed in, saw Malcolm lying on the stage, and grabbed a suspect who, he said, some people were chasing.'

'As I brought him to the front of the ballroom, the crowd began beating me and the suspect,' Patrolman Hoy said. He said he put this man, not otherwise identified later for newsmen, into a police car to be taken to the Wadsworth Avenue Station.'

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'But you know, I'm going to tell you something, brother—the more I keep thinking about this thing, the things that have been happening lately, I'm not at all sure it's the Muslims. I know what they can do, and what they can't, and they can't do some of the stuff recently going on. Now, I'm going to tell you, the more I keep thinking about what happened to me in France, I think