

Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention by Manning Marable New York: Viking Press 2011

Reviewed by William W. Sales, Jr.

Henry Louis Gates, Jr. asserts that Manning Marable “has written the definitive biography of this outrageously misrepresented figure.” Cornell West echoes Gates in calling Manning’s biography magisterial and the “definitive treatment of the greatest black radical voice and figure of the mid-twentieth century.” Michael Eric Dyson sees the book as “a work of extraordinary rigor ...with startling insights and fresh revelations.” He too sees the work as “the definitive work on as enigmatic and electrifying leader as ever sprung from American soil. It is the work of a public intellectual who many would have wanted to see corner the market on “Malcolm X Studies” in a manner similar to that unjustifiably being assigned to Skip Gates by *Newsweek* as Mr. African American Studies.”¹

From Marable’s introduction it appears that he has directed his energies to correct what he feels are the simplistic hagiographic depictions that characterize the emergence of Malcolm X as an icon of popular culture. In particular he references the popularity of the Autobiography itself and its uncritical acceptance as well as the impact of Spike Lee’s film **X** on the popular imagination and the youth and hip-hop culture. Manning expressed the following reservations about the Autobiography which informed his own Reinvention. “A deeper reading of the text also reveals numerous inconsistencies in names, dates, and facts. As both a historian and an African American, I was fascinated. How much isn’t true, and how much hasn’t been told”²

Manning feels that, “The search for historical evidence and factual truth was made even more complicated by the complex and varied layers of the subject’s life. A master of public rhetoric, he

[Malcolm X] could artfully recount tales about his life that were partially fiction, yet the stories resonated as true to most blacks who had encountered racism.”³

Manning says the autobiography has been compromised due to several factors: the differing aims, objectives and politics of Haley and Malcolm, the fact that Malcolm died before being able to proof and approve the final text, the final text had no extensive discussion of the OAAU due to the deletion of several chapters at Malcolm’s request. “My primary purpose in this book is to go beyond the legend: to recount what actually occurred in Malcