



Executive Action:
The White House, the CIA and the Murder of Malcolm X
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*We have now looked over 50, 000 Freedom of Information Act files from the FBI and the CIA....they do show, prior to Malcolm X's death, that the CIA and the State Department were actively monitoring his travels abroad and telling foreign leaders to be wary of him. - Dan Rather, *The Real Malcolm X, An Intimate Portrait of the man*, CBS Documentary(1992)*

*While the CIA and State Department have been reticent to release many documents from their files on Malcolm X, those released thus far reveal an urgent counterintelligence campaign to "neutralize" Malcolm X after several African and Arab countries offered him financial support in 1964 and vowed to support his petition to the United Nations in which he accused the United States government of violating the human rights of African Americans. - Karl Evanzz, "The Hidden Hand: The Assassination of Malcolm X," *Kennedys and King* March 11, 2019*

The phrase "neutralize" means to kill. – Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, ABC-TV, October 18, 1984

*all four of the assassinations (JFK, Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Senator Robert Kennedy) are linked together, all funded and executed by the CIA to silence the four most vocal leaders who were opposed to the agency's pro-war, pro-drug policy – John Koerner, *Why The CIA Killed JFK and Malcolm X: The Secret Drug Trade In Laos* (2004)*

*I found no evidence of CIA involvement in Malcolm X's assassination – Zak Kondo on *Riot Starters TV*, February 24, 2022*

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I. *A Mere Sideshow?*

Muslim gunmen pulled the trigger, but the available record, including government documents, strongly suggests that Malcolm X was the victim of a government-inspired political assassination.¹

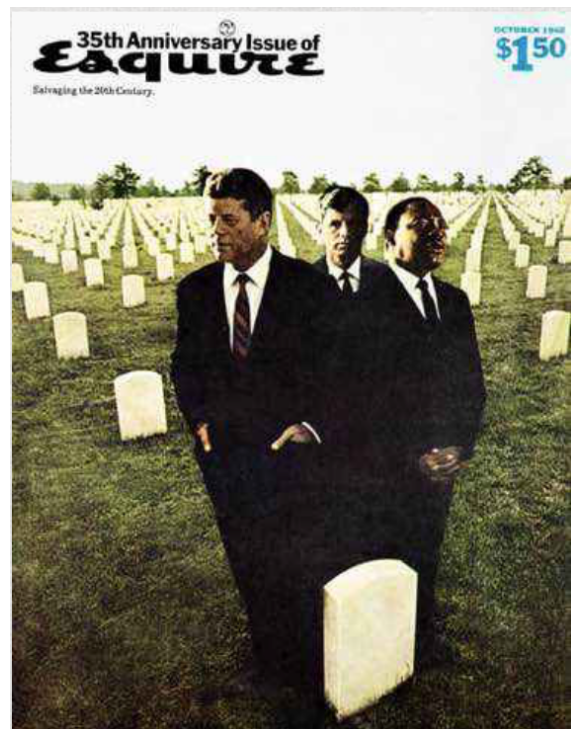
Shaila Dewan makes the disappointing, but true, observation that “The death of Malcolm X...never inflamed the public imagination in the same way the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. did.”² Of the political assassinations of the 1960s, that of Malcolm X is treated as an “outlier,” dismissed as simple black-on-black crime³ or the fruit of “Black Muslim fratricide”⁴ - nothing more, nothing less. Peter Isackson wrote for example:

Americans remember four spectacular and symbolic assassinations from the 1960s. That of President John F. Kennedy, shot in Dallas, Texas, on Friday, November 22, 1963, marks a moment of maximum trauma in modern US history. For three days, television channels ran with no advertising as the nation witnessed not just the sudden disappearance of a youthful president but the unfolding of a complex narrative of criminality that concluded with the shooting of Lee Harvey Oswald, Kennedy’s presumed killer, two days later.

The second high-profile assassination of the radical black political activist, Malcolm X, in 1965, *played out as a mere sideshow*. The national media treated it essentially as a black-on-black killing or a settling of scores among marginal political extremists.

The third assassination, the gunning down of Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. in April 1968, shocked a nation already rattled by the JFK assassination and the Vietnam War. King was a black leader considered far more respectable than Malcolm X. The black community reacted with violence as riots broke out in several US cities.

The fourth assassination occurred two months later, when JFK’s brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, was fatally wounded by a Palestinian immigrant, Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, following his victory in the California primary. Most people expected him to win that year’s November presidential election. His death induced a shocked sense of utter dismay across the nation.⁵



¹ William W. Sales, Jr. *From Civil Rights To Black Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity* (Boston: South End Press, 1994) 37.

² Shaila Dewan, “Biography Revives Push to Reopen Malcolm X Case,” *The New York Times* July 22, 2011.

³ John Leland, “Who Really Killed Malcolm X?” *The New York Times* February 6, 2020; “More Questions than Answers: A Review of Netflix’s ‘Who Killed Malcolm X,’” *Black Like Vanilla* February 21, 2020.

⁴ Will Dabbs, “The Murder of Malcolm X: Muslim Fratricide in Tumultuous 1960’s America,” *Guns America Digest* October 24, 2019.

⁵ Peter Isackson, “The Historical Significance of Malcolm X’s Assassination,” *Fair Observer* February 24, 2021.

This notion of the assassination of Malcolm X as a “mere sideshow” of the 1960s’ assassination drama is common. It is also wrong. Closer scrutiny of the events leading up to the Malcolm X murder strongly supports that it was orchestrated by the U.S. intelligence apparatus, the same apparatus behind the murders of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, the U.S. President John F. Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, all committed between 1960 and 1968. One reason the assassination of Malcolm X has not been adequately elucidated in and by current scholarly treatments is this: not enough attention has been given to America’s *Assassination Bureau*, the apparatus that conducts the domestic and international government-sanctioned political murders, and its *modus operandi*. This writing will redress this scholarly oversight.

The many, largely unrecognized, intimate interconnections between the Assassination of Malcolm X, on the one hand, and the political assassinations of the 1960s, on the other hand,⁶ prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the tragic and traumatic event that occurred in Harlem’s Audubon Ballroom on February 21, 1965, was *not* the bitter fruit of a “Black Extremist Gang War” or an example of Black Muslim fratricide. Rather, the murder of Malcolm X was a bona fide Government Hit: a Cold War political assassination, not unlike that of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy or the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr; thus proving Malcolm X’s final thoughts on the matter to be accurate: “I was concentrating on Chicago. It’s [i.e., the impending murder] not coming from Chicago. [It’s coming] from Washington.”⁷

II. *America’s Murder, Inc.*



assassination has always been an arm of US foreign policy, just as in periods of turbulence, as in the Sixties, it has always been an arm of domestic repression as well. - Alexander Cockburn, “A Damned Murder Inc.” *Counter Punch* July 24, 2009.

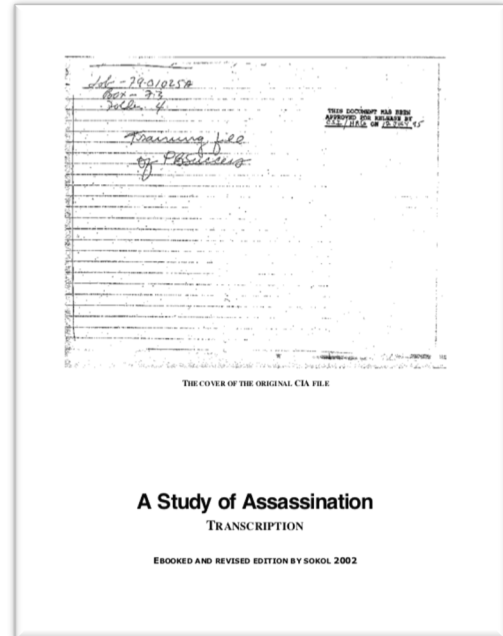
Assassination is big business. It is the business of the CIA and any other power that can pay for the “hit” and control the assured getaway. – L. Fletcher Prouty, *An Introduction to the Assassination Business* (1975)

⁶ On these interconnections see Wesley Muhammad, *The Real Judas Factor: Unraveling The Murder of Malcolm X* Three Volumes (Chicago: A-Team, Publishing, 2023).

⁷ As quoted by Herman Ferguson to Gil Noble, “Every Goodbye Ain’t Gone,” 1:05:30 to 1:06:33 @ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m6IWM78sdcw>

Since the close of World War II, the U.S. has had in place an assassination apparatus. William Blum has outlined this “decapitation squad” operated by the CIA, the purpose of which was (and is) “killing heads of state and others.”⁸ This “decapitation squad” was referred to by former President Lyndon Baines Johnson as a “damned Murder Inc.” and he implied it was involved in killing his predecessor President John F. Kennedy.⁹

A declassified 1953 CIA file entitled “A Study of Assassination” is a 19-page training manual or “how-to” guidebook in the art of political killing. It outlines techniques to efficiently carry out such “decapitations,”¹⁰ and offers detailed descriptions of the procedures, instruments, and implementation of assassination. “Killing a political leader whose burgeoning career is a clear and present danger to the cause of freedom may be held necessary...Persons who are morally squeamish should not attempt (p. 6),” the document admonishes. The targets of these “decapitation” operations are those persons who threaten the U.S.’s freedom to pursue her capitalist and colonial ambitions in Third World nations. This manual was used during Operation PBSUCCESS, which involved the overthrow of the democratically elected Guatemalan government of President Jacobo Árbenz in 1954 and the installation of the military dictatorship of Carlos Castillo Armas. “A Study of Assassination” was distributed to CIA agents and operatives during PBSUCCESS.



Retired Air Force Colonel Fletcher Prouty, who was chief of special operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Kennedy years and provided support for clandestine CIA operations from 1955 to 1964 (and who is also behind the character “Mr. X.” in Oliver Stone’s 1991 hit movie *JFK*¹¹), tells us that “uncounted times...enemies of the government had been killed by this ‘Murder Inc.’ quickly, cleanly and with precision...and without their apprehension and prosecution by anyone.”¹² This government sponsored murder capability was a professional operation.

Teams of professional "hit men" are recruited, trained, equipped and provided with a complex of “real life” identities, by this government, in order that they may live this strange existence as normal individuals. They are always available for these special duties anywhere and against any target. They are skilled automatons who are set in motion by a code system that does not require the identities of those who have made the

⁸ Bill Blum, *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II* (Monroe, Main: Common Courage Press, 2004).

⁹ Leo Janos, “The Last Days of The President,” *The Atlantic* July 1973. See also Max Holland, “The Assassination Tapes,” *The Atlantic* June 2004.

¹⁰ <https://ia800904.us.archive.org/30/items/CIAAStudyOfAssassination1953/CIA%20-%20A%20Study%20of%20Assassination%20%281953%29.pdf> (= Ron Collins, *The Secret CIA Assassination Manual: A Study of Assassination* [Lulu.com, 2015])

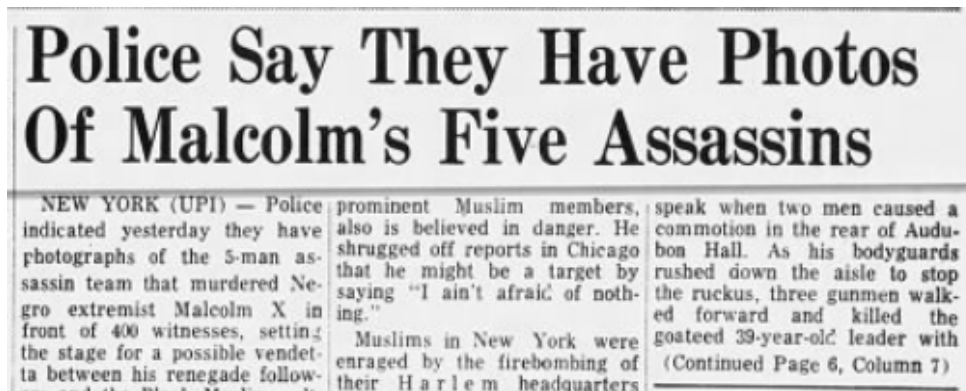
¹¹ Mark Seal, “Can Hollywood Solve JFK’s Murder?” *Texas Monthly* (December 1991): 128-133, 158-168.

¹² L. Fletcher Prouty, “Lyndon B. Johnson, John F. Kennedy and the Great American Coup D’etat,” @ <http://www.prouty.org/johnson.html>

“Decision” ...These murder teams belong to an organization that is, in a special sense, timeless. Such murders are not arranged and carried out on an "ad hoc" basis. These teams are always ready.¹³

This murder capability of the United States was codified in 1960 as **ZR/RIFLE**, the code name for a documented systematic CIA assassination program.¹⁴ ZR/RIFLE was a project to research and develop the means for overthrowing foreign political leaders, including a standing “capability to perform assassination” when required. This standing assassination capability, euphemized by the CIA as an “Executive Action,”¹⁵ was requested by the White House.¹⁶ The CIA has correctly been described as “the secret hand of the White House.”¹⁷ The project ZR/RIFLE aimed at the “assassination of political leaders whose further existence impinged on U.S. interests.”¹⁸ Bill Harvey, known as the CIA’s “Loaded Gun,” ran the project.¹⁹

THE COMMANDOS



The Morning Call (Paterson, New Jersey) February 25, 1965

In 1960 a White House “Special Group” formed a working group within the CIA called “Operation 40” that focused on Cuba.²⁰ Initially the task of the Operation 40 operatives was the training of persons to infiltrate Cuba and to make contact with people in the political sector of the government. But there was also an assassination section that consisted of a team of

¹³ Prouty, “Lyndon B. Johnson, John F. Kennedy and the Great American Coup D’etat.”

¹⁴ Don Bohning, “Distorting History,” *The Intelligence: Journal of U.S. Intelligence Studies* 16:2 (Fall 2008): 67-76.

¹⁵ “The initial term of the CIA for assassination of foreign leaders was ‘Executive Action.’” Noel Twyman, *Bloody Treason: On Solving History’s Greatest Murder Mystery: The Assassination of John F. Kennedy* (Rancho Santa Fe, CA: Laurel Publishing, 1997) 389.

¹⁶ *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders: an interim report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, United States Senate: together with additional, supplemental, and separate views* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975) 182.

¹⁷ Daniele Ganser, *NATO’s Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe* (London: Frank Cass, 2005)

¹⁸ Bayard Stockton, *Flawed Patriot: The Rise and Fall of CIA Legend Bill Harvey* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc., 2006) 370.

¹⁹ David C. Martin, “The CIA’s ‘Loaded Gun,’” *The Washington Post* October 10, 1976.

²⁰ Fabián Escalante, *The Secret War: CIA covert operations against Cuba 1959-1962* (Melbourne, Australia: Ocean Press, 1995) 42.

professional hitmen trained in political assassinations and who were contracted by the CIA.²¹ Operation 40 became an “ultrasecret CIA ‘hit squad’.”²² A signature of Operation 40 was the training and use of five-man commando teams. Each team consisted of a leader and four men specializing in communications, clandestine operations, psychological warfare, and explosives.²³

This five-man Kill Team seems to have been an SOP of a Government Hit. On the north shore of New Orleans’ Lake Pontchartrain, the CIA conducted an anti-Castro guerrilla training camp where David Ferrie drilled five-man commando teams preparing to infiltrate Cuba and assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro.²⁴ New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison believed that the exiles training to assassinate Castro had been “spun off” into the hit on President Kennedy. The 15-20 men who were in Dealey Plaza to kill the President were probably divided into groups of five. For example, the Texas School Book Depository team seems to have consisted of: Malcolm Wallace (site manager), Loy Factor (decoy shooter), Oswald *Doppelgänger* (decoy shooter), Ruth Ann Martinez (spotter) and Oswald himself (patsy).²⁵

Likewise the Hit on Senator Robert Kennedy on June 6, 1968 was a much larger operation than what the general public has been led to believe – a one man (Sirhan Sirhan) show.²⁶ Indeed, the “infamous five” commando team has been discerned in the RFK operation.²⁷ “At least five people – four men and a woman – carried out the conspiracy to kill Robert Kennedy at the Ambassador Hotel.”²⁸ In the Malcolm X operation, we have identified two Kill Teams, and both of them consisted of five members each. Kill Team 1 was the Judas Team, led by James [67X] Shabazz and apparently consisted of: James, Earl Grant, Reuben Francis, Langston Savage, and John 57X Grey. This was the “inside clique” that set Malcolm X up to be successfully gunned down by Kill Team 2, the Shooter Team. Kill Team 2 consisted of William 25X Bradley, Benjamin 3X Thomas, Leon 3X Davis, “Wilbur Kinly,” and Talmadge X Hayer.

OPERATIONAL PLAUSIBLE DENIABILITY AND THE FALSE FLAG

Operational “plausible deniability” is an essential element of an Executive Action. The original and principal purpose of the doctrine of Plausible Deniability is non-attribution to the United States of a covert operation. National Security Council Directive 5412 (March 15, 1954) defines “covert operations” as “all activities conducted pursuant to this directive that are so planned and executed that any US government responsibility for them is not evident to unauthorized persons and that, if uncovered, the US can plausibly disclaim any responsibility for them.” Thus, the doctrine of Plausible Deniability was designed to protect the U.S. and its operatives from the consequences of disclosure of the covert operation, and to mask decisions of the president and his senior staff.

²¹ Tad Szulc and Karl E. Meyer, *The Cuban Invasion* (New York: Ballantine, 1962) 95.

²² Dick Russell, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (New York: Carrol & Graf Publishers, 1992) [First Edition], 330.

²³ Escalante, *The Secret War* 48.

²⁴ Michael L. Kurtz, “The Kennedy Assassination: 50 Years Later,” *My New Orleans* October 01, 2013.

²⁵ See Wesley Muhammad, *The Real Judas Factor*, Book One.

²⁶ Lisa Pease, *A Lie Too Big to Fail* (Port Townsend, WA; Feral House, 2018) 366.

²⁷ Pease, *A Lie Too Big to Fail*, 276.

²⁸ Carl Wernerhoff, *The Girl in the Polka Dot Dress: New Light on the Assassination of Robert F. Kennedy* (2005), 10.

In a January 25, 1962, document Bill Harvey issued instructions regarding ZR/RIFLE protocol aimed at insuring “nonattributability” of these political murders to the U.S. The protocols included, “never mention the word assassination” and “Design operations in a way in which the Soviets could be blamed.”²⁹ A key tactic in ensuring operational plausible deniability is therefore the use of the *false flag* operation. The False Flag is an act committed with the intent of disguising the actual source of responsibility and pinning blame on another party through a deliberate misrepresentation of the operatives’ affiliation. The False Flag is a key element in the cover-up of a crime: it forges trails that lead to a *designated patsy* and a *False Sponsor*. The latter is a term used in covert intelligence actions which describes the individual or organization to be publicly blamed after the action, thus diverting attention away from the *true* sponsor, i.e., the intelligence community and/or the U.S. government. The false flag deception was built into the “Executive Action” program.

THE C.I.A.’S DOMESTIC SHOOTER TEAM

The 1947 legislation setting up the CIA bars the Agency from any security or police function inside the U.S., leaving all such activity to the FBI. Nevertheless, there evolved a special unit within the CIA’s supersecret counterintelligence branch that (illegally) focused on domestic operations.³⁰ The **Domestic Operations Division (DOD)**, as it was named, was under the authority of the infamous counterintelligence chief James Angleton. “The very title ‘Domestic Operations’ amounted to a violation of the CIA’s original charter.”³¹ According to CIA master spy and infamous Watergate burglar E. Howard Hunt, the DOD was established in 1962 shortly after the failure of the Bay of Pigs operation in late 1961.³² “Many agency men connected with that failure were shunted into the new domestic unit” according to Hunt.³³ These were mainly Cuban exiles. Tracey Barnes was made Chief of DOD and Hunt himself served as the first chief of covert action for the DOD (1962 – 1966).³⁴ Regarding the DOD, “Its purpose...was for ‘clandestine operational activities of the Clandestine Services conducted within the United States against foreign targets.’”³⁵ DOD was a division of the CIA but was not housed at Langley. Rather, its office was at 1750 Pennsylvania Ave, only a block away from the White House.³⁶

The espionage techniques that counterintelligence chief James Angleton mastered were mass surveillance, disinformation, extrajudicial detention, and targeted assassination.³⁷ The same techniques that he used against foreigners he also employed against his domestic targets. He assembled domestic intelligence dossiers on Americans, recruited plants and informants to

²⁹ Stockton, *Flawed Patriot*, 383.

³⁰ Dana Priest, “CIA Is Expanding Domestic Operations,” *The Washington Post* October 23, 2002. The CIA’s domestic division was created to conduct clandestine operations within the United States against foreign targets.

³¹ Russell, *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, 305.

³² Verne Lyon, “Domestic Surveillance: The History of Operation CHAOS,” *CovertAction* 34 (Summer 1990): 59-62; Eugene Phillips, “The Central Intelligence Agency’s Surveillance of the New Left,” *Review of History and Political Science* 5:2 (December 2017):1-10

³³ Seymour M. Hersh, “Hunt Tells of Early Work For a C.I.A. Domestic Unit,” *The New York Times* December 31, 1974.

³⁴ Russell, *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, 355.

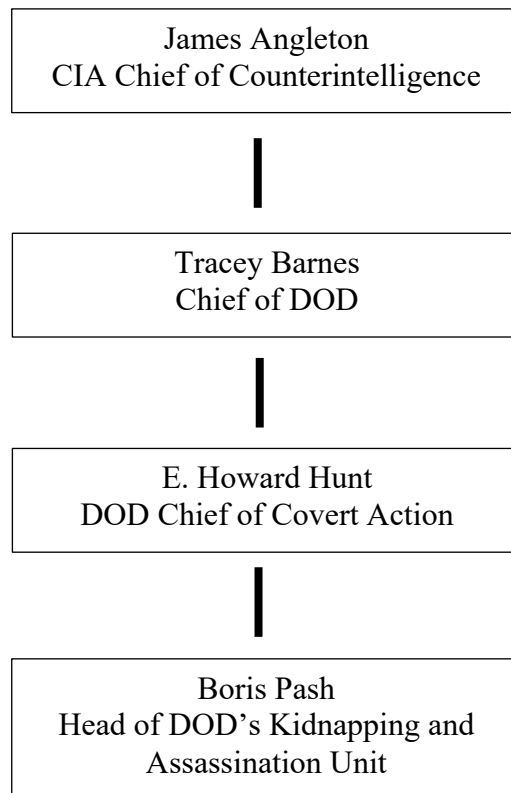
³⁵ Russell, *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, 263.

³⁶ Russell, *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, 305.

³⁷ Jefferson Morley, “How The CIA Writes History,” *The Intercept* April 25, 2016.

infiltrate the more militant groups, produced double agents, and assassinated targets. Angleton set up within his department a kidnaping and assassination operation headed by Boris Pash, a military intelligence officer. E. Howard Hunt confirmed that, since as early as the mid-1950s, Angleton and the CIA ran a small domestic assassination unit.³⁸ According to Don Deneselya, a CIA officer in Angleton's Counterintelligence Clandestine Services, "[Tracy] Barnes coordinated CIA-ordered assassinations on behalf of Richard Helms and Allen Dulles..."³⁹

**Domestic Operations Division (DOD)
Assassination Command Structure**



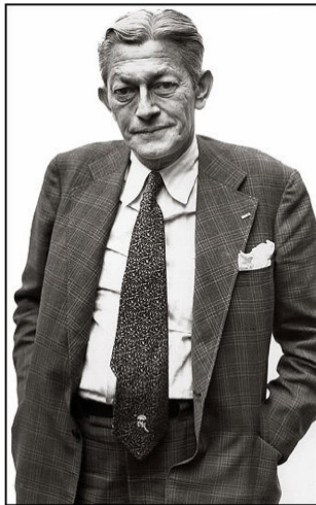
In 1974 *The New York Times* exposed that the CIA had been conducting a massive, illegal domestic intelligence operation in the U.S. against the antiwar movement, Black militants and other dissident groups, in direct violation of its charter.⁴⁰ The pretense of this highly coordinated

³⁸ John M. Crewdson, "Hunt Says C.I.A. Had Assassin Unit," *The New York Times* December 26, 1975 and see John M. Crewdson, "A Report Links C.I.A. to Murder in U.S.," *The New York Times* November 14, 1975.

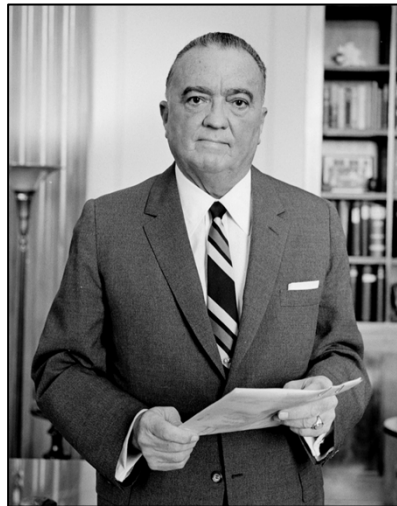
³⁹ Judyth Vary Baker and Edward Schwartz, *Kennedy & Oswald: The Big Picture* (Walterville, OR: Trine Day LLC, 2017) 22.

⁴⁰ Hersh, "Huge C.I.A. Operation Reported"; "C.I.A. Data Detail Spying on Campus," *The New York Times* January 26, 1978.

domestic spying was the search for evidence of foreign involvement in the antiwar movement. The White House asked the CIA to determine whether foreign governments were supplying undercover agents and funds to anti-war radicals and Black militants and groups in the United States. CIA agents followed and photographed dissidents and set up a network of informants to infiltrate targeted groups. There was a close relationship between Angleton's illegal DOD operations and J. Edgar Hoover's illegal COINTELPRO. While COINTELPRO was launched in 1956, it was "turbocharged" in 1958 by the CIA's Angleton. The latter's own domestic surveillance operation "[fed] the COINTELPRO beast."⁴¹ "Angleton's [domestic surveillance] program funneled secret reporting on law-abiding citizens to [J. Edgar] Hoover's COINTELPRO operatives for eighteen years. The FBI used CIA information to harass leftists, liberals, and civil rights leaders from 1956 to 1974. Angleton was the ghost of COINTELPRO."⁴² The FBI secured the assistance of the CIA in investigating antiwar activists and black militant leaders who traveled overseas.⁴³



James Angleton
Chief of CIA
Counterintelligence



J. Edgar Hoover
Director, FBI

The DOD had offices in more than a dozen cities across the nation. The New York office goes back at least to 1964. New York was a prime CIA domestic spying target because that city was considered a "big training ground" for radical activities in the United States.⁴⁴ The New York office seems to have focused on Black militants. The DOD's operational objectives were: 1. Infiltrate its agents into targeted groups 2. "turn somebody around," i.e., turn a group member into an informer and 3. "neutralize" the target group or person.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Jefferson Morley, "FBI Targeted The Left With Devious Tactics For Years — Now Trump Gives The Agency The Same Treatment," *Salon* February 7, 2018; idem, "How The CIA Writes History," *The Intercept* April 25, 2016.

⁴² Jefferson Morley, *The Ghost: The Secret Life of CIA Spymaster James Jesus Angleton* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2017).

⁴³ Church Committee Report, Book III, 519.

⁴⁴ Seymour M. Hersh, "Underground for the C.I.A. in New York: An Ex-Agent Tells of Spying on Students," *The New York Times* December 29, 1974.

⁴⁵ Seymour M. Hersh, "C.I.A. Reportedly Recruited Blacks For Surveillance of Panther Party," *The New York Times* March 17, 1978.

The CIA recruited African American spies as part of its domestic operation to surveil Black militants in America and in Africa.⁴⁶ A special office for the black program was set up in the basement of CIA headquarters in Mclean, Va. Details of this “Black Op” or “program of black spying” was “considered among the agency’s most sensitive and closely held information.”⁴⁷ The purported aim was to determine whether Black extremists were being financed and directed by Communist governments. This domestic operation that was aimed at Black militants in the U.S. in the early 1960s would later be consolidated with other domestic intelligence operations by CIA Director Richard Helms in 1967 and subsumed under the titles Operation CHAOS (domestic) and MHCHAOS (international).⁴⁸ CHAOS was the CIA’s response to “White House pressure for intelligence about foreign influence upon American dissent.”⁴⁹ Through this operation the CIA extensively disseminated raw reports to the FBI.⁵⁰ CHAOS was coordinated through Angleton’s Counterintelligence Staff and concentrated on foreign links (funding and guerilla training) to the peace and Black movements, including the Nation of Islam.⁵¹ A. J. Weberman makes an important observation: “MH CHAOS was worldwide, that is what the MH means. CHAOS was confined to the USA. MH CHAOS targeted those who opposed the war in Vietnam when they were overseas. CHAOS was a program of Domestic Assassinations.”⁵²

III. *Military Intelligence and the Targeting of Black America*

From the time of the first World War top U.S. Army intelligence officers were convinced that Black America was “ripe for subversion, ” first by agents of the German Kaiser, then by Communists, later by the Japanese and eventually by those opposed to the Vietnam War.⁵³ For example, Major R. M. Howell, assistant chief of staff for intelligence at Fort McPherson in Atlanta, told the War Department in a Dec. 5, 1932, intelligence report: “Communism has chosen the Southern Negro as the American group most likely to respond to its revolutionary appeal.” The real fear of these military officers was revolution and guerrilla warfare. “Negro unrest” was considered a domestic enemy. Military intelligence saw anarchy and treason behind the anti-war

⁴⁶ Hersh, “C.I.A. Reportedly Recruited Blacks”; Bill Richards, “CIA Infiltrated Black Groups Here in the 60’s,” *The Washington Post* March 30, 1978.

⁴⁷ Hersh, “C.I.A. Reportedly Recruited Blacks.”

⁴⁸ Nelson Rockefeller & United States Presidents Commission on CIA Activities within the United States (1975). *Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States* (Washington, D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1975) 211; Frank Church, & United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. *Book III: Supplementary Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans* (Washington, D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1976) 690; Verne Lyon, “Domestic Surveillance: The History of Operation CHAOS,” *CovertAction* 34 (Summer 1990): 59-62

⁴⁹ *Book III: Supplementary Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans* 681.

⁵⁰ *Book III: Supplementary Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans*, 698

⁵¹ Jeff McConnell, “Israeli Spies in the US,” *MERIP Middle East Report* 138 (Jan-Feb 1986) 35-37, 45 (37); O’Reilly, “*Racial Matters*”, 270-271.

⁵² A. J. Weberman, *They Slew The Dreamer: Gerry Hemming, David Christ and Roy Hargraves Framed James Earl Ray* (Independent Research Associates, 2017) 15.

⁵³ Stephen G. Tompkins, “Army feared King, secretly watched him,” *The Commercial Appeal* March 21, 1993.

and civil rights movements.⁵⁴ Lt. Gen. William Pelham Yarborough, who commanded the John F. Kennedy Center for Special Warfare (the Green Berets school) at Fort Bragg, N.C. from 1961-1965 and became Army Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence in 1966, liked to quote the claim that Communists “have obviously decided that urban negro ghettos hold the key to guerrilla activities that can create enough anarchy to constitute a revolution. To dig it out,” Yarborough said, “a jettisoning of certain civil rights must take place.”⁵⁵

From this conviction was born in 1917 a spy network targeting Black America led by Lt. Col. Ralph Van Deman of the Military Intelligence Division (MID).⁵⁶ “He hired Joel E. Spingarn, the white board chairman of the NAACP, and made him a major in MID in May 1918. Spingarn and Black agent Lt. T. Montgomery Gregory ran a small unit of undercover agents”.⁵⁷ Spingarn used his position as NAACP chairman to obtain critical information for MID, such as a list of the organization’s 32,000 members. The NAACP gives an annual award named for Spingarn. Top secret and illegal measures were used against Blacks. The main target of this military intelligence operation was the Black church in the South and Black ministers. By the 1960s U-2 spy planes were used to monitor the civil rights movement. Army Intelligence operatives teamed up with the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama to spy on black leaders, and the Army provided KKK members with paramilitary training. Klansmen supplied Army Intelligence operatives with information about local civil rights activists.⁵⁸

Lt. Gen. Yarborough argued for the mutual support and collaboration between his elite Special Forces commandoes and Army Intelligence in “counterinsurgency operations both foreign and domestic.” During Yarborough’s tenure as assistant chief of staff for intelligence, Army Intelligence made frequent use of Green Beret troops for domestic spying.⁵⁹ In addition, the CIA frequently used the military services, particularly the Special Forces, to carry out its assassinations. As L. Fletcher Prouty notes: “It is in fact no secret that the Green Berets have long been uniformed mercenaries of the CIA.”⁶⁰ At Fort Bragg, North Carolina, the Special Warfare School gave training to Green Berets and Delta Force in guerrilla warfare, terrorism, and assassinations. Lt. Colonel Daniel Marvin of the U.S. Army Special Forces (Retired) revealed that when he began his Green Beret training at Fort Bragg in December 1963, shortly after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, in Dallas, his classified training was conducted by CIA personnel, who highlighted the murder in Dealey Plaza as an illustration of a successful assassination operation involving a “lone wolf” patsy.⁶¹ Precluded from having operational forces of its own, the Agency “adopted” the Green Berets. “The CIA achieved military embodiment in the US Special Forces establishment at Fort Bragg”.⁶²

⁵⁴ Stephen G. Tompkins, “Top spy feared current below surface unrest,” *The Commercial Appeal* (Memphis, Tennessee) March 21, 1993 pp. A7, A10.

⁵⁵ Tompkins, “Top spy.”. A10.

⁵⁶ Stephen G. Tompkins, “In 1917, spy target was black America,” *The Commercial Appeal* March 21, 1993.

⁵⁷ Tompkins, “In 1917, spy target was black America.”

⁵⁸ Stephen G. Tompkins, “Army feared King, secretly watched him,” *The Commercial Appeal* March 21, 1993.

⁵⁹ Tompkins, “Top spy.”

⁶⁰ L. Fletcher Prouty, “Green Berets and the CIA,” *The New Republic* August 22, 1969.

⁶¹ Daniel Marvin, “Bits & Pieces: A Green Beret on the Periphery of the JFK Assassination,” *The Fourth Decade* 2:4 (May 1995): 14-18.

⁶² Prouty, “Green Berets and the CIA.”

According to Colonel John Downie of the 902nd Military Intelligence Group (MIG), the 902nd began to plan the killing of Black community leaders as early as 1963 and 1964 when it seemed the cities might get out of hand.⁶³ Green Beret teams were covertly dispatched to the urban areas to make street maps, identify landing zones for riot troops and to scout sniper sites. Small Alpha Team units were covertly deployed in specialized civilian disguise in cities where violence was breaking out. “They were issued with photographs (mug shots) of black militants in each city. In some instances, particular individuals were designated as targets to be taken out (killed) if an opportunity arose in the course of a disruption or riot.”⁶⁴ Army intelligence published the green and white mug books on black radicals containing photographs, family history, political philosophy, personal finances, and updated surveillance information in order to facilitate their identification by army commanders and intelligence personnel (Green Berets). What started in 1917 as a military spy network targeting Black ministers in the South became in the 1960’s military assassination teams targeting urban Black militants and leaders.

IV. *The CIA’s American Jihad*

Violent Muslim fanaticism in this country is a spawn of U.S. intelligence operations and Islamist terrorist cells have been a handmaiden of the U.S. covert operations apparatus. While the CIA was training and equipping the Afghan mujahideen in Pakistan to fight against the Soviet Union (Operation Cyclone, 1979-1992), the Agency was also deliberately stoking Islamic fundamentalism in America and growing “jihad offices” in Brooklyn, New York and Jersey City, New Jersey.⁶⁵ “The U.S. connection to al Qaeda was...epitomized by the protection afforded to al Qaeda’s al-Kifah⁶⁶ recruitment and support center in the al-Farook mosque in Brooklyn, New York...Both the mosque and later the center financed and trained jihadis, including Americans, for al Qaeda operations overseas. From as early as 1979, the mosque had been a center of international Islamist activity, as part of the U.S.-approved struggle against the Soviets in Afghanistan...”⁶⁷ Robert I. Friedman further describes the beginning of “The CIA’s Jihad” in his important article by that title in *New York*:

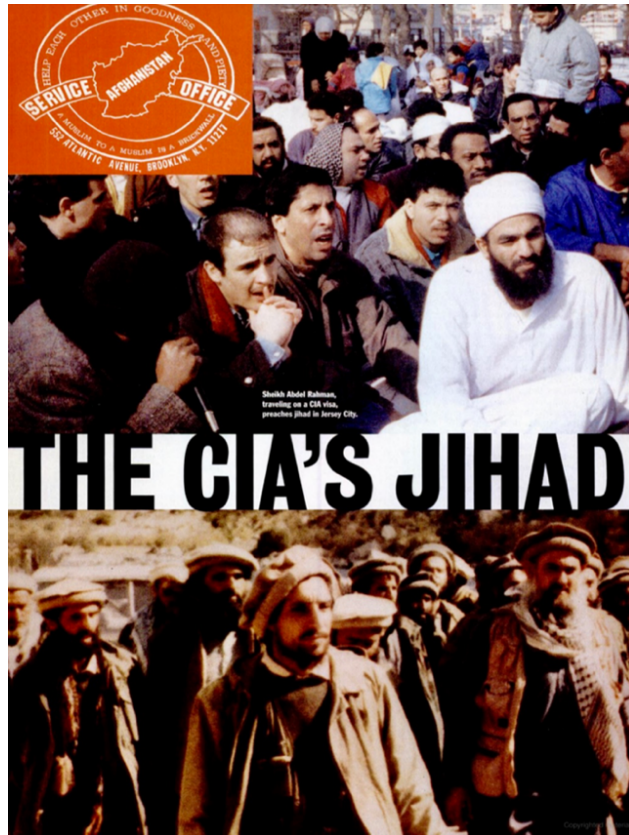
⁶³ William F. Pepper, *An Act of State: The Execution of Martin Luther King* (London and New York: Verso, 2008) 76.

⁶⁴ William F. Pepper, *The Plot to Kill King: The Truth Behind The Assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2018), 127.

⁶⁵ Robert I. Friedman, “The CIA’s Jihad,” *New York* March 27, 1995, pp. 36-47

⁶⁶ The Al-Kifah Center in Brooklyn served as the main American recruiting center for the Makhtab al-Khidimat (MAK) or “Services Center,” a Pakistan-based network of storefronts through which millions of dollars in cash was collected to support the Afghan war against the Soviets. After the Afghan war MAK became Al Qaeda.

⁶⁷ Peter Dale Scott, *The road to 9/11: Wealth, Empire, and the Future of America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) 157, 159.



To stoke up financial and spiritual support for the rebel effort, the CIA sponsored visits to the centers by Afghan veterans and Islamic religious figures...The CIA needed support for its covert war against the Soviets in Afghanistan, so it stoked up Islamic fundamentalism in Brooklyn...The Alkifah Refugee Center, in addition to providing a hangout for the disaffected, distributed pamphlets and videotapes on the rebel war in Afghanistan...But the highlight for the center’s regulars were the inspirational jihad lecture series, featuring CIA-sponsored speakers. One week on Atlantic Avenue, it might be a CIA-trained Afghan rebel traveling on a CIA-issued visa; the next, it might be a clean-cut Arabic-speaking Green Beret, who would lecture about the importance of being part of the mujaheddin, or “warriors of God.” The more popular lectures were held upstairs in the roomier Al-Farooq mosque; such was the case in 1990 when Sheikh Abdel Rahman, traveling on a CIA-supplied visa, came to town. The blind Egyptian cleric, with his ferocious rhetoric and impassioned preachings, filled angry, discontented Arab immigrants with a fervor for jihad-holy war. This was exactly what the CIA wanted: to stir up support for the Muslim rebels and topple the Soviet-backed government in Afghanistan...The CIA has inadvertently managed to do something that America’s enemies have been unable to: give terrorism a foothold in the United States.⁶⁸

I would disagree with the use of the word “inadvertently” here. The Blind Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, called “the father of all things Al-Qaeda in America,” was a protected CIA asset.⁶⁹ In Pakistan the Sheik “served as one of the CIA’s point men in the smuggling of \$3 billion in covert arms to the mujahideen rebels fighting the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan.”⁷⁰ Beginning December 15, 1986, the Blind Sheikh was given four visas from the CIA, “even though he was

⁶⁸ Robert I. Friedman, “The CIA’s Jihad,” *New York* March 27, 1995, pp. 36-47 (39)

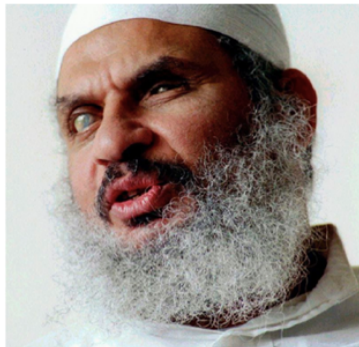
⁶⁹ Peter Lance, “The Spy Who Came in for the Heat,” *Playboy* August 2010.

⁷⁰ Lance, “The Spy Who Came in for the Heat.”

on a State Department terrorism-watch list that should have barred him from the country.”⁷¹ With this action, the CIA managed to “give terrorism a foothold in the United States.”⁷² There was no (foreign) “Islamic terrorism” in the U.S. before the CIA clandestinely moved its major chessboard piece, the Blind Sheikh, into the country. The “Prince of Jihad” was an “untouchable” protected by the U.S. government.

A U.S. official argued forcefully that Rahman was an “untouchable” being protected by no fewer than three agencies: “‘It was no accident that the sheikh got a visa and that he’s still in the country,’ replied the agent, visibly upset. ‘He’s here under the banner of national security, the State Department, the NSA [National Security Agency], and the CIA.’ The agent pointed out that the sheikh had been granted a tourist visa, and later a green card, despite the fact that he was on a State Department terrorist watch-list that should have barred him from the country. He’s an untouchable, concluded the agent.”⁷³

The U.S. government knew everything the Blind Sheikh was up to during this time, as the FBI had a man close to him who had infiltrated his circle.⁷⁴



Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman
The Blind Sheikh



Ali Mohamed

Another Government Asset/Muslim Fanatic Double Agent was Ali Mohamed, who was an FBI and CIA informant as well as the chief terrorist trainer of Al Qaeda. In 1981 Mohamed was selected for a special foreign officers’ program held at the Green Berets’ Special Forces School at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. There, Mohamed got training in unconventional and guerrilla warfare, surveillance and explosives - the same training given to Green Berets, minus the classified courses.⁷⁵ While Mohamed never became an official Green Beret or received security

⁷¹ Friedman, “The CIA’s Jihad,” 49; Douglas Jehl, “C.I.A. Officers Played Role in Sheik Visas,” *The New York Times* July 22, 1993.

⁷² Friedman, “The CIA’s Jihad,” 39.

⁷³ Scott, *The Road To 9/11*, 159-160.

⁷⁴ Lance, “The Spy Who Came in for the Heat.”

⁷⁵ Tom Hays and Sharon Theimer, “In life of double-crosses, Egyptian worked with Green Berets and bin Laden,” *Black Hole Pioneer* December 26, 2011; Lance Williams and Erin McCormick, “Al Qaeda terrorist worked with FBI / Ex-Silicon Valley resident plotted embassy attacks,” *SFGate* November 4, 2001; Michael Richardson, “Book Review: Peter Lance Indicts FBI/DoJ, but Leaves CIA as Unindicted Co-conspirator,” @ <http://peterlance.com/wordpress/?p=2122>; Peter Dale Scott, “The 9/11 Report and Ali Mohamed, Al Qaeda’s Chief Terrorism Trainer,” Talk at the University of California, Berkeley, September 24, 2006; idem, “9/11’s Trainer in Terrorism Was an FBI Informant,” Peter Dale Scott Talk in Palo Alto, October 27, 2006.

clearance, he managed to work his way up to the rank of E5 (sergeant) and, without any security clearance, got posted to the highly secure JFK SWC (Special Warfare Center) where elite Green Beret and Delta Force officers train.⁷⁶ While working in the highly secure Green Berets' school, Mohamed often traveled to New York and New Jersey on weekends to train followers of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman (the Blind Sheikh) in guerilla warfare tactics. On these weekend terrorist-training trips Sergeant Mohamed brought with him TOP SECRET memos from the Fort Bragg Special Warfare Center, including the location of all Special Operations units worldwide, "a treasure trove of intel that made its way to the al Qaeda leadership."⁷⁷ These trips were not necessarily secret, yet Mohamed operated "unmolested."⁷⁸

The CIA/FBI assets Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman and Ali Mohamed guided the evolution of Al Qaeda in America and its "jihadi terrorism." They drew first blood in the U.S. on November 5, 1990, with the assassination of Rabbi Meir Kahane, the racist founder of the Jewish Defense League (JDL). The five-man jihadi cell from New Jersey that carried out the hit were devoted followers of the Blind Sheikh and got weapons training from Ali Mohamed. In the five-man commando team, at least three were assets protected by the U.S. government.⁷⁹



The likely New Jersey-based five-man terrorist cell, led by the Blind Sheikh and trained by Ali Mohamed, which is responsible for the assassination of Rabbi Kahane, the murder of Mustafa Shalabi (February 26, 1991) and the 1993 World Trade Center Bombing.

Twenty-five years before this CIA-FBI sponsored and protected five-man commando team of Muslim terrorists from New Jersey carried out a *jihad*-assassination of Meir Kahane in New York, another CIA-FBI sponsored and protected five-man commando team of Muslim terrorists from New Jersey carried out a *jihad*-assassination of Malcolm X in New York. The first fanatical Muslim terrorist cell that was connected to the U.S. covert operations apparatus was the five-man Shooter Team from New Jersey that gunned down Malcolm X in 1965.

⁷⁶ Peter Lance, "Fort Hood Massacre & KSM: What Do they Have in Common? Part One," December 3, 2009 @ <http://peterlance.com/wordpress/?p=273>

⁷⁷ Peter Lance, "AL Qaeda and The Mob: How the FBI Blew It on 9/11," *HuffPost* November 17, 2006.

⁷⁸ Lance Williams and Erin McCormick, "Bin Laden's man in Silicon Valley," *SF Gate* September 21, 2001.

⁷⁹ Peter Dale Scott, "The Falsified War on Terror: How the US Has Protected Some of Its Enemies," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 11 (2013): 1-47 (9); Peter Lance, "First Blood: Was Meir Kahane's murder al Qaeda's earliest attack on U.S. soil?" *Tablet Magazine* September 1, 2010;

V. *U.S. Intelligence Apparatus Targets Malcolm X*

After Malcolm X's split from the Nation of Islam in March 1964 the FBI and the CIA worked closely together in investigating and surveilling him. At times CIA and FBI agents exchanged information daily.⁸⁰ S.J. Papich was the FBI liaison to the CIA's Director of Plans, Richard Helms. The CIA memos were sent to the FBI via Papich.⁸¹

In addition, the same military-intelligence machinery that was deployed against JFK and MLK was also operational in the Malcolm X Hit.

At the time of Malcolm X's death, he was already being closely monitored on a nearly hour to hour basis by the FBI Director, the CIA Director, the CIA's Deputy Director of Plans (...), the Director of Naval Intelligence, the Chief of the Air Force Counterintelligence Division, and the Army's Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence. This was essentially the entire intelligence apparatus of the federal government.⁸²

When Malcolm arrived in Detroit in January 1965 agents from the Army's G-2 intelligence corps were secretly there to monitor him.⁸³ In certain COINTELPRO operations targeting the Nation of Islam and Malcolm X's Muslim Mosque, Inc., the FBI sent "instant communications" to select agencies including⁸⁴:

- Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley
- U.S. Secret Service Chief
- The Director of Naval Intelligence
- The Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Department of the Army
- The Air Force Chief of Counterintelligence Division

As we saw above, Angleton ran the illegal and thus supersecret Domestic Operations Division (DOD), which housed a kidnapping and assassination unit. These domestic assassinations were coordinated by Tracey Barnes, Chief of DOD. The same Covert Action hierarchy that was responsible for domestic assassinations when President Kennedy was publicly executed in 1963 was still in place when Malcolm X was publicly executed in 1965.

Director of Central Intelligence (DCI): John McCone (resigned April 1965)

Chief of Counterintelligence: James Angleton (resigned in 1975)

Deputy Director of Plans (DDP): Richard Helms (promoted April 1965 to Deputy DCI)

Chief of Domestic Operations Division (DOD): Tracey Barnes (fired 1966)

Chief of the Covert Activities Section of the DOD: E. Howard Hunt (until 1966)

⁸⁰ Karl Evanzz, *The Judas Factor: The Plot To Kill Malcolm X* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1992), 214-215.

⁸¹ "Malcolm X Assassination: Published Files Show FBI Believed Threats Against Malcolm X were a Publicity Stunt," *WebWire* February 22, 2021.

⁸² John Koerner, *Why The CIA Killed JFK and Malcolm X: the Secret Drug Trade in Laos* (Washington: Chronos Books, 2014) 62.

⁸³ Karl Evanzz, *The Messenger: The Rise and Fall of Elijah Muhammad* (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), 316.

⁸⁴ FBI File on Muslim Mosque Inc, From John Edgar Hoover, Director to Chief, U.S. Secret Service, June 9, 1964; Evanzz, *The Messenger*, 470-472.

THE GOVERNMENT'S KILL LIST

The evidence is strong that the assassination apparatus, America's Murder Inc., that killed the President of the United States also unsheathed the deadly Ghurka scimitar against Malcolm X. The assassinations of the 1960s proceeded from a U.S. government "kill list" that was in place by 1963. Loran Hall was a leader of an anti-Castro guerrilla group who says he was offered a \$50,000 contract on October 17, 1963, in Dallas to kill President Kennedy. Hall told District Attorney Jim Garrison that right wing-radicals and the CIA put together a "kill list" and at meetings attended by CIA agents plans were made to kill President Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. "and other national figures."⁸⁵ We know that among those "other national figures" on that CIA Kill List was Malcolm X.



CIA operative Marita Lorenz has stated that by 1963 she was aware of the plot to kill all four men because "The American generals and politicians that visited us at our [CIA-ran-]training camp ALL spoke about killing JFK, RFK, MLK and Malcolm X."⁸⁶

MALCOLM X FRUSTRATES AMERICA'S NEO-COLONIALIST PLANS FOR AFRICA

Because the U.S. planned a neo-colonial move into Africa in the wake of the exit of the colonial powers, the State Department had a vested interest in countering America's image in Africa as a racist society. Malcolm X's two trips to Africa (April 13 to May 21, 1964, and July 9 to November 24, 1964) and his discussions with many African leaders helped to undercut this effort and America's credibility; Malcolm exposed America's hypocrisy. During the first trip Malcolm visited Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, Ghana, Morocco, and Algeria. Upon his return to the U.S. on May 21 Malcolm told the press that he was prepared to work with the heads of certain African nations to bring charges of human rights violation against the U.S. in the United Nations, effectively putting the U.S. in the same bag as Apartheid South Africa and white-ruled Rhodesia.⁸⁷

I have received pledges from African nations to support a stand against the United States before the United Nations. The United States would be compelled to face the same charges as South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia. The United States has colonized the Negro people just like the people of Africa and Asia were colonized by Europeans.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Dick Russell, "Loran Hall and the Politics of Assassination," *Voice* October 3, 1977; "Offered \$50,000 To Kill JFK," *National Enquirer* 42:52 September 1, 1968; Wendell Rawls Jr., "Witness Ties Oswald To Oilmen and Cubans," *The New York Times* April 2, 1977.

⁸⁶ "JFK, Bobby & King! FBI Boss Conspired With CIA, Military Group To Eliminate '60's Leaders," *National Enquire* February 8, 2019.

⁸⁷ "Malcolm Says He is Backed Abroad," *The New York Times* May 22, 1964.

⁸⁸ Les Matthews, "Malcolm X Questions LBJ," *Amsterdam News* May 30, 1964.

This triggered the White House and the CIA. “As far as the CIA was concerned, its main purpose was to convince Africans that the United States was not the violently racist society that communists portrayed.”⁸⁹ But by 1964 America’s credibility in Africa had plummeted, and the Congo “mission” was a big factor, something Malcolm frequently criticized President Johnson for.⁹⁰ To add injury to insult, “Malcolm X had chosen that moment to make his two triumphant tours of Africa.”⁹¹ Malcolm’s pledge to indict the U.S. at the United Nation’s was considered “so potentially damaging to American foreign policy that it was discussed with President Lyndon B. Johnson.”⁹²

more than any other single factor [Malcolm X] was responsible for the growing suspicion and fear with which many African countries viewed Washington's intentions. Washington did not accept this threat to its Third World relations with equanimity. Malcolm X had become a marked man.⁹³

THE KILL TEAM ASSEMBLED

Immediately after Malcolm’s May 21st remarks to the press the CIA decided to investigate Malcolm X as a Clandestine Services operation.⁹⁴ Clandestine Services, also known as the Office of the Deputy Director of Plans, is the “dirty tricks” division of the CIA that was involved in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and the overthrow and assassination of several Asian, African and Latin American rulers. Now, in the latter part of May 1964 Clandestine Services turned their scope on Malcolm X. What happens next? Karl Evanzz told journalist Tony Brown, “Incidentally the very same week that this counterintelligence operation by the CIA began to focus on Malcolm X, that’s the week that Talmadge Hayer and his gang were hired [to kill Malcolm X].”⁹⁵ This is important and it is not *incidental* that the Black Muslim Kill Team was recruited immediately after the CIA began its Clandestine Services operation against Malcolm X. This CIA move at the end of May coincided with the FBI’s move at the beginning of June:

On Friday, June 5, an irate [J. Edgar] Hoover sent a Western Union telegram to the Bureau’s New York office, with blunt orders: “Do something about Malcolm X enough of this black violence in New York” (FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Western Union telegram to the FBI New York Office, June 5, 1964).⁹⁶

Truly it is not a coincidence that within a two-week period three critical “Assassination” developments occurred:

⁸⁹ David Milne, “How Front Organizations Played The CIA,” *The Historical Journal* 54:3 (September 2011): 925-932.

⁹⁰ “Malcolm X Blames Johnson for Congo,” *New York World Telegram and Sun* November 25, 1964; “Malcom’s View,” *New York Post* November 25, 1964; “Malcolm Home, Blasts U.S. Congo Policy,” *The Philadelphia Independent* December 5, 1964.

⁹¹ Dan Schechter, Michael Ansara and David Kolodney, “The CIA as Equal Opportunity Employer,” in *Dirty Work 2: The CIA in Africa*, ed. Ellen Ray, William Schaap, Karl Van Meter and Louis Wolfe (London: Zed Press, 1979) 50-69 (66).

⁹² Evanzz, *Judas Factor*, xix.

⁹³ Eric Norden, “The Assassination of Malcolm X,” *Hustler* (December 1978): 98.

⁹⁴ “Malcolm X and Judas,” 1992 *Tony Brown’s Journal* @ <https://www.tonybrownsjournal.com/malcolm-x-and-judas>

⁹⁵ “Malcolm X and Judas.”

⁹⁶ Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (New York: Viking, 2011), 338.

- 1.) End of May: The CIA's "Assassination Department," Clandestine Services, opens a file on Malcolm X
- 2.) Beginning of June: The FBI's Director Hoover issues "blunt" orders to his New York Office to "Do something about Malcolm X" in order to end "black violence" there, concerning which the FBI and the CIA had information implicating some of Malcolm's people
- 3.) Beginning of June⁹⁷: Talmadge Hayer and the New Jersey "Kill Team" were hired to kill Malcolm X.

These developments shine light on a detail revealed by London's *Times*, which reported: "In June 1964, an FBI informant received information that 'Malcolm X is going to be bumped off'."⁹⁸ June 1964, therefore, is when the Assassination of Malcolm X was originally initiated. It was a five-man commando team and its principal assassin, the shotgun wielder, was a U.S. intelligence asset (as we shall see) with strong parallels with Al Qaeda's Ali Mohamed. During the first two weeks of June Hayer and his fellow hired assassins plotted Malcolm's murder. They drove around Paterson, New Jersey strategizing the hit. They cased Malcolm's home and saw that it stayed guarded. In June things heated up considerably for Malcolm, with the FBI-CIA (COINTEPLRO) covertly inflaming and manipulating his increasingly volatile situation with the Nation of Islam. Then, on July 9 Malcolm again left the United States for his second trip to Africa, spending a total of another 18 weeks abroad. The New Jersey mercenaries were therefore side-lined. "Around the time that he left the country, it seems to have been a cooling off period, if I recall correctly," Hayer said. "Nothing was happening. So I thought that maybe things were going to get better, man."⁹⁹

Malcolm's second trip put a stay on the domestic operation to "neutralize" him, but the assassination was not called off. It was just handled as a foreign operation. The CIA initiated a program to monitor Malcolm's foreign contacts and activities during his visit to Africa and Asia.¹⁰⁰ This time, Malcolm traveled abroad as a Clandestine Services target. He returned to the United States on November 24, 1964, but not before he was the victim of an assassination attempt.

⁹⁷ In the Thomas Hagan Affidavit (1978) he writes: "It was some time in the summer of 1964 that I was approached concerning the killing of Malcolm X. The time must have been a month or so before the Hon. Elijah Muhammad spoke in New York City in 1964." The Honorable Elijah Muhammad spoke at the 369th Regiment Armory in New York on June 28, 1964. Hayer appears to have clarified this, as Michael Friedly writes: "According to Hayer, it was Brother Benjamin from the Newark Mosque who originally organized the conspiracy sometime in June 1964." Friedly, *Malcolm X: The Assassination*, 98.

⁹⁸ Ben Macintyre, "FBI must come clean about the X files," *The Times* November 19, 2021.

⁹⁹ Michael Friedly, *Malcolm X: The Assassination* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1992), 105.

¹⁰⁰ Mattias Gardell, *In the Name of Elijah Muhammad : Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996), 80; Evanzz, *Judas Factor*, 236-237.

VI. *Executive Action: The White House Order's Malcolm's Death*

Malcolm opened his campaign to internationalize the American Negro problem at the second meeting of 33 heads of independent African states in Cairo, which convened July 17.¹⁰¹

When several thousand pages were released from the COINTELPRO operations against Malcolm X in the early 1980s... [they show] that in 1964, following a complaint by White House aide Benjamin H. Read that Malcolm's affiliations with Third World leaders was damaging American foreign policy in Africa, the Central Intelligence Agency was asked to consider assassinating Malcolm X. Richard Helms, the CIA's Deputy Director of Plans, told Read that the CIA had serious qualms about killing American citizens but would nonetheless explore the possibility of neutralizing Malcolm.¹⁰²

The assassinations of the 1960s were sanctioned by the White House – they were all Executive Actions. Patrice Lumumba's termination was authorized by President Eisenhower at a National Security Council Meeting on August 18, 1960, and carried out by the CIA and international allies. In the case of JFK, he *was* the president, but his *vice* president greenlighted his execution. The Memphis jurors in the 1999 Martin Luther King civil trial heard testimony that President Johnson and Vice President Hubert Humphrey leaned pretty hard on United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther to “make Martin Luther King shut up...by just taking him out.” This Executive pressure resulted in a \$400,000 contract on Dr. King's life. Noel Twyman thus makes an important observation:

the assassinations of John Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King, Jr., all occurred under the reigns of J. Edgar Hoover and Lyndon Johnson, and...Robert Kennedy's and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassinations occurred in rapid succession in 1968 when it became apparent that Robert Kennedy would likely capture the presidency; and they occurred before Johnson left office.¹⁰³

The Malcolm X Hit was an Executive Action as well.

On July 2, 1964, J. Edgar Hoover defined Malcolm X and his newly created Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) as a threat to the U.S. national security.¹⁰⁴ On July 9 Malcolm left the U.S. for his second trip to Africa. Surveillance alerted the CIA to the fact that Malcolm X intended to appeal to African leaders at the second conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Cairo, Egypt. In a July 10, 1964, CIA memorandum an informant stated that Malcolm was “transporting material dealing with the ill treatment of the Negro in the United States. He intends to make such material available to the OAU in an effort to embarrass the United States.”¹⁰⁵ The second OAU conference was scheduled to open on July 17, 1964.

On July 16 back in New York police lieutenant Thomas Gilligan shot and killed James Powell, a 15-year-old Black male. Riots broke out in Harlem lasting six nights (July 16 -July 22).

¹⁰¹ M.S. Handler, “Malcolm X Cites Role in U.N. Fight,” *The New York Times* January 2, 1965.

¹⁰² Karl Evanzz, “The Hidden Hand Behind The Assassination of Malcolm X,” *The Garrison Journal* Issue 008 (October 2021) 297.

¹⁰³ Twyman, *Bloody Treason*, 392.

¹⁰⁴ “Memo From Director, FBI, to SAC New York, Philadelphia, Organization of Afro-American Unity,” *OAAU Surveillance File* (Internal Security-Miscellaneous. 100-442235, July 2, 1964) p. 2; William W. Sales, Jr. *From Civil Rights To Black Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity* (Boston: South End Press, 1994) 37, 219 n. 27.

¹⁰⁵ CIA Memorandum For: Headquarters Subject: Malcolm X, July 10, 1964; Evanzz, *Judas Factor*, 249-20.

This was an election year and President Johnson hoped to be *elected* in November, having initially acquired the presidency via political assassination. These Harlem uprisings threatened to derail President Johnson’s election hopes in November. Johnson’s political opponent, the far-right Arizona Republican Senator Barry Goldwater, successfully spun the riots in his “Law-and-Order” campaign, making them Johnson’s political Achilles Heel. And to add insult to injury, over these riots loomed the shadow of Johnson’s Black Nemesis – Malcolm X.



CORBIS

Malcolm X praying with fellow delegates to the Organization of African Unity in Cairo in 1964

Malcolm was in Egypt when the Harlem riots erupted. However, his name rang out in Harlem. When civil rights leaders like Bayard Rustin pleaded for calm in the Harlem streets, the angry crowd showered them with boos and chanted “Malcolm X!”¹⁰⁶ A common scene was “black kids running in the streets, faces shinning orange in the fires, shouting: ‘Malcolm! We want Malcolm! Wait till Malcolm comes!’”¹⁰⁷ J. Edgar Hoover told the President that Malcolm X’s rhetoric played a role in sparking the violence.¹⁰⁸ There is evidence that, while he was thousands of miles away in Africa, some of Malcolm X’s followers *were involved* in the riots, hoping to spark the Black Revolution. Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) National Field Chairman Max Stanford later confessed/boasted,

Malcolm left for Africa in July and Stanford, the RAM field chairman, left for Cuba at the end of July. While Malcolm was in Africa, Harlem exploded. *The para-military in Malcolm’s organization decided to join the rebellion and participated in armed self-defense actions against racist oppressive forces.* Masses of our

¹⁰⁶ Michael Flamm, “The Original Long, Hot Summer,” *The New York Times* July 15, 2014.

¹⁰⁷ Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* Second Edition (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 205.

¹⁰⁸ E.W. Kenworthy, “Johnson Orders Full F.B.I. Inquiry in Harlem Riots,” *The New York Times* July 22, 1964.

people exploded in Rochester, New York. The revolutionary Muslims (Malcolmites) engaged in armed struggle against the repressive forces there. Brooklyn CORE held a demonstration to protest police brutality. The demonstration precipitated a mass rebellion. The Brooklyn RAM cadre went into revolutionary action.¹⁰⁹

On the morning of Thursday July 23, a dozen detectives from New York's 28th Precinct raided Malcolm X's unoccupied office in the Hotel Theresa. They found a loaded, but licensed, bolt-action Mauser rifle and over a hundred rounds of ammunition. The police claimed they were acting on an anonymous tip to a newspaper.¹¹⁰ Coming the day after the Harlem Riots ceased, this police action seems to indicate an immediate linkage to Malcolm X, warranted or not. And according to a CIA memo "The Department [of State] considered the matter one of sufficient importance to discuss with President Johnson who, in turn, asked Mr. J. Edgar Hoover to secure any further information which he might be able to develop."¹¹¹ The words "secure information" here is a CIA and FBI euphemism for "engage in a covert action to neutralize," i.e., conduct an Executive Action (assassination). A White House tape of the referenced phone conversation between the President and his FBI Director reveals this.

On July 21, 1964, from the Oval Office President Johnson spoke to J. Edgar Hoover on the phone and suggested to the Director a solution to the problem of the "Negro revolution" that had come to Harlem, i.e., the riots. President Johnson said: "maybe you (Hoover) can put a quietus on the Muslim X' and all that stuff. I think the Communists are in charge of it."¹¹² Michael Beschloss, who edited these tapes, tells us that by "Muslim X" "LBJ means Malcolm X. As usual, he twists the name of someone he does not like."¹¹³

Quietus is defined as a final settlement (as of a debt) or removal from activity, or "anything that kills." *Quietus* is short for Medieval Latin *quiētus est*, literally "he is quiet." It is a euphemism for death. The idiom *put the quietus on* means to silence or terminate, as in the termination of life. President Johnson thus is here encouraging his FBI Director to silence, i.e., terminate Malcolm X. As Christopher Hayes observes: "Men like Johnson and Hoover saw [Malcolm X] and his followers as threats that must be obstructed and suppressed at every turn. Recommending that Hoover silence anyone is a frightening prospect and not something to be taken lightly...As James Farmer said, but for different reasons, Malcolm was fortunate to be out of the country when this was happening."¹¹⁴ But being in Africa at the time did not put Malcolm X out of President Johnson's reach. It only put him out of Hoover's direct reach. But the operation to neutralize Malcolm X was a joint FBI-CIA effort, and in Africa Malcolm X was fully in CIA (and Mossad) territory.

¹⁰⁹ Maxwell C. Sanford, "Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM): A Case Study of an Urban Revolutionary Movement in Western Capitalist Society," Master's Thesis, Atlanta University, 1986, 103.

¹¹⁰ Flamm, "Outside Agitators."

¹¹¹ CIA Memorandum For: Deputy Director (Plans) Subject: Activities of Malcolm X – Possible Involvement of African Nations in U.S. Civil Disturbances, August 11, 1964.

¹¹² Michael R. Beschloss, *Taking Charge: The Johnson White House Tapes, 1963-1964* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998) 462.

¹¹³ Beschloss, *Taking Charge*, 462 n. 3.

¹¹⁴ Christopher Hayes, *The Harlem Uprising: Segregation and Inequality in Post-war New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021) 213.

An important CIA memorandum dated August 11, 1964, gives us critical information regarding developments that occurred in July.¹¹⁵ The memo was sent to the Deputy Director of Plans (Richard Helms) and is titled “Activities of Malcolm X – Possible Involvement of African Nations in U.S. Civil Disturbances.” The Harlem Riots are the context of this memo. The first thing we learn is that in July White House official Ben Read, assistant to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, telephoned Richard Helms with “a request for information from the Clandestine Services,” the “dirty tricks” department, regarding Malcolm X. We now know that “a request for information” is intelligence code for a request for an assassination. Karl Evanzz’s interpretation of this document seems correct: the Secretary of State’s assistant, Ben Read, contacted the CIA’s ‘dirty tricks’ division and “asked [Richard Helms] to consider killing Malcolm X.”¹¹⁶

The memo reveals that President Johnson’s Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, got “rather significant indications” that during the Harlem riots “extremist Negro groups” received funding from certain U.N. missions, specifically the United Arab Republic, Ghana, Cameroon, Algeria, and Nigeria. It was presumed that Malcolm and his own “Black Muslims” were involved – Malcolm was of course in the United Arab Republic (Egypt) at the time. “The Department [of State] considered the matter one of sufficient importance to discuss with President Johnson,”¹¹⁷ the memo says. The memo reveals that the Near East and Africa Division (NEA) of the Directorate of Plans secured a copy of Malcolm X’s address before the OAU meeting in Cairo. They also secured a facsimile of Malcolm’s handwritten note to an apparent CIA asset, likely posing as a journalist, whom Malcolm “for one reason or another [was] inclined to regard...somewhat in the category of a friendly publicity agent.”¹¹⁸ A remarkable statement is then recorded in this document:

[White House official Benjamin] Read would much appreciate any information which we may be able to secure...regarding the travels of Malcolm X, and what political or financial support he may be picking up along the way. I remarked to Read that there were certain inhibitions concerning our activities with respect to the citizens of the United States, but promised to bring the matter to your attention, and to advise him

11 AUGUST 1964
MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director (Plans)
SUBJECT: Activities of Malcolm X - Possible Involvement of African Nations in U.S. Civil Disturbances

1. At Ben Read's request I called on him in his office this morning. Paragraph 8 contains a request for information from the Clandestine Services.

2. Some weeks ago, [redacted] called on the Secretary to advise the Department that through contacts of his in Harlem he had had rather significant indications that money in support of extremist Negro groups in the recent riots was being derived from certain UN missions. Specifically, he named the UAR, Ghana, Cameroon, Algeria, and, surprisingly, Nigeria. The Black Muslim organization and/or Malcolm X have presumably been involved.

3. The matter is obviously one of great political sensitivity, both internationally and domestically. [redacted] has requested that his name be protected and that he not be contacted by any other agency of the government. [redacted] as is probably well known to you, is well known in many government circles.

[redacted] and has been extremely active in urban renewal and civil rights projects. He has earned for himself the respect and affection of many moderate leaders in these fields.

4. The Department considered the matter one of sufficient importance to discuss with President Johnson who, in turn, asked Mr. J. Edgar Hoover to secure any further information which he might be able to develop. The FBI sent several agents to Harlem to interview Negro leaders. According to Read, Mr. De Loach of the FBI called at the Department a week ago Saturday to confess complete failure on their part to turn up any leads whatsoever - a result which had been predicted by [redacted] who said that no blonde Anglo-Saxon

The CIA was concerned about Malcolm X's impact on US foreign policy in Africa.

¹¹⁵ CIA Memorandum For: Deputy Director (Plans) Subject: Activities of Malcolm X – Possible Involvement of African Nations in U.S. Civil Disturbances, August 11, 1964. Note 1.

¹¹⁶ Karl Evanzz, “The Hidden Hand: The Assassination of Malcolm X,” *Kennedys and King* March 11, 2019.

¹¹⁷ CIA Memorandum For: Deputy Director (Plans) Subject: Activities of Malcolm X – Possible Involvement of African Nations in U.S. Civil Disturbances, August 11, 1964. Note 4.

¹¹⁸ CIA Memorandum For: Deputy Director (Plans) Subject: Activities of Malcolm X – Possible Involvement of African Nations in U.S. Civil Disturbances, August 11, 1964.

further. (Read remarked, “After all, Malcolm X has, for all practical purposes, renounced his US citizenship.”)¹¹⁹

According to Evanzz’s interpretation of this document, Ben Read here “asked [Richard Helms] to consider killing Malcolm X” and Helms “told Read that the CIA had serious qualms about killing American citizens but would nonetheless explore the possibility of neutralizing Malcolm.”¹²⁰ Read was reminded by Helms that “there were certain inhibitions concerning our activities with respect to citizens of the United States,” but the Secretary of State’s assistant insisted that Clandestine Services act, responding: “Malcolm X has, for all practical purposes, renounced his U.S. citizenship.”¹²¹ As we recall, the purpose of the CIA’s Domestic Operations Division (DOD) “was for clandestine operational activities of the Clandestine Services conducted within the United States against *foreign* targets.”¹²² By declaring that Malcolm X has “for all practical purposes, renounced his U.S. citizenship,” the White House is defining Malcolm X as a “foreign target.” This was authorization from the White House for the CIA to act on Malcolm X. Read advised the CIA’s “dirty tricks” division to treat Malcolm X as it would any ‘foreign agent’-or enemy-of the United States.¹²³

VII. *The Poisoning in Egypt*

Malcolm X’s pending speech before the Organization of African Unity conference on July 24, 1964, greatly concerned the U.S. government.

The American Embassy in Cairo engaged in delicate behind-the-scenes negotiations to have Malcolm barred from addressing the Conference, but its efforts were coldly snubbed by both the Egyptian Government and the Conference organizers. Washington’s efforts to silence Malcolm then appear to have passed from the diplomatic to the intelligence apparatus. Their efforts came closer to success. Malcolm almost did not live to deliver his speech.¹²⁴

On July 21 the President of the United States (and his staff) communicated to his FBI (and his CIA) his desire that Malcolm X be silenced. On July 23, the day *after* the Harlem Riots and the day *before* Malcolm was to present his reputedly “anti-American” petition to the OAU conference, he and lawyer friend Milton Henry dined at the Nile Hilton restaurant in Cairo, Egypt. Malcolm describes what happens:

I was having dinner at the Nile Hilton with a friend named Milton Henry and a group of others, when two things happened simultaneously. I felt a pain in my stomach and, in a flash, I realized that I'd seen the waiter who served me before. He looked South American, and I'd seen him in New York. The poison bit into me like teeth. It was strong stuff. They rushed me to the hospital just in time to pump the stuff out of my stomach. The doctor told Milton that there was a toxic substance in my food. When the Egyptians who were with me

¹¹⁹ CIA Memorandum For: Deputy Director (Plans) Subject: Activities of Malcolm X – Possible Involvement of African Nations in U.S. Civil Disturbances, August 11, 1964. Note 8.

¹²⁰ Evanzz, “The Hidden Hand.”

¹²¹ CIA Memorandum For: Deputy Director (Plans) Subject: Activities of Malcolm X – Possible Involvement of African Nations in U.S. Civil Disturbances, August 11, 1964.

¹²² Russell, *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, 263.

¹²³ Evanzz, *Judas Factor*, 257.

¹²⁴ Eric Norden, “The Murder of Malcolm X,” *The Realist* 73 (February, 1967) 1, 4-22 (9).

looked for the waiter who had served me, he had vanished. I know that our Muslims don't have the resources to finance a worldwide spy network.¹²⁵

Milton Henry told journalist Eric Norden: “[Malcolm] would have died if he hadn’t been able to get to the hospital in a hurry. His stomach was pumped out, cleaned out thoroughly, and that saved him. But as Malcolm said afterwards, he would have died if he had not got immediate treatment.”¹²⁶ According to Henry, Malcolm believed “someone had deliberately poisoned me.” The South American-looking waiter that served him and vanished, and whom Malcolm had previously seen in New York, might well have been one of the CIA’s “Cuban” assets. Evanzz is correct: “This episode was reminiscent of the CIA’s plots to poison Chou En-lai at the 1955 Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, and plots to poison Fide Castro and Patrice Lumumba in 1960.”¹²⁷ According to what Ella Collins said to Norden, Malcolm told her “the CIA was definitely responsible for it,”¹²⁸ i.e. for the poisoning. Malcolm was hospitalized for a day-and-a-half. Against his doctor’s advice he managed to appear at the Summit Conference and give his speech.

In discussing the incident with Henry, Malcolm stressed “the fact that CIA men were all around him in Cairo.”¹²⁹ Thanks to New York journalist and author Herb Boyd we now know the identity of at least one of those CIA men who were around Malcolm X in Egypt and other parts of Africa. Boyd has identified a black CIA agent who shadowed Malcolm X throughout his 1964 trips through Africa and the Middle East.¹³⁰ This agent, posing as a journalist, spent many hours in Malcolm’s company and shadowed Malcolm in five different countries during his travels abroad, including Egypt, Kenya and the Sudan. His went by the name Leo Milas, but his real name was Leo Clinton Aldridge.

At the center of our speculation about Malcolm and the CIA is his travel diary in 1964, and numerous occasions in which he met or encountered Leo Milas... who we deemed was either a CIA operative, agent, or informant...**Leo Milas’s name...first appeared in Malcolm’s entry of July 26, 1964**, during his second tour that year. By this time Malcolm had been in Cairo for more than two weeks and was staying at the Semiramis Hotel. On this occasion, Milas may have been among reporters invited to a press conference called by Malcolm. According to his diary, Malcolm recounted the “whole story about Elijah Muhammad” [presumably disclosing his accusations about the children out of wedlock with his secretaries]. “It was the first time a reporter had taken it for ‘print.’” By then, Malcolm may have been convinced that Milas was a reporter. They were later joined by a reporter from South Africa.



Leo Clinton Aldridge
AKA Leo Milas

The second meeting with Milas—at least the second diary entry—occurred four days later on Thursday when he, Jonas Savimbi, and Malcolm, had a rendezvous on the Isis boat, moored on the Nile. They sat in the lounge around midnight to discuss a story in *Newsweek* magazine about the Harlem riots. For more than an hour, Malcolm wrote, they discussed “common problems.” Malcolm said, “I am impressed more so by both of them than by others.” It’s a good guess that Savimbi, whose group UNITA (The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) was funded by the reactionary regime of South Africa and immersed in a developing civil war in Angola, may have been known to Milas, and vice-versa. Thus, Malcolm may have

¹²⁵ Jan Carew, *Ghosts in Our Blood* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1994) 39.

¹²⁶ Norden, “The Murder of Malcolm X,” 9.

¹²⁷ Evanzz, *Judas Factor*, 256.

¹²⁸ Norden, “The Murder of Malcolm X,” 10.

¹²⁹ Norden, “The Murder of Malcolm X,” 10.

¹³⁰ Herb Boyd and Ilyasah Shabazz, *The Diary of Malcolm X: El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz 1964* (Chicago: Third World Press, 2013); Herb Boyd, “Malcolm X Remembered 50 Years After 1965 Assassination,” *Democracy Now* February 20, 2015.

been unaware of who he was and as John Stockwell later pointed out in his book *In Search of Enemies* published in 1984—John was CIA Chief of the Angola Task Force heading up their covert operations—Savimbi “was one of our allies.”¹³¹

Before appearing around Malcolm X as a journalist Milas reportedly infiltrated UDENAMO (National Democratic Union of Mozambique) in 1962-1963 and Frelimo (Liberation Front for Mozambique), two African liberation groups in Mozambique.¹³² “Much of what we’ve uncovered about him is circumstantial, but there is a good likelihood we’ve nailed our man,” Boyd says.¹³³ In 1983 government officials from Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique, declared that Milas “was a CIA agent.”¹³⁴ In addition Roy Pateman, Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) who was a counter-intelligence operative for the British Army in Kenya and the United Kingdom from 1958 to 1965, knows him as “Leo Milas, the black CIA agent who had also penetrated FRELIMO’s Central Committee during part of the liberation struggle.”¹³⁵ Boyd concludes:

There is the possibility that Malcolm was being spooked by both a white and a black agent. A black CIA agent would make more sense because that would allow him to get close to Malcolm in the same way Gene Roberts and other BOSS agents infiltrated the OAAU. What appears to be conclusive is that Milas, after being booted out of Frelimo, got his next assignment shadowing Malcolm, under the cover of working as a freelance journalist.¹³⁶

Malcolm X was indeed shadowed in Egypt by a White agent, but the likelihood is that he was an agent of the Israeli Mossad rather than the CIA. Demetric Muhammad draws proper attention to a quite revealing incident recounted by Malcolm X in his *Autobiography*¹³⁷:

Throughout my trip, I was of course aware that I was under constant surveillance. The agent was a particularly obvious and obnoxious one; I am not sure for what agency, as he never identified it, or I would say it. Anyway, this one finally got under my skin when I found I couldn't seem to eat a meal in the hotel without seeing him somewhere around watching me. You would have thought I was John Dillinger or somebody. I just got up from my breakfast one morning and walked over to where he was and I told him I knew he was following me, and if he wanted to know anything, why didn't he ask me. He started to give me one of those too-lofty-to-descend-to-you attitudes. I told him then right to his face he was a fool, that he didn't know me, or what I stood for, so that made him one of those people who let somebody else do their thinking; and that no matter what job a man had, at least he ought to be able to think for himself. That stung him; he let me have it. I was, to hear him tell it, anti-American, un-American, seditious, subversive, and probably Communist. I told him that the only thing the F.B.I., the C.I.A., or anybody else could ever find me guilty of, was being open-minded. I said I was seeking for a truth, and I was trying to weigh-objectively-everything on its own merit. I said I respected every man's right to believe whatever his intelligence tells him is intellectually sound, and I expect everyone else to respect my right to believe likewise.

¹³¹ Herb Boyd and Don Rojas, “Was Malcolm X Betrayed By an African American CIA Agent Posing as a Mozambican Freedom Fighter?” *Covert Action Magazine* February 21, 2023.

¹³² José Manuel Duarte de Jesus, “Invisible Actors in Cold War Conflicts in Southern Africa: The Case of Mozambique,” @ https://macua.blogs.com/files/invisibleactors_duartejesus.pdf

¹³³ Boyd and Shabazz, *Diary of Malcolm X*, xxi.

¹³⁴ Brendan Nicholson, “Frelimo’s bitter enemy lived, died by the gun,” *Star Weekly* April 23, 1983.

¹³⁵ Roy Pateman, *Residual Uncertainty: Trying to Avoid Intelligence and Policy Mistakes in the Modern World* (New York: University Press of America, 2003) 111.

¹³⁶ Boyd and Shabazz, *Diary of Malcolm X*, 215.

¹³⁷ Demetric Muhammad, “But, Didn’t You Kill Malcolm?” *Myth-Busting The Propaganda Against The Nation of Islam* (Memphis, AL: www.researchmnister.com, 2020) 246-247.

This super-sleuth then got off on my “Black Muslim” religion beliefs. I asked him hadn’t his headquarters bothered to brief him-that my attitudes and beliefs were changed? I told him that the Islam I believed in now was the Islam which was taught in Mecca-that there was no God but Allah, and that Muhammad ibn Abdullah who lived in the Holy City of Mecca fourteen hundred years ago was the Last Messenger of Allah.

Almost from the first I had been guessing about something; and I took a chance-and I really shook up that "super-sleuth." From the consistent subjectivity in just about everything he asked and said, I had deduced something, and I told him, "You know, I think you're a Jew with an Anglicized name." His involuntary expression told me I'd hit the button. He asked me how I knew. I told him I'd had so much experience with how Jews would attack me that I usually could identify them. I told him all I held against the Jew was that so many Jews actually were hypocrites in their claim to be friends of the American black man, and it burned me up to be so often called "anti-Semitic" when I spoke things I knew to be the absolute truth about Jews. I told him that, yes, I gave the Jew credit for being among all other whites the most active, and the most vocal, financier, "leader" and "liberal" in the Negro civil rights movement. But I said at the same time I knew that the Jew played these roles for a very careful strategic reason: the more prejudice in America could be focused upon the Negro, then the more the white Gentiles' prejudice would keep diverted off the Jew. I said that to me, one proof that all the civil rights posturing of so many Jews wasn't sincere was that so often in the North the quickest segregationists were Jews themselves. Look at practically everything the black man is trying to "integrate" into for instance; if Jews are not actual owners, or are not in controlling positions, then they are major stockholdings or they are otherwise in powerful leverage positions-and do they really sincerely exert these influences? No!

And an even clearer proof for me of how Jews truly regard Negroes, I said, was what invariably happened wherever a Negro moved in any white residential neighborhood that was thickly Jewish. Who would always lead the whites' exodus? The Jews! Generally in these situations, some whites stay put-you just notice who they are. They're Irish Catholics, they're Italians; they're rarely ever any Jews. And, ironically, the Jews themselves often still have trouble being "accepted." Saying this, I know I'll hear "anti-Semitic" from every direction again. Oh, yes! But truth is truth.¹³⁸

This is assumed to be an agent of the United States government,¹³⁹ but this is not necessarily so. Malcolm X admitted “I am not sure for what agency [he worked], as he never identified it.” We now know that the CIA shadowed Malcolm throughout Africa with a *black* agent, Leo Milas. This *Jewish* agent shadowing Malcolm in Egypt may very well have been an agent of the Israeli government, i.e., the Mossad. The American Embassy in Cairo hosted Israeli agents working incognito as American citizens under diplomatic immunity. This embassy received American diplomats assigned to the American embassy in Israel. In addition, it hosted some American staff working for their embassy in Tel Aviv.¹⁴⁰ Poisoning is stock-and-trade of Israeli and American intelligence assassinations. “Mossad likes to use poisons,”¹⁴¹ Tom Leonard tells us. The CIA could have been behind the poisoning of Malcolm X. It could also have been the Mossad, however. Quite possibly the poisoning of Malcolm X was a CIA-Mossad operation.

¹³⁸ *The Autobiography of Malcolm X As Told To Alex Haley* (New York: Ballantine, 1993 [1964]), 378-380.

¹³⁹ Lawrence B. Goodheart, “The Ambivalent Antisemitism of Malcolm X,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 28 (1994): 3-25 (17).

¹⁴⁰ Bassil A. Mardelli, *Middle East Perspectives: From Lebanon (1968-1988)* (Bloomington: iUniverse, Inc., 2012) 144-145.

¹⁴¹ Tom Leonard, “The killing machine,” *Daily Mail* December 6, 2020.

VIII. *Malcolm Bounces Back – And The White House Takes Notice*

Malcolm X survived the poisoning and delivered his speech to the OAU gathering. The White House and the CIA were not pleased. The Agency got their hands on a copy of the petition and specifically noted that Malcolm X claimed: “I have gotten several promises of support in bring (sic) our plight before the UN this year.”¹⁴² *The New York Times*, the unofficial mouthpiece of the Washington D.C. bureaucracy, interpreted Malcolm’s remarks in Cairo thusly: “Malcolm X Attacks U.S.”¹⁴³ Through the *Times* Washington sent Malcolm a warning to stand-down on his U.N. petition.

The State Department (=CIA) and the Justice Department (=FBI) have begun to take an interest in Malcolm’s campaign to convince African states to raise the question of persecution of American Negroes at the United Nations. The Black Nationalist leader started his campaign July 17 in Cairo, where the 33 heads of independent African states held their second meeting since the Organization of African Unity was founded in Addis Ababa 14 months ago...

Malcolm’s 8-page memorandum to the heads of state at the Cairo conference requesting their support became available here only recently. **After studying it, officials said that if Malcolm succeeded in convincing just one African government to bring up the charge at the United Nations, the United States government would be faced with a touchy problem.** The United States, officials here believe, would find itself in the same category as South Africa, Hungary, and other countries whose domestic politics have become debating issues at the United Nations. The issue, officials say, would be of service to critics of the United States, Communist and non-Communist, and contribute to the undermining of the position the United States has asserted for itself as the leader of the West in the advocacy of human rights... Although the State Department’s interest in Malcolm’s activities in Africa is obvious, that of the Justice Department is shrouded in discretion. Malcolm is regarded as an *implacable* leader with deep roots in the Negro submerged classes.¹⁴⁴

Im·plac·a·ble /imˈpləkəb(ə)l/ - an adjective meaning “unable to be placated; relentless; unstoppable.” This is how the government, through the mouthpiece of *The New York Times*, described the growing menace called Malcolm X. If he succeeded in convincing one African government to bring up the charge at the U.N., the U.S. would have a “touchy problem” – the CIA does not like America to have such touchy problems.

On August 10 the Near East and Africa Division of the Directorate of Plans sent Ben Read a thermo-fax updating him on Malcolm X’s current activities – and there were many activities that perturbed the U.S. government.

Malcolm then built on the foundations he had laid at the African summit. For four months he criss-crossed Africa, holding follow-up meetings with the leaders who encouraged him most in Cairo. He held long discussions with President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda, President Azikiwe of Nigeria, President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Prime Minister Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, and President Sekou Toure of Guinea. There were other African heads of state Malcolm talked with, he said, “whose names I can’t

¹⁴² CIA Memorandum For: Deputy Director (Plans) Subject: Activities of Malcolm X – Possible Involvement of African Nations in U.S. Civil Disturbances, August 11, 1964.

¹⁴³ “Malcolm X Attacks U.S.,” *The New York Times* August 23, 1964.

¹⁴⁴ M.S. Handler, “Malcolm X Seeks U.N. Negro Debate,” *The New York Times* August 13, 1964.

mention.” At the height of the Cold War, Malcolm X had gained access to Africa's most revolutionary leaders on a politically explosive issue.¹⁴⁵

Reflecting on these meetings, Malcolm told a friend in London shortly before his death,

Those talks broadened my outlook and made it crystal clear to me that I had to look at the struggle in America's ghettos against the background of a worldwide struggle of oppressed peoples. That's why, after every one of my trips abroad, America's rulers see me as being more and more dangerous. That's why I feel in my bones the plots to kill me have already been hatched in high places. The triggermen will only be doing what they were paid to do.¹⁴⁶

Malcolm's influence among the Africans did indeed disturb American officials there. As he recounted:

When I was in Kenya the U.S. Ambassador came to me and asked me not to speak out so strongly against the conditions of Southern Negroes because it hurt our image among Africans. I told him that instead of attempting to quiet me, he should tell the U.S. government to put an end to oppression of black people both here and in Africa.¹⁴⁷

In September 1964 the FBI issued its “[Harlem] Riots Report.” It mentions no names, but by detailed description and accurate quotation it identifies Malcolm X as one of four “troublemakers” of the riots (along with Communists/Socialists Milton Rosen, William Epton, and Jesse Gray).¹⁴⁸ Further, White House aide Ben Read complained to the CIA that Malcolm's affiliations with Third World leaders were damaging American foreign policy in Africa.¹⁴⁹ Robert E. Lee, the State Department's Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, reported to his bosses that although African leaders were reluctant to support Malcolm X's proposal, “the propaganda which was generated by his extreme statements may have caused some damage to the United States image.”¹⁵⁰ On September 2, 1964 U.S. Assistant Attorney J. Walter Yeagley sent a memo to FBI Director Hoover stating:

Information has come to our attention reflecting that Malcolm K. Little, aka “Malcolm X,” in the course of his recent tour of Middle East and African states has reportedly been in communication and contact with heads of foreign governments urging that they take the issue of racialism in America before the United Nations as a threat to world peace.

Since **such activities** could conceivably fall within the provisions of the Logan Act,¹⁵¹ and **are moreover deemed to be inimical to the best interests of our country**, prejudicial to our foreign policy, we are

¹⁴⁵ James W. Douglass, “The Murder and Martyrdom of Malcolm X,” *Kennedys and King* February 21, 2002; Idem, “The Murder and Martyrdom of Malcolm X,” in *The Assassinations: Probe Magazine on JFK, MLK, RFK & Malcolm X*, ed. James DiEugenio and Lisa Pease (Port Townsend, WA: Feral Hose, 2003) 376-424.

¹⁴⁶ Carew, *Ghosts*, 83.

¹⁴⁷ “Malcolm Home, Blasts U.S. Congo Policy,” *The Philadelphia Independent* December 5, 1964.

¹⁴⁸ John D. Morris, “F.B.I. Says Riots Had No Pattern or Single Leader,” *The New York Times* September 27, 1964.

¹⁴⁹ Evanzz, “The Hidden Hand.”

¹⁵⁰ Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) 222-223.

¹⁵¹ The Logan Act is Title 18, Section 953, U. S. Code Annotated and reads as follows: “Any citizen of the United States, wherever he may be, who, without authority of the United States, directly or indirectly commences or carries on any correspondence or intercourse with any foreign government or any officer or agent thereof, with intent to influence the measures or conduct of any officer or agent thereof, in relation to any disputes or controversies with the United States, or to defeat the measures of the United States, shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both.”

requesting the Secretary of State to make appropriate inquiries of our Embassies in the Middle East and Africa for any pertinent information concerning Malcolm X's alleged contacts and communications with heads of foreign governments.

We would also appreciate having your Bureau furnish us with any information which you may receive concerning Malcolm X's activities abroad indicating a possible violation of the Logan Act.

Malcolm X's activities were deemed "inimical" to U.S. interests and damaging to U.S. policy in Africa. So, the CIA sent a man in Malcolm X's wake to undo the political "damage" he had done.

Malcolm returned to the U.S. from this second African tour on November 24, 1964, and immediately "blasted" U.S. President Johnson for his Congo-policy.¹⁵² To counter Malcolm's influence in Africa the U.S. government, specifically the CIA, selected CORE's James Farmer.¹⁵³ Through its front company The American Society for African Culture (AMSAC) the CIA funded Farmer's five weeks in Africa, visiting the countries Malcolm had previously visited. Farmer's job was to serve "as a living rebuttal to Malcolm X."¹⁵⁴ Carl Rowan of the United States Information Agency (USIA), the first African American to sit on the National Security Council, briefed Farmer before his trip. Malcolm heard on the radio about Farmer's pending trip, and on the day before Farmer's departure Malcolm visited him in his home. According to Farmer, Malcolm asked him to not damage his reputation in Egypt, a major source of his funding. "I'm not going there," Farmer told Malcolm.¹⁵⁵ Farmer promptly passed this information on to his CIA financiers. One CIA memo on Malcolm X reveals that in December the Agency learned: "Subject [=Malcolm X] recently revealed that he is currently being financed by the Egyptian Government. Subject made this statement in the course of a discussion. [DELETED]. Subject stated that he feared that the Egyptian Government would decrease its funding of his, Subject's, organization."¹⁵⁶

Reports of financial support offered to Malcolm from several African and Arab states disturbed the U.S. government. Malcolm was reportedly offered two jobs: one from Krame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, to be his "anti-American speech-writer" as well as policy adviser on East-West relations; the second was from Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, who wanted to put Malcolm in charge of the African section of Cairo's foreign ministry.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² "Malcolm X Blames Johnson for Congo," *New York World Telegram and Sun* November 25, 1964; "Malcolm's View," *New York Post* November 25, 1964; "Malcolm Home, Blasts U.S. Congo Policy," *The Philadelphia Independent* December 5, 1964.

¹⁵³ Danny Schechter, *The More You Watch, The Less You Know: News Wars/(Sub)Merged Hopes/Media Adventures* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1999) 287; Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How The CIA Played America* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2008) 215.

¹⁵⁴ Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer*, 219.

¹⁵⁵ Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer*, 219.

¹⁵⁶ CIA Memorandum From: Deputy Director for Plans To: Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Attention: Mr. S. J. Papich February 23, 1965.

¹⁵⁷ "Malcolm Enjoyed Privileges At U.N." *The Record* (Hackensack, New Jersey) Thursday, February 25, 1965, p. 17.

IX. *The Government Sets the Date for Malcolm's Murder*

Malcolm continued to grow as a thorn in America's "(African policy) side." Malcolm X had a very strong presence at the United Nations in New York where he enjoyed great privileges. After his close friend Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana was elected President of the U.N. General Assembly on December 1, 1964, Quaison-Sackey arranged for Malcolm to have his own office at the U.N. to organize his human rights campaign.¹⁵⁸ "Without portfolio or accreditation, [Malcolm] made [the] world body his forum."¹⁵⁹ It is reported that, because his political friends enabled him to "treat the U.N. as his political headquarters," Malcolm was able to practice some "shadow diplomacy whose potential influence reached far beyond Harlem." Malcolm was often the center of diplomatic parties at the U.N. and security guards had orders not to challenge Malcolm as he strode the halls of the world court with no credentials.

Ben Read sent several State Department reports on Malcolm to CIA Deputy Director for Plans Richard Helms in early December 1964.¹⁶⁰ That same month Malcolm's "shadow diplomacy" and his efforts to internationalize the "Negro Problem" paid off during the Congo debate at the U.N., much to the alarm of the U.S. As M.S. Handler reported

The spokesmen of some African states acted precisely within the framework of [Malcolm X's] recommendations last month [=December] in the Congo debate at the United Nations. They accused the United States with being indifferent to the fate of the blacks and cited as evidence the attitude of the United States Government toward the civil rights struggle in Mississippi. *The African move profoundly disturbed the American authorities...*¹⁶¹

At the same time, *The New York Times* terrified white America by reporting on December 21, 1964: "Malcolm Favors A Mau Mau in U.S." The paper described the Mau Mau as "the antiwhite *terrorists* active in Kenya before that country gained independence."¹⁶² It appears that in January 1965 the government decided to pull the trigger on Malcolm X and further plots to kill him were hatched. New York's *Journal-American* reported: "According to the police spokesman, *the department knew in mid-January that an attempt was to be made on Malcolm's life.*" As Breitman and Porter write: "The police spokesman did not say *how* they knew."¹⁶³ But we know how they knew. On January 29, 1965 the Los Angeles police intelligence unit alerted the Chicago police department to their intelligence that Malcolm would be "killed publicly" in New York.¹⁶⁴ Capt. William Duffy, commander of the Chicago police intelligence division, confirmed that at the end of January "informed sources" told him "the murder of Malcolm was planned to be a 'public' event."¹⁶⁵ On February 2, 1965 the FBI New York SAC reported to Director Hoover that Malcolm was traveling to London on February 5 and to France on February

¹⁵⁸ Douglass, "Martyrdom of Malcolm and Martin," 5.

¹⁵⁹ "Malcolm Enjoyed Privileges At U.N." *The Record* (Hackensack, New Jersey) Thursday, February 25, 1965, p. 17.

¹⁶⁰ Zak A. Kondo, *Conspiracys: Unravelling the Assassination of Malcolm X* (Washington D.C.: Nubia Press, 1993), 55.

¹⁶¹ M.S. Handler, "Malcolm X Cites Role in U.N. Fight," *The New York Times* January 2, 1965.

¹⁶² Arnold H. Lubasch, "Malcolm Favors a Mau Mau in U.S.," *The New York Times* December 21, 1964

¹⁶³ George Breitman and Herman Porter, *The Assassination of Malcolm X* (New York: Merit Publishers, 1969) 7.

¹⁶⁴ Austin C. Wehrwein, "Muhammad Says Muslims Played No Part in Slaying," *The New York Times* February 23, 1965

¹⁶⁵ "Reveal Police Guard Given Malcolm X On Visit Here," *Chicago Sun Times* February 23, 1965.

8, where he would remain until February 11. Hoover was also informed that “The next scheduled OAAU public rally is on Sunday, 2/21/65,”¹⁶⁶ i.e., the day Malcolm X was publicly assassinated at the Audubon Ballroom.

On February 1, 1965, a profoundly important meeting occurred in Accra, Ghana. James Farmer was there to meet with President Kwame Nkrumah and was tracked down by an African American expatriate living in Ghana who was an activist from New York and a mutual acquaintance of Farmer’s and Malcolm X’s. Farmer never reveals her name. He met with her at his hotel restaurant at Ghana’s Flagstaff House. Farmer recounts, and it is worth quoting in full:

I got to my room and placed a call to Flagstaff House to seek an audience with President Kwame Nkrumah. Immediately afterward I received a call from a young black American woman I had known in the States. She had read in the papers of my coming visit and had called the leading hotels to find where I was registered. I invited her to come by and have dinner with me that evening so we could renew our acquaintance. In the hotel dining room, we shared a bottle of Ghanaian beer before dinner, as I brought her up to date on the movement back in our country. “Malcolm was here a couple of months ago, and I had dinner with him, too,” she said, abruptly becoming serious. “I know, he told me.”



“He is going to be killed, you know.” She dropped that remark in a matter-of-fact way.

I shrugged my shoulders and said, “Malcolm says that; everybody else says it; and now you are saying it. I think it’s just a rumor, but okay, if he’s going to be killed, when is it going to happen?” She put her glass of beer down and with a napkin dabbled at the moisture the glass had deposited on the tablecloth. Then she studied the ceiling.

“Now let’s see,” she said, “this is February 1. He will be killed sometime between now and April 1.” I almost jumped from my seat. “That’s only two months. That’s calling it pretty close, isn’t it?” She nodded. “You must know something,” I said. Again, she nodded.

“Then who’s going to kill him? The Black Muslims?”

“Oh no, no, no.” She was now talking in a whisper, and I leaned closer to hear. “The Muslims are after him, but I think they just want to beat him up to teach him a lesson. One of them might shoot him, but it would be sort of a spur-of-the-moment thing; not on orders from Elijah Muhammad. There is another gang far more dangerous than the Muslims that’s going to get him, and it will be blamed on the Nation of Islam.” “Who is this other group?” I demanded.

“I have nothing more to say on the subject,” she said with finality. “And if you quote me, I’ll deny that I ever saw you.”

When I continued to press her on the identity of the group that, according to her, was going to murder Malcolm she became almost hysterical, glancing furtively about the room. I dropped the subject.¹⁶⁷

This is explosive. The young woman clearly had inside knowledge that CIA asset James Farmer found credible: sometime within the next two months Malcolm X will fall victim to a False Flag operation; he will be killed by a “gang” much bigger than the Nation of Islam, but the Black Muslims will be blamed for the murder. That is exactly how the plot to kill Malcolm X actually unfolded. Three weeks after this revelation in Ghana Malcolm X was gunned down at

¹⁶⁶ “Organization of Afro-American Unity,” FBI Memo From SAC, New York to Director, FBI, February 2, 1965.

¹⁶⁷ James Farmer, *Lay Bare The Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: New American Library, 1985) 230-231.

the Audubon Ballroom and the Nation of Islam was blamed for the murder. The assassination was a False Flag operation. The day after the assassination Farmer held a press conference, which he opened with the words: “The Black Muslims did not kill him. Malcolm’s murder was a political killing with international implications.”¹⁶⁸ “Most people,” Farmer said, “are leaping to the easy conclusion that the Black Muslims killed Malcolm. The explanation is much deeper, much more sinister. It has international implications.”¹⁶⁹ Farmer knew what he was speaking of.

This all reveals an important timeline:

January 15, 1965: By this time some members of the NYPD know of the plan to assassinate Malcolm X

January 29, 1965: It is reported that intelligence agencies also know that Malcolm X was soon to be *publicly* assassinated

February 1, 1965: CIA asset James Farmer is warned in Ghana of Malcolm’s impending assassination by forces bigger and more dangerous than the Nation of Islam. These forces will falsely blame the Nation for the assassination.

February 2, 1965: The New York SAC notifies FBI Director Hoover that Malcolm’s organization OAAU will next hold a *public* rally on Sunday, February 21, 1965 – the day Malcolm is killed.

Something else happened at this time. After word went out in January among law enforcement and intelligence agencies that Malcolm X was soon to be publicly murdered; and after CIA asset James Farmer on February 1st was given a heads up that Malcolm was to be killed between that time and April, and that the true killers were going to have the murder blamed on the Black Muslims; then that very week Talmadge Hayer was *recontacted* at the “beginning of February” and again offered money to kill Malcolm X. The Domestic Operation is back on – Phase Two. Hayer confessed during his trial:

Q You say you were offered some money?

A Yes, Sir.

Q To kill Malcolm X?

A Yes, sir...

Q When do you say you were first approached by anybody in connection with the assassination of Malcolm X?

A Sometime in February, I guess...beginning of February.¹⁷⁰

This is an important detail, whose significance is this:

In late May 1964 the CIA opened a Clandestine Services Operation against Malcolm X.

In early June J. Edgar Hoover ordered his New York Office to “Do something about Malcolm X” and in June an FBI informant received information that “Malcolm X is going to be bumped off.” In early June also Talmadge Hayer and the New Jersey Kill Team were first recruited to assassinate Malcolm X. In July

¹⁶⁸ Farmer, *Lay Bare The Heart*, 231.

¹⁶⁹ Walter Bilitz, “Probe Malcolm’s Foreign Ties,” *Chicago Tribune* February 25, 1965

¹⁷⁰ *Transcripts of the Malcolm X Assassination Trial (1965-1966): the People of the State of New York v. Thomas Hagan, Thomas 15X Johnson, and Norman 3X Butler* (Wilmington, DE : Scholarly Resources, 1993), 5 volumes, III: 3152-3154.

Malcolm X left the country and went to Africa, putting him out of the reach of the domestic assassination team. The operation to terminate Malcolm X was thus handled as a foreign operation.

On July 23 Malcolm X was poisoned in Egypt, barely surviving with his life. This first foreign assassination attempt failed. Malcolm returned to the U.S. in November.

In late January 1965 the plans to publicly assassinate Malcolm X were made and shared with various intelligence services, and in early February 1965 Talmadge Hayer was *re*-approached and again offered money to kill Malcolm X, which he did on February 21, 1965.

BOSSI Lieutenant Tony Bouza confirmed: “The assassination...of Malcolm X Little, on February 21, 1965, in the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, had been foreseen by [the Bureau of] Special Services at least two weeks before the killing occurred.”¹⁷¹ Two weeks would be around February 7, 1965. We get another reference to this date. Peter Goldman’s NYPD sources told him: “The New York police got wind two weeks in advance that *the* last, successful *attentat* was imminent...”¹⁷² *Attentat* is an assault attempt. Two weeks before the 21st – which means around February 7th – the NYPD “got wind,” i.e., got an intelligence report,¹⁷³ informing them that in contrast to previous, unsuccessful attempt(s) to kill Malcolm X, *the* last attempt to kill him was soon coming ***and it will be successful***. When and what were the previous *attentates* that failed? Cairo, July 23, 1964, was one failed *attentat*.

On February 9, 1965, Malcolm X was barred from France. When his plane landed at Orly Airport in Paris he was disallowed to disembark. Nine police along with French Government officials met Malcolm X at the plane. The officials had in hand a government order declaring his presence undesirable, but they gave him no reason why this was so. In April 1965, a little more than a month after Malcolm X was assassinated, journalist Eric Norden was told by a highly placed North African diplomat that his country’s intelligence service “had been quietly informed by the French Department of Alien Documentation and Counter-Espionage (...) that the CIA planned Malcolm’s murder, and France feared he might be liquidated on its soil” and scapegoat France. France passed that info on because that North African country had hosted Malcolm X in the past. This diplomat told Norden: “Your CIA is beginning to murder its own citizens now.”¹⁷⁴ For reasons elaborated upon in our larger writing, I believe that this diplomat from a North African country recently visited by Malcolm X was Moroccan. Malcolm visited Casablanca in May 1964.

On June 21 the President requested Hoover silence/terminate Malcolm X. On June 23 Malcolm X was poisoned in Cairo and barely escaped with his life. The poisoning was reportedly a CIA operation, and maybe a CIA-Mossad operation. While the White House missed on this first attempt to *put the quietus* on Malcolm X, there would be two more attempts. February 9, 1965, in Paris was another failed *attentat*. Around two weeks before the “Final Act” it appears that the final Kill Decision was made and it was decided that February 21 at the Audubon Ballroom would be “the last, successful *attentat*” on Malcolm X. *This* time, they will not miss. Within minutes of Malcolm X being gunned down at the Audubon “FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover

¹⁷¹ Anthony J. Bouza, *Police Intelligence: The Operations of an Investigative Unit* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1976) 84.

¹⁷² Peter Goldman, “Malcolm X: An Unfinished Story?” *The New York Times* August 19, 1979.

¹⁷³ Friedly, *Malcolm X*, 80.

¹⁷⁴ Eric Norden, “The Murder of Malcolm X,” *The Realist* 73 (February, 1967) 1, 4-22 (12).

was fast in the loop....And he would almost immediately relay the word to President Johnson.”¹⁷⁵
Mission accomplished.

THE EXECUTIVE ACTION INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE MALCOLM X OPERATION

I

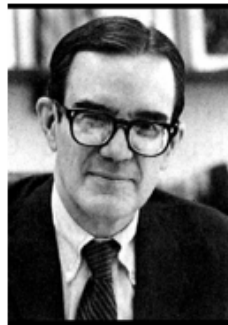
THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE CIA



President Lyndon B. Johnson



Secretary of State Dean Rusk



Benjamin Read
Assistant to the
Secretary of State



John McCone
Director of Central
Intelligence (DCI)



Richard Helms,
CIA's Deputy
Director of Plans



James Angleton
Chief of
Counterintelligence



Tracey Barnes
Chief of Domestic
Operations Division
(DOD)



E. Howard Hunt
Chief of the Covert
Activities Section of
the DOD



Leo Clinton Aldridge
AKA Leo Milas
Alleged CIA Agent
Assigned to Malcolm X

¹⁷⁵ Les Payne and Tamara Payne, *The Dead Are Arising: The Life of Malcolm X* (New York: Liveright, 2020), 482.

X. *CIA Assets Around Malcolm X*



“One of my close associates, my bodyguard, is a CIA man. I know this in my blood. I feel it, but yet I can’t accuse.”
Morgan Freeman as Malcolm X in “Death of a Prophet” (1981)

Wilfred Little, Malcolm’s eldest brother who introduced him to the Nation and who was the minister in Detroit in 1965, affirmed that the Honorable Elijah Muhammad is innocent of Malcolm’s slaying. According to Wilfred’s information, the Muslims who shot Malcolm were “joined” by and then “steered” by an “outsider” to do the dastardly deed. Wilfred reveals that before the assassination Malcolm was warned that agents believed to be from the CIA were offering money for his death.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, Malcolm X’s half-sister Ella Collins, who inherited leadership of the OAAU and the MMI after Malcolm’s death, conducted her own investigation into the murder of her brother and discovered many important facts.¹⁷⁷ She states flatly: “the CIA murdered my brother.”¹⁷⁸

I know that the CIA instigated Malcolm’s death. There’s no doubt in my mind. I would never say I believe, or I think...It (the killing) was supposed to happen in Egypt when he was poisoned. It was supposed to have taken place in France, and the State Department in France became aware of it and would not allow him to come into the country.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ “Brother says Muslims didn’t kill Malcolm X,” *UPI* February 22, 1982.

¹⁷⁷ Mrs. Ella Collins, “The Murder of Malcolm X: Covering Up The Crime,” *Challenge* April 19, 1966.

¹⁷⁸ Norden, “The Murder of Malcolm X,” 5.

¹⁷⁹ “Sister of Malcolm X Charges He Was Assassinated By CIA,” *Chicago Daily Defender* May 22, 1967.



She discounted speculation that the Nation of Islam was to blame for her brother's death.¹⁸⁰ In the days leading up to his assassination, Malcolm shared with Ella his conviction that it was neither "the NOI or the FBI that had him in their crosshairs, but the CIA."¹⁸¹ She told Eric Norden:

On the day before his death, which was a Saturday, we spent the day together. He discussed the fact that the way his house was bombed, and his being barred from France, led him to believe that the plotters of his death were much bigger than the Muslims. In discussing the fire-bombing we both agreed that, with our experience of black people's methods of revenge on each other, this was not the work of black people.¹⁸²

Her son and Malcolm's nephew Rodnell Collins has described the conversation Malcolm and Ella had Saturday night before the assassination:

Malcolm also told Ma that events of the past month had forced him to reconsider who was the main force behind the attacks he was subjected to. "I know what John Ali and the Nation can and cannot do," he said. "I don't even believe it's the FBI anymore. It's the CIA that's behind all of this. They're extremely afraid of my contacts in Africa and Asia." It was that statement by Malcolm which later led Ma to resist those who wanted her to approve of revenge-driven attacks on members of the Nation of Islam.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ "Sister of Malcolm X Charges He Was Assassinated By CIA."

¹⁸¹ Herb Boyd, "Ella Little-Collins, Malcolm's resourceful half-sister," *New York Amsterdam News* February 27, 2020.

¹⁸² Norden, "The Murder of Malcolm X," 13.

¹⁸³ Rodnell P. Collins with A. Peter Baily, *Seventh Child: A Family Memoir of Malcolm X* (Secaucus, N.J.: Birch Lane Press, 1998) 194-195.

That Saturday February 20th Malcolm also shared with Ella his suspicions that at least four of his top aides were disloyal to him.¹⁸⁴ Malcolm's suspicions proved true. As Ella reported:

I was informed, during my investigation, that many of Malcolm's top security men had warned witnesses who saw the assassination from close range to keep quiet and say nothing when they were questioned by the District Attorney. Why would these so-called "protectors" of Malcolm X hold evidence and warn others to hold evidence that would aid the D.A. in building the state case, in apprehending more of the killers and in bringing them to justice? Members of Malcolm's security gave testimony in court favorable to the defense – they did not appear as 'hostile witnesses.' Some who testified for the state had previously informed me of opposite information to what they gave on the witness stand.... Security men stood by and did nothing-and none were called to testify at the trial. All this indicates that many people were aware of the planned assassination.¹⁸⁵

Some of these suspect aides of Malcolm were likely assets of the U.S. intelligence apparatus that targeted the Black leader. Ella reported: "I've been informed by reliable sources that there were CIA agents right in the Organization (of Afro-American Unity), and I've been given their names. Malcolm knew the dangers, but he said he had to go ahead."¹⁸⁶ Her son makes an allusion to one of these CIA agents that was around Malcolm X: "Malcolm's nephew Rodnell Collins is convinced his uncle's killer was a mysterious Asian man who fled the country."¹⁸⁷ That mysterious Asian man was likely Seizō Takahara, one of at least two CIA assets that we can identify around Malcolm X in his organization. The other was Anas Luqman, the black-coated ninja.

ANAS LUQMAN: MALCOLM'S NAVY "NINJA"



Luqman was an assassin, with great clout in clandestine circles – Independent journalist Ital Iman

¹⁸⁴ Kondo, *Conspiracys*, 269 n. 470.

¹⁸⁵ Collins, "The Murder of Malcolm X."

¹⁸⁶ Norden, "The Murder of Malcolm X," 11.

¹⁸⁷ Rich Schapiro, "Malcolm X's alleged assassin hiding in plain sight in Newark 50 years after civil rights leader was killed, author claims," *New York Daily News* February 15, 2015.

One of the most intriguing men around Malcolm X was Langston 2X Savage, later known as Anas Luqman and Luqman Abdul Rahim. Before he died on December 24, 2013 at Shands Hospital in Jacksonville, Florida, Anas Luqman shared (pieces) of his story with Manning Marable,¹⁸⁸ Les Payne,¹⁸⁹ Ital Iman¹⁹⁰ and Shareef Nasir.¹⁹¹ Independent journalist Ital Iman spent considerable time with him from 2010 and 2014.



Langston Savage was a Navy man. Born July 14, 1934 in North Carolina, he was the only Black person in his naval class.¹⁹² Trained in ballistics and clandestine ship capture, Langston likely was connected with the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI). While an active Navy officer he made contact with Fidel Castro, allegedly to join the Cuban Revolution. This suggests an ONI covert operation. Castro reportedly told Langston this “was not possible due to agreements with the USA.”¹⁹³ At this time, Castro was a friend of the United States; the CIA assisted his revolution against Cuban president Fulgencio Batista. The two men, Castro and Langston, reportedly agreed to meet once Langston was ostensibly no longer obligated to the U.S. Navy. Langston eventually did join Castro in Cuba, where he reportedly acquired demolition training and trained as an assassin under Alberto Bayo, the famous Cuban military leader who also trained Fidel Castro. Langston was “given a letter from Fidel Castro which allowed him to move freely within revolutionary circles,” we are told.¹⁹⁴

Langston the Navy man was an international mercenary. “Raheem was something of a mystery man with a shadowy background,” Les and Tamara Payne report. “Raheem was a weapons and explosives expert and had served abroad as a mercenary in Mexico and North Africa.”¹⁹⁵ Ital Iman says “He was a ninja. He was an assassin.” Langston was reportedly hired by American intelligence to kill foreign heads of state and topple governments of small countries. He claimed that “a few jobs were turned down,” which means there were jobs that he *did* accept. On one occasion while in a library a CIA operative approached him with a job to assassinate Salvador Allende, who was elected in 1970 as the 28th president of Chile and first Marxist leader of the country. After traveling to Chile and learning the details of the job, Langston rejected it. “There were children involved,” he said. The CIA used someone else for the job but Langston remained in the Agency’s good graces and thus usable.¹⁹⁶ This was after the assassination of Malcolm X, which means Langston was still a U.S. intelligence asset long after that fateful day.

As a Naval officer Langston tried to infiltrate Castro’s 1959 revolution. As an intelligence asset he joined the Nation of Islam in New York in July 1962. “I did not join the NOI for spiritual reasons,” he said to Ital Iman. “I joined because I heard those brothers was about revolution, some land for self, things like that.”

¹⁸⁸ Marable, *Malcolm X*.

¹⁸⁹ Payne and Payne, *The Dead Are Arising*.

¹⁹⁰ Ital Iman, *The Assassin Who Killed The Man Responsible for the Murder of Malcolm X* (Lulu Press, 2021)

¹⁹¹ “The Assassin Died Today: With Ital Iman and Shareef Nasir, December 24, 2013 @ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S4j2DIXqh1o&feature=emb_logo

¹⁹² On the personal details of Langston Savage, see his file in the Malcolm X Assassination Case File, New York Municipal Archive.

¹⁹³ According to what Ital Iman relates from Anas Luqman. Iman, *The Assassin Who Killed The Man*, 48.

¹⁹⁴ Iman, *The Assassin Who Killed The Man*; Dennis D. Wainstock, *Malcolm X, African American Revolutionary* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2009) 87.

¹⁹⁵ Payne and Payne, *The Dead Are Arising*, 488.

¹⁹⁶ Iman, *The Assassin Who Killed The Man*, 65.

Langston's intelligence connections are highlighted by the story of his clandestine meeting with Ralph Bunche, which occurred before Malcolm X's assassination. The meeting took place on a golf course and lasted several hours. Langston posed as Bunche's caddy.¹⁹⁷ This clandestine meeting is highly important, as it involved two members of the intelligence community that were secretly meeting and discussing Malcolm X. According to the magazine *Soldiers of Fortune*, Bunche was "An African-American Leader in the intelligence community."¹⁹⁸ He was "a part of America's most important intelligence first: the Office of Strategic Services (OSS)."¹⁹⁹ During WWII Bunche worked for the CIA's predecessor agency providing intelligence about developments in African territories. He was recruited in 1941 by the Office of the Coordinator of Information (COI), where he served as a senior analyst specializing in African affairs and later Chief of the African Division. One of the reasons Bunche looked pleasing to the intelligence community was his 1934 Harvard doctoral dissertation where he showed himself to be hostile to Black nationalism and pan-Africanism. In 1944 Bunche transferred to the State Department where he was the first Black desk officer. In 1945 Bunche became head of the Division of Dependent Affairs.



Ital Iman alleges that the point of this clandestine meeting on the golf course was to conscript Bunche into Malcolm's revolutionary movement; to convince him to pull some governmental strings "to help pull off the Black revolution." This is transparently a cover story, for certainly Anas Luqman knew better than that. Bunche was demonstrably *anti*-revolution and *anti*-Pan-Africanism. He was hostile to the radical nationalists of Africa: Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, and the Congo's Patrice Lumumba. The U.S. saw Lumumba as an African Fidel Castro and Bunche had a sharp animosity and contempt for him, whom he felt was "too influenced by Pan-Africanism to be friendly to Western interests."²⁰⁰ The UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold played a decisive role in the overthrow of the Lumumba Congolese government.²⁰¹ He said to US diplomats: "Lumumba must be broken." Representing Hammarskjold and his objective in the Congo was Ralph Bunche. "As a member of the secretary general's inner circle of trusted advisers dealing with the Congo question, Bunche did take part in the decisions whose ultimate result was the fall of Patrice Lumumba, the Congo's first democratically elected prime minister."²⁰² This is the man with whom Langston clandestinely met for hours on a golf course discussing Malcolm X.

¹⁹⁷ Ital Iman, *The Naga Sadhu: The Stoners Bible* (Lulu, 2015) 67-68.

¹⁹⁸ "Dr. Ralph J. Bunche and the OSS," *Soldiers of Fortune* August 8, 2020.

¹⁹⁹ Dr. Ralph J. Bunche and the OSS."

²⁰⁰ Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, "Ralph Bunche, Patrice Lumumba, and the First Congo Crisis," in RA Hill, and EJ Keller (Eds), *Trustee for the Human Community: Ralph J. Bunche, the United Nations, and the Decolonization of Africa* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2010).

²⁰¹ "The Tragedy of Lumumba: An Exchange. Ludo De Witt and Colin Legum, reply by Brian Urquhart," *The New York Review* December 20, 2001.

²⁰² Nzongola-Ntalaja, "Ralph Bunche, Patrice Lumumba, and the First Congo Crisis."

THE ASIAN ASSASSIN

in some of the larger temples there were secret groups of enforcers within the FOI who were given advanced physical combat training in order to carry out planned assaults on the ‘hypocrites.’ New York’s ‘Honor Squad’ (also known as the ‘Elite Squad’ and ‘pipe squad’)—which was trained by both its war veteran/martial artist captain, Joseph Gravitt, and a Korean karate master who was granted membership in the mosque, Sensei Tarkahata—was the most notorious of these secret groups.²⁰³

James [67X Warden] had recently brought in a mysterious karate master, Sensei Takahara. The tall Asian instructed a small group of Muslims in an extraordinarily high level of *qigong*, a major component of martial arts.²⁰⁴

The “tall Asian” Sensei Takahara, also called Seizō Takahara, provided the “special training” to the notorious “Honor Guard” of New York’s Temple No. 7. Abraham Bey, an ex-FOI who joined Malcolm X after the split, informed the Grand Jury that the No. 7 Rostrum Guards got training in karate on Saturdays from Leon 4X Ameer.²⁰⁵ However, a special martial arts training was given to some FOI “outside of the mosque” by “an Okinawan.” This training was “used for defense against a karate man” (Bey called it *ikedo*, which is an “Okinawan form of karate”). This special training was given at night after mosque meetings and outside the mosque so as “not to let the rest of the mosque know what kind of training” the men were getting.²⁰⁶ This training included the use of firearms, which was a violation of Nation of Islam rules. After Malcolm’s split from the Nation, Seizō Takahara left the Nation and trained Malcolm X’s men.²⁰⁷

Anas Luqman (Langston 2X Savage) was among those who got this special training. He had a close relationship with Takahara and spoke fondly of the “oriental element of leadership” that he brought, telling Ital Iman: “Well, he’s one who’s qualified to lead.”²⁰⁸ Seizō Takahara apparently was at the center of a *gun counter-culture* that had developed in the Nation of Islam. The possession or use of firearms was strictly prohibited within the Nation of Islam. Against this policy, Anas Luqman tells us about the specialized gun training that Seizō Takahara provided to select FOI and later to Malcolm X’s men. The Sensei’s favorite gun was a .357 magnum. “James 67X, the right-hand man [of Malcolm X] who also had a black belt in karate, kept a loaded .357 Magnum that had been given to him by Sensei Takahara,” Payne tells us.²⁰⁹ A number of his trainees extolled Seizō Takahara’s Neo-like extra-human abilities with a gun. “And he was a crack shot with rife or handgun. He was *it*,” said Anas Luqman. “He had human abilities that you just don’t see in most people.”²¹⁰ He reportedly had exceptional skill in *dodging* bullets and he trained a select group in that. In a very scenic manner Benjamin Karim (Benjamin 2x Goodman) expresses the same mystification of the Sensei to Spike Lee. Lee described his conversation with Karim in his 1992 book with Ralph Wiley, *By Any Means Necessary*:

²⁰³ Patrick D. Bowen, *A History of Conversion to Islam in the United States, Volume 2: The African American Islamic Renaissance, 1920-1975* (Leiden: Brill, 2017) 519.

²⁰⁴ Payne and Payne, *The Dead Are Arising*, 460-461.

²⁰⁵ Abe Bey Grand Jury Testimony March 31, 1965, p. 382-382.

²⁰⁶ Abe Bey Grand Jury Testimony March 31, 1965, p. 401

²⁰⁷ Payne and Payne, *The Dead Are Arising*, 497.

²⁰⁸ Ital Iman and Anas Luqman, “Wisdom of the Assassin Part II” @14:31 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uOkIUTgG33s&feature=emb_logo

²⁰⁹ Payne and Payne, *The Dead Are Arising*, 496-497.

²¹⁰ Iman and Luqman, “Wisdom of the Assassin Part II” @14:31.

"The brothers close around Malcolm weren't afraid of anything," Benjamin said. "Brother John [57X Grey]. Brother Ivory [X Whitmore], a few others . . . they all had been trained. I mean trained in deadly hand-to-hand combat. One night, Sensei took us out for training and told a brother named Cyril [2X James] to get in his car and drive toward him at precisely 60 mph. He [Sensei] would just stand there. Cyril balked, said, 'Naw, Sensei.' So Sensei ordered him. His job was to train the FOI, the Fruit of Islam, so Cyril being a young brother, he had to do what Sensei said. Cyril got in the car and gunned it toward him. Sensei just stood there. He just stood there. Then he jumped, folded, barely touched the roof of that car with his feet. When he came down *he was squatting with a pistol*, and the sight was on that car. This was Sensei."

[Spike Lee says]: Me, I was kind of skeptical, so I said, "He was like James Bond, eh? Or more Like Action Jackson."

[Benjamin Karim says]: "Like? No, Mr. Lee. Brother Minister used to say one never needs to read fiction because the truth is stranger. Sensei was a real person, an exceptional person. I asked him one night at the restaurant if he was going to teach the other brothers the martial arts. He said, 'No. I'm going to teach them death'..." So I asked Benjamin if this Sensei was a Muslim himself, and he said yes. "He knew the Koran almost by heart," Benjamin said. "I believe his mother was Oriental and his father was Black. But he was a brother, believe me. And the way he appeared to have no use for whites was hardened in him. As a matter of fact, even when we met him years before this, we were the ones in the Nation, and he was calling them devils."²¹¹

Thomas 15X Johnson (Khalil Islam) tells us: "I had a Chinese sensei teaching me."²¹² This was no doubt a reference to the above-mentioned special "Honor Guard" training by the Okinawan Sensei, Seizō Takahara. Thomas 15X also tells us: "I was the first official to, ah, to be caught with a firearm. We didn't train in firearms and we were told not to participate with firearms..."²¹³ When the police arrested him for the shooting of Benjamin Brown, they found in Thomas 15X's home a .22 caliber Winchester rifle. As noted above, the possession of weapons on the person or in the home is against the religious law of the Nation of Islam. Thomas 15X was thus banned from coming to the New York Temple.²¹⁴

Seizō Takahara was likely not Korean, as Patrick Bowen surmised, but Japanese. Both James 67X Warden and Abraham Bey referred to him as an "Okinawan." *Okinawan* is a Japanese dialect and Okinawa is a Japanese island. *Karate* originally was Okinawan. Indeed, Takahara's ancient namesake, Peichin Takahara, was born in 1683 in Akata Cho, a small section of the city of Shuri, Okinawa. This *Peichin* ("Senior") Takahara was a monk, a highly learned man (an astronomer and a map maker), and a great warrior. Acknowledged as the first to expound on the principles of *dō*, The Way, he is known as "the Father of Okinawan Karate" and the "Master of Death." His fighting style was *Chu'an Fa* ("the first way"). Peichin Takahara died in 1760.

Immediately after Malcolm X returned to the U.S. on May 21, 1964, from his first tour of Africa, the CIA initiated a Clandestine Services operation against him and within days the five-man Kill Team from Paterson and Newark, New Jersey was recruited. Karl Evanzz informs us regarding this team: "[They] met with a party who remains unidentified but who allegedly trained them in the art of assassination and paid for their time."²¹⁵ We can identify that team who trained the assassins. Spike Lee reports:

²¹¹ Spike Lee and Ralph Wiley, *By Any Means Necessary: Trials And Tribulations of the Making of Malcolm X* (New York: Hyperion, 1992) 37-38.

²¹² "Accused Malcolm X Assassin Maintains Innocence," *NPR* February 21, 2008

²¹³ Khalil Islam on *Tony Brown's Journal* "The Charge Is Murder" (1995) @ 13:15.

²¹⁴ Marable, *Malcolm X*, 425, 448.

²¹⁵ Evanzz, *The Messenger*, 293-294.

Benjamin Karim said...[s]ome of Malcolm's group plotted to kill [this Sensei character] because they suspected he had something to do with [Malcolm's assassination] because much of his training stemmed from the Oriental martial arts methodology. And one of those arts was something Benjamin called Chung Fa, I think it was, and one of the legends of that discipline is the legend of the five archers sent to assassinate a statesman. There were five people involved in Malcolm X's assassination, and the people involved in it were very well trained.²¹⁶

According to Anas Luqman, Seizō Takahara “was a Asian man commissioned by CIA or state department to infiltrate the Nation of Islam,” “a government agent of Asian descent who had infiltrated the Nation of Islam and was responsible for the murder of Malcolm.”²¹⁷ In an interesting video-taped conversation between Anas Luqman and Ital Iman, the latter asks: “So, what role does [Seizō Takahara] play in [the assassination]?” Luqman unhesitatingly answered: “He (Takahara) was one of the ones who helped the enemies of Malcolm and the Black race bring him to an end.” Luqman says, “He (Takahara) chose to be an enemy of one who always tried to be a friend (i.e., Malcolm X).”²¹⁸ As recounted independently by Ital Iman and Shareef Nasir, Luqman revealed that Seizō Takahara was hired by the government and “sent to oversee the death of Malcolm.”²¹⁹ He trained the Hit Team that killed Malcolm X.

In light of Seizō Takahara assignment to train the killers of Malcolm X, the following takes on added significance:

[Gene Roberts] had been introduced to hand-to-hand combat during basic training in the Navy. His karate skills, however, were greatly intensified under the mat training of James 67X, an accomplished black belt who was Malcolm's top assistant... “James was our martial arts instructor,” Roberts said. “Sometimes I'd go one-on-one with him. He taught me a lot.” James had recently brought in a mysterious karate master, Sensei Takahara. The tall Asian instructed a small group of Muslims in an extraordinarily high level of *qigong*, a major component of martial arts. The contact with James 67X and the specialized training had earned Roberts his Monday night spot on the front-rostrum security detail...James 67X, the right-hand man who also had a black belt in karate, kept a loaded .357 Magnum that had been given to him by Sensei Takahara, who had continued to train Malcolm's men in the advanced level of *qigong*, which he had also taught to Gene Roberts.²²⁰

The fact that BOSSI undercover agent Gene Roberts received special training from James and Takahara is significant. Seizō Takahara occasionally slept at the house of James Shabazz (James 67X Warden), the secretary and chief assistant of Malcolm X. Apparently, so too did confessed-assassin Talmadge Hayer sleep at James Shabazz's home. James Shabazz told the Assistant District Attorney's Office on April 1, 1965 that “Living with me was at the time [of the Assassination of Malcolm X] Langston Savage, Chester McCollin, myself & sometimes Sense (*sic*) the Okinawan slept there on some nights. Sense had a school for Karate in Bronx.”²²¹

²¹⁶ Lee and Wiley, *X: By Any Means Necessary*, 37-38.

²¹⁷ Iman, *The Assassin Who Killed The Man*, 45; Ital Iman, *Anas Luqman*, 111.

²¹⁸ “Wisdom of the Assassin Part II” @ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uOkIUTgG33s&feature=emb_logo

²¹⁹ Iman, *The Assassin Who Killed The Man*, 62.

²²⁰ Payne and Payne, *The Dead Are Arising*, 460-461, 496-497.

²²¹ James Warden Statement to Assistant District Attorney Stern on April 1, 1965.

Living with me was the two Langston Savage,
Chester McCollum, myself + sometimes Sense the
Okinawan slept there on some nights.
Sense had a school for Karate in Bronx

James Shabazz didn't voluntarily disclose to the Assistant District Attorney that the killer of Malcolm X who was caught at the scene of the crime, Talmadge Hayer, had also been a housemate at the time. But the Assistant District Attorney had that information. An Assistant DA's Office Note for April 1, 1965, mentions: "[James Shabazz] Testified in Grand Jury. Denies knowing Hayer (*We have persons who say Hayer lived in Shabazz's house*)." One of those persons was Chester Gullum, who told the ADA that in the Spring of 1964 Hayer stayed for nights in James Shabazz's apartment at 113 St and Manhattan Ave.²²² The Spring of 1964 is when the CIA initiated its Clandestine Services operation against Malcolm X and it is when the Shooter Team was recruited and trained.

Testified in Grand Jury
Denies knowing Hayer
(We have persons who say Hayer
lived in Shabazz's house)

So, according to what these persons told the District Attorney's Office, the acknowledged assassin of Malcolm X, Talmadge Hayer, stayed at times (or "lived") in the house of James Shabazz, the same house that provided shelter for Langston 2X Savage, the renowned contract killer for American intelligence and Seizō Takahara, the CIA asset sent to infiltrate the Nation of Islam and later to train the assassins of Malcolm X. Hayer was one of those assassins. Did he get some of his training while living in James Shabazz's house?

²²² Malcolm X assassination case file, Folder 95: Hayer, Talmadge; Subject files, 1963-1999, Date: 1965-1999.

XI. *The Shotgun Shooter: Pillar of the Kill Team and Intelligence Asset*

IDENTIFY OF SHOTGUN SHOOTER KNOWN EARLY

In the declassified 1953 CIA Assassination Manual the Agency recommends the use of the shotgun as “most effective” to carry out “Executive Actions” or political assassinations.

In guarded assassination...A large bore shotgun is a most effective killing instrument as long as the range is kept under ten yards. It should normally be used only on single targets as it cannot sustain fire successfully. The barrel may be "sawed" off for convenience, but this is not a significant factor in its killing performance...The assassin should aim for the solar plexus as the shot pattern is small at close range and can easily [illeg] the head.²²³

It was the shotgun that felled Malcolm X on February 21, 1965. The follow-up pistol shots were overkill. The primary assassin rested a sawed-off 12-gauge J.C. Higgins double barrel shotgun on the crook of his arm like a professional²²⁴ and fired two blasts from about eight feet away from the stage, as recommended in the 1953 CIA Assassination Manual. This weapon's buckshot is typically used for hunting large game. “At close range, victims do not stand a chance.”²²⁵ The pellets from the first barrel blasted through the plywood lectern and into Malcolm X's chest. The second barrel then blasted.²²⁶ Malcolm suffered thirteen pellet wounds in the heart and the chest. The assassin seems to have been aiming at the solar plexus.

Several eyewitness accounts suggest that the shotgun shooter, after discharging the second blast, dropped the weapon and ran down the corridor right of the stage and ducked into the women's lavatory, located about sixty feet from the stage. He ran down a narrow flight of stairs leading to an exit out to the street. He “got away clean,” reporter Jimmy Breslin tells us.²²⁷ Breslin broke the story of the assassination in the Monday February 22, 1965, morning edition of the *New York Herald Tribune*. From a seat in the back of the Ballroom he had a bird's eye view to the murder.²²⁸ While the shotgun shooter got away clean, Breslin informed us from his high-level police sources: “The identity of the man who went out the side door and got away was known to police and they combed Harlem for him last night.”²²⁹ The police knew Sunday night the identity of the shotgun shooter! Why was he never located and arrested? We know the answer to this question.

On February 22, 1965, the FBI had a detailed – and accurate – description of the assassin who wielded the shotgun. A memo reads: “Description of only one other assailant has been determined. He is a Negro male, age twenty-eight, six feet two inches, two hundred pounds, heavy build, dark complexion, wearing gray coat and believed to be assailant who used

²²³ “A Study of Assassination” December 31, 1953, by the Central Intelligence Agency.

²²⁴ Manning Marable, “First Person. The Price of Freedom: Herman Ferguson,” *Souls* 7 (2005): 84-106 (104).

²²⁵ Matt Doeden, *A Marked Man: The Assassination of Malcolm X* (Minneapolis: Twenty-first Century Books, 2013) 57.

²²⁶ Allison Stark Draper, *The Assassination of Malcolm X* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, Inc., 2002) 11.

²²⁷ Jimmy Breslin, “400 See Malcolm X Assassinated,” *The Boston Globe* February 22, 1965.

²²⁸ Jimmy Breslin, “Malcolm X Slain by Gunmen As 400 in Ballroom Watch,” *New York Herald Tribune* February 22, 1965.

²²⁹ Breslin, “Malcolm X Slain.”

shotgun.”²³⁰ Witness Ernest Green saw the shotgun shooter and described him as “stout and very dark and had a very deep beard.”²³¹

Malcolm X associate and FBI informant Leon 4X Ameer attended Malcolm X’s funeral on February 27, 1965 as a NYPD informant and with a police escort. While at the funeral Ameer had a conversation with former members of the Newark, New Jersey Temple No. 25. One of them was present at the Audubon on the 21st. On March 10 Ameer called the Boston FBI field office and claimed he could identify the men who killed Malcolm X. Ameer requested an FBI interview. A meeting was arranged for March 12, in Ameer’s Sherry Biltmore Hotel room. An FBI memo indicates that Leon 4X Ameer was indeed interviewed by an FBI agent on the evening of the 12th and revealed the information he learned at the funeral. The March 12, 1965, memo says:

On [BUREAU DELETION] who is registered at the Sherry Biltmore Hotel, Boston, Massachusetts, [BUREAU DELETION] was interviewed at the Sherry Biltmore Hotel by an FBI Agent. [BUREAU DELETION] stated that he had attended the funeral of Malcolm X Little in New York City. He claims that on his arrival in New York City, he was taken into protective custody by the [BUREAU DELETION] and was allowed to attend the funeral. Subsequent to the funeral, he went to a friend’s home for the evening and then returned to Boston, Massachusetts.

While at the funeral, he chatted with former members of the Newark Nation of Islam (NOI) Temple whom he recognized from having had contact with them while visiting that temple [BUREAU DELETION] stated, however, that he does not know them by name.

One of these, to the best of [BUREAU DELETION] was present when Malcolm X was shot. This man described the person who handled the shotgun as a tall, dark-skinned Negro whom he recognized as a member of the Newark Temple, but whom he did not know by name. [BUREAU DELETION] believes that this former Muslim, who told him this, identified the Negro who handled the shotgun as a lieutenant in the Newark Temple. The man handling the shotgun shot from the hip and appeared to be an expert in the handling of this type of gun.

On guard at the rostrum at which Malcolm X was speaking were Robert 35X, formerly of the New York Temple, and Charles 26X, formerly of the Newark Temple. When the distraction was created just before Malcolm X was shot, both of these guards left the immediate area of the rostrum which [BUREAU DELETION] is in violation of all the rules of “standing post” both in the Muslim Temples and in Malcolm Little’s organization. This fact made the persons participating in the discussion [BUREAU DELETION] convinced that the shooting was a conspiracy in which the two guards participated. [BUREAU DELETION] has no factual knowledge about such a conspiracy, how the shooting occurred or who participated in it. The man who started the distraction by claiming someone’s hand was in his pocket was described [BUREAU DELETION] as a short, dark-skinned Negro with bushy hair and a mustache, who was believed to be a member of the Newark Temple.²³²

These former members of the Newark Temple shared vital information with Ameer. The one present at the Audubon told Ameer he recognized the tall, dark-skinned shotgun shooter as a member of the Newark Temple, though he did not know this man’s name. He thought he was a lieutenant in the Newark Temple. “The man handling the shotgun shot from the hip and appeared to be an expert in the handling of this type of gun.” This former Newark Muslim also recognized the man who caused the distraction by shouting “Get your hand out of my pocket”; this short, dark-skinned man with bushy hair and a mustache was also believed to be a member

²³⁰ FBI Memo SAC, New York to Director, F.B.I. Malcolm X. Little February 22, 1965, p. 6.

²³¹ Ernest Green testimony in *Transcripts of the Malcolm X Assassination Trial* III: 2919.

²³² Clayborne Carson, *Malcolm X: The FBI File* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2012) 409.

of the Newark Temple. Because the rostrum guards Robert 35X Smith formerly from the New York Temple and Charles 26X (Blackwell), formerly of the Newark Temple, violated the rules of their post by abandoning their position when the bushy-haired Newark man caused his distraction, these persons talking to Ameer were “convinced that the shooting was a conspiracy in which the two guards participated.”

Ameer thus had in his possession on February 27 key details of the plot to kill Malcolm X: 1.) At least two of the Kill Team – the shotgun shooter and the decoy – were at one time members of Newark’s Temple No. 25 and 2.) This Kill Team collaborated in the assassination with Malcolm X’s own security detail; the two rostrum guards who abandoned their post were part of the conspiracy. Ameer had at this early date the nucleus of the plot. He shared this information with an FBI agent in his hotel room on the evening of March 12. On the morning of March 13, a chambermaid found Ameer dead in his room. “Less than twenty-four hours after a visit from the FBI, Ameer was dead. The assassin he described was never arrested for his role in Malcolm’s murder,”²³³ Evanzz notes.

While the FBI knew Leon 4X Ameer to be prone to lie,²³⁴ *this* information that he received at the funeral the Bureau took very seriously long after Ameer’s mysterious death. I suspect it was Ameer’s knowledge of the identity of the shotgun shooter and the Newark personnel involved in the Hit that cost Ameer his life. Ameer was an unreliable FBI informant, according to the FBI’s own assessment. Ameer could neither be trusted nor controlled, the Bureau concluded. Yet, Ameer’s revelations to the Boston FBI agent on March 12 was still disturbing the Bureau in April. The FBI seems to have been alarmed at the possibility that those who were not “in the know” at the New York City Police Department would come into knowledge of this Newark connection. When Ameer traveled from Boston to New York to attend Malcolm X’s funeral and was escorted by New York police, the FBI was concerned as to whether Ameer shared this information with them during the interview afterwards. In an April 13, 1965, memo Director Hoover himself says:

New York should carefully review the information contained in referenced letter as furnished by the late Leon Lionel Phillips.²³⁵ After this review, New York should determine whether Phillips had been interviewed by New York City Police Department (NYCPD) during his visit there after the murder of Little. An attempt should be made to determine whether the information contained in referenced letter is already in the possession of the NYCPD, particularly the information alleging that the individual who fired the shotgun at Little was supposedly a lieutenant from the Newark Temple of the Nation of Islam (NOI). *In the event this information is not already in the possession of the NYCPD, such information should not be furnished to the NYCPD without first receiving Bureau authority.*²³⁶

Since February 22 the FBI New York Office (NYO) was instructed to *not furnish* information to the NYPD without clearance from Bureau headquarters and the NYO was instructed to treat the assassination of Malcolm X as nothing more than *a local murder case* for the police themselves to solve “and the FBI should not become involved,”²³⁷ i.e., should offer no assistance to the NYPD. The FBI’s specific concern about keeping the identity of the shotgun shooter away from the New York police is remarkable. Hoover explicitly instructs the NYO: “In

²³³ Evanzz, *Judas Factor*, 315.

²³⁴ United States Department of Justice, FBI Memorandum Boston, Massachusetts March 25, 1965, “Leon Lionel Phillips, Jr.,” p. 3.

²³⁵ Leon 4X Ameer.

²³⁶ FBI Memo Malcolm X. Little From Director, FBI to SAC, New York April 13, 1965.

²³⁷ FBI Memo Malcolm X. Little From Mr. W. R. Wannall to Mr. W.C. Sullivan February 22, 1965.

the event this information is not already in the possession of the [REDACTED] such information *should not be furnished to the NYCPD without first receiving Bureau authority.*"²³⁸ Why is the FBI so alarmed over information concerning the identity of the shotgun killer from Newark getting out? Maybe the reason is this:

The FBI had key sources within the Harlem Temple and in Newark, and had advance knowledge of the unfolding attempt on the life of Malcolm X.²³⁹

The FBI had placed a Newark NOI asset in the MMI...Equally significant, Paul Lee has identified several Bureau assets in #25.²⁴⁰

As we will show below, the evidence is strong that the shotgun shooter was *some* kind of intelligence asset that infiltrated Newark's Temple No. 25. I believe that it was to protect the identity of this assassin that the FBI killed Leon 4X Ameer in his hotel room on March 12, 1965.

SHOTGUN ASSASSIN IDENTIFIED: WILLIAM BRADLEY

A high school baseball star and later a Green Beret, Mr. [William 25X] Bradley was known as an enforcer on the Newark mosque's muscle team, or goon squad.²⁴¹

It is in fact no secret that the Green Berets have long been the uniformed mercenaries of the CIA.²⁴²

It was noted that [William Bradley] may have been an informant. The FBI hid documents listing him as a suspect and did not share with the NYPD.²⁴³

The 1978 and 1979 Affidavits of Thomas Hagan identified the assassin with the shotgun as "Willie" or "William X." Hayer later described him as 27 years old in 1965; 5'10" or 5'11" tall; husky; dark brown complexion; close-cropped hair with a beard. He was a member of the Newark Mosque and a stick-up man. Attorney Kunstler later discovered that this was William 25X Bradley who was currently serving a 7 ½ to 15 year sentence for armed robbery at Caldwell State Prison. In April 1969 three masked men – one with a sawed-off shotgun – robbed Livingston National Bank in Livingston, New Jersey. A year later William Bradley and James Henry Moore were charged with the robbery. While Moore was ultimately convicted of the crime, Bradley "received privileged treatment" and the charges were dropped.²⁴⁴ But his privilege



East Orange police mug shot of William Bradley, a.k.a. Al-Mustafa Shabazz

²³⁸ FBI Memo Malcolm X. Little From Director, FBI to SAC, New York April 13, 1965.

²³⁹ Payne, *The Dead Are Arising*, 482-483.

²⁴⁰ Kondo, *Conspiracys*, 185.

²⁴¹ John Leland, "The man experts believe fired a shotgun at Malcolm X was never charged," *The New York Times* November 17, 2021.

²⁴² L. Fletcher Prouty, "Green Berets and the CIA" *The New Republic* August 22, 1969

²⁴³ "More Questions than Answers: A Review of Netflix's 'Who Killed Malcolm X'," *Black Like Vanilla* February 21, 2020.

²⁴⁴ Marable, *Malcolm X*, 475; "Livingston Bank is Held Up," *The New York Times* April 12, 1968.

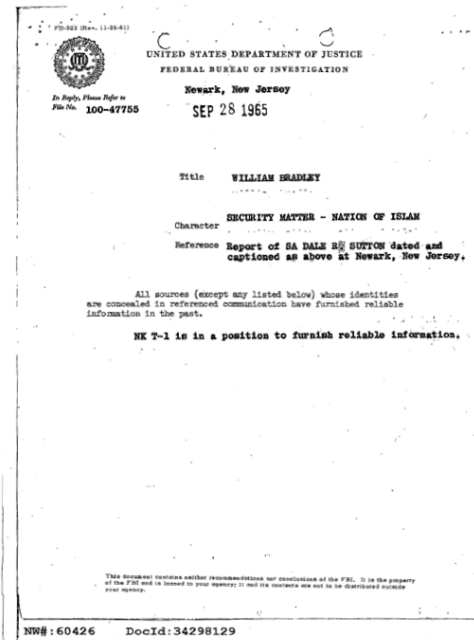
would run out and he ended up in prison, where Attorney Kunstler tracked him down in 1978. He would eventually change his name to al-Mustafa Shabazz. Bradley first told Kunstler that he was not involved in the murder of Malcolm X and then told a Muslim Chaplin that he would not jeopardize himself by confessing involvement.

On July 5, 1963, before his Nation of Islam days, Bradley was arrested for assault and battery, but the Grand Jury dismissed the case. The FBI produced an identification record for William Bradley. This may be an early case of Bradley receiving “privileged treatment.” Such incidents raised legitimate suspicions. As Marable noted:

Bradley’s special treatment by the criminal justice system in 1969-1970 raises the question of whether he was an FBI informant, either after the assassination of Malcolm X or very possibly even before. It would perhaps explain why Bradley took a different exit from the murder scene than the two other shooters, shielding him from the crowd’s retaliation. It suggests that Bradley and possibly other Newark mosque members may have actively collaborated on the shooting with local law enforcement and/or the FBI.²⁴⁵

Abdur Rahman Muhammad likewise noted: “But our research has convinced us that someone is protecting Bradley...When we questioned our sources about these strange things their answer was very blunt, “Bradley has been working for the ‘Feds’.”²⁴⁶ The evidence is strong that one of those acknowledged FBI assets in Temple No. 25 was William 25X Bradley. *The New York Times* reported “Mr. Bradley was known to the F.B.I. as early as 1963”.²⁴⁷ There exists a revealing 15-page FBI file on William 25X Bradley.²⁴⁸ District Attorney Cyrus Vance describes:

An FBI report dated September 28, 1965, contains a file on an individual named William 25X Bradley, which had been compiled between 1963 and 1965. The file was created by the Newark office of the FBI as a record of NOI members who had engaged in acts of violence. According to the file, Bradley was twenty-seven years old at the time of the murder. According to government records, his height was five feet eight inches or five feet ten inches, and his weight was recorded as one hundred eighty-two or two hundred pounds. He was dark skinned. He had been a lieutenant in the Newark mosque and was known as a “strongman” there. He was a machine gunner in the Marine Corps. At the time, he had a criminal arrest for weapons possession, but the weapon was not specified. The FBI possessed photographs of Bradley...The FBI file on William Bradley...had the potential to call into question the identifications of defendants (Thomas 15X Johnson and Norman 3X Butler). While Halim had yet to mention his name, Bradley’s profile fit the description Ameer had given of the shotgun shooter. Physically, he was dark-skinned, husky, twenty-seven years old, and often wore a beard. And his background matched the other particulars Ameer provided. Bradley was a member of



²⁴⁵ Marable, *Malcolm X*, 475.

²⁴⁶ Abdur Rahman Muhammad, “For The First in History, The Face of William Bradley; Shotgun Assassin of Malcolm X-El Hajj Malik El Shabazz, In a Public Safety Campaign Commerical (sic) for Mayor Cory Booker!” *A Singular Voice* April 22, 2010.

²⁴⁷ John Leland, “The man experts believe fired a shotgun at Malcolm X was never charged,” *The New York Times* November 17, 2021.

²⁴⁸ Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation, “William Bradley” September 28, 1965.

the Newark mosque, he had been a lieutenant there, and had military firearms training. While Ameer was deceased by the time of the trial, information existed that could have led to his source of information.²⁴⁹

William Bradley entered Marine Corps active duty on September 14, 1956. His occupation was “Machine gunner.” Bradley had foreign service in Puerto Rico. While in the military “His character and efficiency ratings ranged from good to very good, and there is no record of courts-martial or absence without official leave.”²⁵⁰ Bradley was such an upstanding Marine he was awarded the Good Conduct Medal. Bradley was honorably discharged from the Marine Corps on September 11, 1959, and transferred to the U.S. Marine Corps Reserves. He was then honorably discharged on September 13, 1962. But he left such a good impression in the military “he was recommended for re-enlistment.”

It appears that it was sometime after Bradley’s September 1959 discharge from the Marine Corps that he was invited to Fort Bragg’s U.S. Army Special Forces School where he received Green Beret training.²⁵¹ Upon approval members of other branches of the military can attend Special Forces Qualifications Courses (SFQ-C) at Fort Bragg. As we saw above, Al Qaeda’s Ali Mohamed received Green Beret training at Fort Bragg, though he never officially received the security clearance of an official Green Beret. Nevertheless, this unofficial status did not prevent Ali Mohamed from achieving the rank of E5 (sergeant) and get posted at the highly secure JFK Special Warfare Center. Bradley seems to have enjoyed a similar unofficial *but real* status with the Green Berets. This special training was undoubtedly for him to carry out a particular assignment for the CIA.

Remarkably, the next time we hear about William Bradley, he had become a notorious stick-up man and criminal, getting arrested for assault and battery and embarking on a life of crime less than a year after he left the military for good. How did such an upstanding Marine of “good character” take such a drastic turn? It appears that William Bradley might have been sheep-dipped into “The CIA’s Secret Army.” “If a soldier is assigned highly clandestine work, his records are changed to make it appear as if he resigned from the military or was given civilian status; the process is called sheep dipping, after the practice of bathing sheep before they are sheared.”²⁵² William Hamilton explains further:

Farmers and ranchers dip sheep in a special solution to remove unwanted bugs from their wool. A sheep enters the dipping bath as an un-dipped sheep and emerges out the other side as “sheep-dipped” — an animal transformed. In modern espionage terms, “sheep-dipping” is where you take one of your agents and you give him or her an alternate identity. Through the sheep-dipping process, you hope to rid your agent or case officer of all vestiges of his or her old self so that agent or case officer can emerge with an entirely new persona.²⁵³

William Bradley the upstanding Marine of very good character was “honorably discharged” from the military and became a civilian “animal transformed.” He took on an alternative identity as a thug and a new persona emerged. The whole point of sheep dipping was to allow a soldier to pose as a civilian and work as an intelligence operative during a covert mission. If Bradley was

²⁴⁹ Joint Motion To Vacate Judgements of Convictions and Dismiss Indictment No. 871/1965 in the Murder of Malcolm X November 18, 2021, p. 37.

²⁵⁰ P. 6.

²⁵¹ John Leland, “The man experts believe fired a shotgun at Malcolm X was never charged,” *The New York Times* November 17, 2021; Les Payne, “The Day Malcolm X Was Killed,” *The New Yorker* August 27, 2020.

²⁵² Douglas Waller, “The CIA’s Secret Army,” *Time* February 03, 2003

²⁵³ William Hamilton, “Sheep-dipping: The unintended consequences,” *Ski-Hi News* May 17, 2013

sheep-dipped out of the Marine Corps, what might that covert mission have been? What operation would his new persona as a New Jersey thug serve?

On December 24, 1963, an informant confirmed to the FBI Newark Office that on December 13 William Bradley was present as a registered member of Muhammad Mosque No. 25 in Newark, now as William 25X. The FBI had their informants watch Bradley closely, noting the 107 Temple functions he attended over two years. By April 1964 Bradley had become a Lieutenant at No. 25. But in July 1964 it seems Lieutenant William 25X got in trouble and lost his post, and apparently was temporarily put out of the Temple (F-Time). At a Wednesday, July 15, 1964 “law night” meeting Newark minister James 3X McGregor dismissed twenty FOI from the Temple over a petition they signed against him. He gave them F-Time. A report was then handed to Minister James outlining a punishable infraction by Lieutenant William 25X. He and another FOI engaged in a car chase with another FOI. When they were stopped by a tollbooth, Lieutenant William 25X jumped out of his car, opened the door of the car he was chasing and dragged the Brother out of the vehicle *while the Brother was driving away*. Minister James stopped reading the report, pointed out Lieutenant William 25X and decreed that he “was wrong in doing that (10-11).” We recall that at the time of the assassination of Malcolm X Talmadge Hayer was also dismissed from the Temple because he likewise beat up a fellow FOI, which is against the law of the Nation of Islam. William 25X lost his position as lieutenant and was apparently put out.

Leon 4X Ameer was informed: “The man handling the shotgun shot from the hip and appeared to be an expert in the handling of this type of gun.” Herman Ferguson who witnessed the assassination observed also:

I think the government was responsible...and certainly they had professional assassins as part of that team. One of the professionals that they used was the guy who fired that shotgun. He had to have been a professional. That was a professional shot. And I know something about weapons and you would not have any old body trying to fire a shotgun. A shotgun is a very difficult weapon to fire with any degree of accuracy. And a sawed off shotgun, you know? And this man just rested on his arm like so and fired from fifteen feet into Malcolm. The first shot, and the only shot that he took on Malcolm was fatal.²⁵⁴

Kondo says:

The puzzling fact about Bradley is his use of the shotgun during the murder. He handled it—one of the most difficult weapons to fire—like a professional, firing it from the hip and emptying both barrels. I am hard pressed to explain where a young brother in the mid-60s learned to master so difficult a weapon.²⁵⁵

This is no longer a mystery: William 25X Bradley had “military firearms training” as “a machine-gunner in the Marine Corps”²⁵⁶ and as a Green Beret.²⁵⁷

The presence of Green Berets in Executive Action operations, particularly “Black Messiah” Murders, is notable. As early as 1963 the 902nd Military Intelligence Group (MIG) planned the killing of Black community leaders in volatile cities. Specialized Alpha Team units

²⁵⁴ Marable, “First Person,” 104.

²⁵⁵ Kondo, *Conspiracys*, 204.

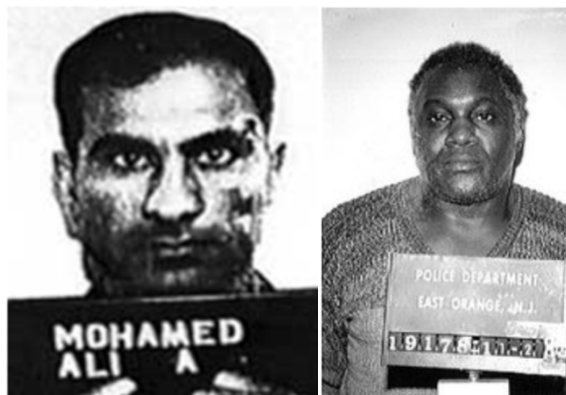
²⁵⁶ Ashley Southall and Jonah E. Bromwich, “2 Men Convicted of Killing Malcolm X Will Be Exonerated Decades Later,” *The New York Times* November 17, 2021.

²⁵⁷ John Leland, “The man experts believe fired a shotgun at Malcolm X was never charged,” *The New York Times* November 17, 2021.

were covertly deployed in specialized civilian disguise in cities equipped with the mug books of their targets: black militants in the city to be “taken out.”²⁵⁸ Green Berets from the 20th Special Forces Group headquartered in Alabama were detailed to spy on Dr. Martin Luther King in Memphis the day he was killed and there was an eight-man Alpha Team in place with back-up snipers ready to “take out” Dr. Martin Luther King and Andrew young if the civilian operation failed.²⁵⁹ As L. Fletcher Prouty tells us, “the Green Berets have long been the uniformed mercenaries of the CIA.”²⁶⁰

The most important member of the Shooter Team that gunned down Malcolm X, William 25X Bradley, was reportedly a Green Beret.²⁶¹ He was also likely a sheep-dipped intelligence operative, not unlike Al Qaeda’s Ali Mohamed, who also received Green Beret training at Fort Bragg in North Carolina. Mohamed, an FBI and CIA asset, has been described as a “rosetta stone” for understanding the United States-al Qaeda connection in the 9/11 Attacks. It can similarly be said that Bradley, clearly an intelligence asset as well, is a rosetta stone for understanding the Assassination of Malcolm X. Both Ali Mohamed and William Bradley seem to have followed the same path, both having passed through the JFK Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Ali Mohamed and William Bradley both:

- a) Were associated with the Green Berets
- b) Received meritorious medals while in the military
- c) Were honorably discharged from the military
- d) Served in the Reserves
- e) Then they took up the cause of “militant” Islam and became “dangerous fanatics” – in Mohamed’s case it was the cause of Al Qaeda and in Bradley’s case it was the Nation of Islam.



²⁵⁸ Pepper, *The Plot To Kill King*, 127.

²⁵⁹ Stephen G. Tompkins, “Army feared King, secretly watched him,” *The Commercial Appeal* March 21, 1993; Jack Colhoun, “Army’s History of Spying On African Americans,” *Lies of Our Times* (July-August 1993): 9-11 (9)

²⁶⁰ Prouty, “Green Berets and the CIA.”

²⁶¹ John Leland, “The man experts believe fired a shotgun at Malcolm X was never charged,” *The New York Times* November 17, 2001; Les Payne, “The Day Malcolm X Was Killed,” *The New Yorker* August 27, 2020.

We know that Ali Mohamed was a double agent; William Bradley seems to have been a sheep-dipped intelligence asset as well.

THE REVELATIONS OF ROLAND SHEPPARD

I regularly attended Malcolm X's meetings in Harlem and was present at the meeting when Malcolm X was assassinated...I witnessed Malcolm X's assassination at the Audubon Ballroom, on February 21, 1965. I am writing with the benefit of firsthand knowledge of what took place that day... – Roland Sheppard

There is strong corroboration that William 25X Bradley was an intelligence operative. Roland Sheppard is one of the most important witnesses to the assassination of Malcolm X and the assassins. A left-wing activist with the Socialist Workers Party, between 1964 and 1965 Sheppard was in charge of security when Malcolm X spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in New York City. He attended all but two of Malcolm X's Harlem lectures. On February 21 he was outside of the Audubon selling the newspaper *The Militant* until Malcolm X arrived. He then tells us:

A while later, as I was walking into the meeting room, again I did not see any cops, Gene Roberts, who we now know was an agent for the NYPD walked up to me and offered to show me to my seat. I replied that I would just sit in my usual spot along with the rest of the press near the front of the room on the left. Roberts said “no, you aren't sitting there today”, so he steers me to a seat on the front row on the right side of the hall, meaning to Malcolm's left. A minute or two later I stood up and looked over to the area where I normally sat to see if I could determine why I was not allowed to sit in my usual spot. Maybe the area was reserved for some VIPs or something. I did not see any press people, nor did I see any white people. What I do remember seeing was a rather large Black man in a navy blue-grayish top coat. I had not seen him before.²⁶²

Roland normally sat with the other whites in the audience, particularly the press: on the front left row (Malcolm's right). This time, however, undercover BOSSI agent Gene Roberts stopped him from taking his normal seat and ushered him to the right front row, the third seat from the middle aisle.²⁶³ We now know that sitting in Roland's normal seat were the assassins Talmadge Hayer and Leon Davis and right behind them were Benjamin 3X Thomas and William 25X Bradley. When Roland looked over to the area of his former seat he saw a “rather large” black man in a blue-greyish top-coat. This agrees with the witness description found in the February 22, 1965, FBI memo of the shotgun shooter as “a Negro male...six feet two inches, two hundred pounds, heavy build, dark complexion, wearing gray coat.”



Once the shooting started, Roland hit the floor, but he looked up to see what was happening. He saw “Malcolm X standing on the stage and glaring down at one of his

²⁶² Roland Sheppard with Judson L. Jeffries, “A Witness to Malcolm X’s Assassination: a Conversation with Roland Sheppard,” *Journal of African American Studies* 24 (2020): 499-505 (503); “Roland Sheppard, “The Day The Music Died: Malcolm X’ Assassination, Feb. 21, 1965,” *San Francisco Bay View* February 18, 2011.

²⁶³ NYPD Police Report “Interview of Ronald (sic) Garrett Sheppard,” March 23, 1965.

assassins.”²⁶⁴ He then saw some men run out of the exit doors right of the stage.²⁶⁵ “When I left the hall,” Roland reports, “Malcolm’s bodyguards told me that they had caught two of the assassins, one who was shot – Talmadge Hayer – and one whom the police took away.”²⁶⁶

On March 23, 1965, Roland Sheppard was interviewed at Manhattan North Borough Detectives office, where he made a mindboggling discovery. He writes:

A few days later the New York Post wrote of the irony of Malcolm being killed by Blacks in an all-Black audience. I responded to the article in writing, informing the people in charge of the paper and its readers that the audience was not all-black, that there were some whites there and I was one of them. A week or so later, I was contacted by the police and asked to come to the station to answer a few questions. I said I would and did so. When I was questioned in the Harlem police station, I was shown a series of photos of people whom I recognized as members of the Nation of Islam or Malcolm’s organization. I also saw a picture of the large Black man with a navy blue-grayish top-coat that I had seen at the Audubon Ballroom.

I was thinking of how to respond to the cops and how to say that I did not recognize the photos of Malcolm’s friends and supporters and the members of the Nation of Islam. I then told the cops that I had to go to the restroom. I did not really need to go to the restroom, I just used that as an excuse to buy time. I needed time to think about what I wanted to tell the cops. As I walked toward the men’s room, I saw the same burly Black man coming out of the bathroom that I had seen in the Audubon Ballroom and in the photos that had just been shown to me. He walked by me, past the desks of the secretarial pool, and went to an office inside the station. *At that point I knew that he and the government either killed Malcolm or were part of the assassination plot.* I became very nervous thinking about what I was going to say to the cops when I came out of the restroom and how I was going to get out of the station alive. I then came up with, “I cannot recognize anyone, for all Black people look the same.” The Irish cops nodded in agreement and I was allowed to leave the police station.²⁶⁷

The burly, dark-skinned man with the grey top-coat – the shotgun shooter William 25X Bradley – was *at the police station walking around like he had an office there, all while his picture was being displayed to Roland by an officer.* It appears that most of the New York authorities seem to have been kept in the dark about William Bradley’s Newark identity: FBI NYO informants were unaware of Bradley and NYPD BOSSI records had no identifiable information on him. This suggests strongly that Bradley was either 1.) an intelligence operative on an official visit to the New York Prescient or 2.) a very deep cover NYPD operative, maybe a BOSSI agent. Later, BOSSI agent Ray Wood will tell us something that seems to point to option 2.

Undercover New York Police Department officer Ray Wood infiltrated several Black organizations in the 1960s, including the Black Panther Party. He was one of three BOSSI undercover agents who were in the Audubon Ballroom on that fateful day. He witnessed the assassination of Malcolm X and saw the primary assassin drop the shotgun on the ground after committing his act.²⁶⁸ When he saw the shotgun shooter Wood thought to himself: “*I’ve seen that mutha fucker before.*”²⁶⁹ The fact that BOSSI undercover agent Ray Wood recognized William Bradley is significant. According to Reggie Wood, to whom Ray Wood confided, the first time Officer Ray saw the shotgun shooter was in a NY police station. They both caught eyes.

²⁶⁴ Roland Sheppard, *Why the U.S. Government Assassinated Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (ReMarx Publishing, 2014) 6.

²⁶⁵ Sheppard, *Why the U.S. Government*, 6.

²⁶⁶ Sheppard and Jeffries, “Witness to Malcolm X’s Assassination,” 504.

²⁶⁷ Sheppard and Jeffries, “Witness to Malcolm X’s Assassination,” 504.

²⁶⁸ Reggie Wood, *The Ray Wood Story: Confessions of a Black NYPD Cop in the Assassination of Malcolm X* (n.p.: Madera Enterprises, 2021), 64-66.

²⁶⁹ Personal communication from Reggie Wood to Wesley Muhammad June 5, 2022.

Recall what BOSSI Detective Tony Bouza said of undercover officer Ray Wood, “[he] never set foot in any police installation during the first months of his career as a policeman except as a person to be booked.”²⁷⁰ It is highly likely that when undercover officer Wood saw “that mutha fucker” Bradley at a New York police station, they both were doing undercover work and were being booked. As a matter of policy these two operatives would not actually know each other: “BOSS had a strict protocol to ensure that its undercovers never knew one another-for safety’s sake, and to provide multiple sources of reporting.”²⁷¹ But somehow, they “recognized” each other. Later when Roland Sheppard was interviewed at Manhattan North Borough Detectives office after the assassination, *he saw William Bradley walking around that station as if he had an office there*, all while being shown photos of murder suspects, one of which was a photo of William Bradley!

Roland Sheppard later confirmed that the man he saw in the Harlem police station was William Bradley/al-Mustafa Shabazz. He wrote in 2015:

On April 30, 2010, I received an email from John Judge, the Director of the Coalition on Political Assassinations, referring to an April 22, 2010 article titled For The First Time in History, The Face of William Bradley; Shotgun Assassin of Malcolm X-El Hajj Malik El Shabazz, In a Public Safety Campaign Commercial for Mayor Cory Booker! In that article is the picture shown of William Bradley, who is the man that I had seen in the Audubon Ballroom and in the photos that the police just shown to me, while I was being interrogated by the Harlem police. And whom I saw coming out of the men's room walking by me, past the desks of the secretarial pool, and who then went to his office inside the police station, as I was going to the men’s room! As I wrote in my original 2009 essay: At that point I knew that he and the government either killed Malcolm X or were part of the assassination plot.²⁷²



This makes Zak Kondo’s claim very wrong:

It is...reasonably possible that at least one of the assassins was an FBI asset. Yet, my gut feeling is that none were simply because it was not necessary...It seems unlikely that any of the five-man murder team were agents. The government did not need to use its own agents.²⁷³

And then of course we would also have to somehow connect the NYPD, and in fact CIA and in fact all of the different groups we’ve named we’d have to connect them directly with the men who fired the guns. And of course, if you wanna get very, very clandestine about it, you could say: “Well, you know, they were all agents, or most of them were agents, or one of them was an agent. I don’t have any evidence of that. I think these were just hard-core members who believe in the Nation of Islam; they believed in the organization of the Nation of Islam; they believed in the divinity of the Elijah Muhammad, and they basically did what they did out of their love for him. I’ve been able to identify more information about four of them, and I’m convinced these were just hard-core Muslims, no less loyal than Captain Joseph who died a few months ago, no less loyal than other people who died, and went to their grave talking and praising Elijah Muhammad and t’d off that the Nation split after Elijah Muhammad died.”²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Anthony Bouza, *Police Intelligence: The Operations of an Investigative Unit* (New York: AMS Press, 1976) 64; Garrett Felber, *Those Who Know Don’t Say: The Nation of Islam, the Black Freedom Movement, and the Carceral State* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020) 153.

²⁷¹ Edward Conlon, “The Undercover Lives of NYPD’s Black Officer,” *Esquire* March 21, 2017.

²⁷² Roland Sheppard, “Eyewitness to the Assassination of Malcolm X,” *Black Star News* February 19, 2015.

²⁷³ Kondo, *Conspiracys*, 179, 199.

²⁷⁴ “Zak Kondo: Exposing The Killers Of Brother Malcolm X,” January 16, 2018 @ 45:42-46:44 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4uJiKLzIIM&t=967s>

The evidence is strong that William 25X Bradley pulled the trigger of that shotgun *not* as a zealous Muslim soldier for the Newark Mosque but as a U.S. intelligence operative or law enforcement agent.

XII. Conclusion

All of this evidence makes Kondo's recent claim quite baffling: "I found no evidence of CIA involvement in Malcolm X's assassination"²⁷⁵ There is overwhelming evidence of CIA involvement in the Assassination of Malcolm X. In an "Urgent" FBI Teletype from the New York office to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover dated February 22, 1965, it is reported that an informant overheard *Life Magazine* reporter Mark Crawford in a conversation with a man from Washington D.C. in which Crawford advised this man to "check out Washington D.C. and the CIA because they wanted Malcolm out of the way because he snafued African relations for the U.S."²⁷⁶ The same document also reported that Jack Shanahan of the Associated Press advised the New York FBI office on February 21 that one of their sources stated that "Malcolm X was not due to be assassinated until two weeks from today (February 22, 1965) but that the schedule was moved ahead."²⁷⁷

Important lessons from this document include:

- From *Life Magazine* reporter Marc Crawford we learn that the CIA wanted Malcolm X "out of the way" because he snafued African relations with the U.S. This testimony is significant. Time-Life, and thus *Life Magazine*, was one of these media "assets" of the CIA.²⁷⁸ As Vincent J. Salandria notes, "*Life* magazine served our military-intelligence community."²⁷⁹ Henry R. Luce, who created *Life*, "was an ardent Cold Warrior"²⁸⁰ and both J. Edgar Hoover and his deputy Cartha DeLoach had a close relationship with *Life*. The FBI was allowed to plant completely false stories in the magazine.²⁸¹ Luce served the CIA as well. For many years, his personal emissary to the CIA was C.D. Jackson, a Time Inc. vice-president who was publisher of *Life* magazine from 1960 until his death in 1964. As Jonathan Vankin and John Whalen report: "*Time* and *Life* magazine founder Henry Luce was a close chum of [CIA Director Allen] Dulles, who enlisted the aid of his arch-conservative publishing pal. Luce allowed staff members to work for the CIA and offered jobs and credentials to CIA officers. He even appointed a personal representative to deal with the CIA, *Life* magazine publisher C.D. Jackson, who cut his teeth as the CIA's "special consultant to the president for psychological warfare."²⁸² In other words,

²⁷⁵ Riot Starters TV, "Baba Zak Kondo: Death of Detroit Red and the Resurrection of Malcolm X" Feb 24, 2022 @

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wOfrtvhyExE>

²⁷⁶ F.B.I. File Malcolm K. Little aka IS-MMI February 22, 1965, p. 11-12.

²⁷⁷ F.B.I. File Malcolm K. Little aka IS-MMI February 22, 1965, p. 10-11.

²⁷⁸ Bernstein, "The CIA and The Media"; John M. Crewdson, "C.I.A. Established Many Links To Journalists in U.S. and Abroad," *The New York Times* December 27, 1977.

²⁷⁹ Vincent J. Salandria, "The JFK Assassination: A False Mystery Concealing State Crimes," *Fair Play* No. 27 (Mach-April 1999) 1-39 (9).

²⁸⁰ Salandria, "The JFK Assassination," 9.

²⁸¹ Anthony Summer, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Putnam, 1993) 208-213; Crewdson, "C.I.A. Established Many Links."

²⁸² Jonathan Vankin and John Whalen, *The 70 Greatest Conspiracies of All Time. History's Biggest Mysterious, Coverups & Cabals* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Citadel Press, 1998)69-70.

a *Life* reporter may very well have had information that the CIA wanted Malcolm X “out of the way.”

- From Associated Press reporter Jack Shanahan we learn that Malcolm was originally scheduled to be killed sometime around March 7, 1965 but for some reason “the schedule was moved ahead.”

Black journalist and Malcolm X associate Louis Lomax investigated the assassinations of both Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King. Lomax’s investigation convinced him that the U.S. government was involved. Lomax got too close to the truth in both cases. One FBI memo pointed out:

Lomax indicates that Malcolm X, after breaking with the NOI, lived in fear of his life because of reprisals from the NOI. Lomax claims that Malcolm X was assassinated by hired killers who were affiliated with Elijah Muhammad, NOI chieftain, and that the American Government, particularly the CIA, was deeply involved in Malcolm X's death. He claims King was assassinated by an individual who carried out the will of an extremely well-financed and rigidly organized group of Southern white businessmen.²⁸³

In 1968 Lomax entered a contract with Twentieth Century Fox to make a movie of Malcolm X which had as a central theme the fact that the U.S. intelligence community played a role in the assassination. This greatly disturbed the FBI, who demanded from the production company a copy of the script. The *Washington Post* reported:

Director J. Edgar Hoover ordered the FBI's Los Angeles office to obtain advance copies of two movie scripts on Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader who was slain in 1965, to determine whether they were critical of the bureau, according to recently released files. In a memo dated March 27, 1968, Hoover instructed the office to "discreetly contact sources" at Columbia Pictures in order to obtain a copy of a script by James Baldwin, and at 20th Century-Fox for a script written by Louis E. Lomax, another prominent black writer. "Los Angeles should be particularly alert for indications that the bureau will be portrayed or mentioned in either movie," Hoover wrote. "Los Angeles should obtain advance copies of these script in order that the interest of the bureau may be protected...

After Malcolm X's death, Baldwin and Lomax said they believed U.S. intelligence agencies played a role in his murder. Baldwin and Lomax were under FBI surveillance at various times throughout the 1960s. Throughout this period, FBI agents were ordered to obtain copies of every book on Malcolm X in order to determine whether "any mention is made of the FBI." Each book was reviewed in a memo to the FBI director, then placed in the bureau's library, according to FBI files.²⁸⁴

Lomax got too close to the truth too soon after the assassination and he paid for it. In August 1970 he mysteriously died in a single-car accident near Santa Rosa, New Mexico. His brakes failed (were cut?), causing his car to overturn on the highway three times, throwing Lomax out of his car. He suffered head and internal injuries.²⁸⁵

²⁸³ FBI Memo From G.C. Moore to Mr. W.C. Sullivan Re: Book Review “To Kill A Black Man” By Louis E. Lomax Racial Matters February 25, 1969, pp. 1-3 (3)

²⁸⁴ Karl Anderson, “Movie Scripts On Malcolm X Interested FBI,” *The Washington Post* November 5, 1979.

²⁸⁵ “Louis Lomax, 47, Dies in Car Crash,” *The New York Times* August 1, 1970.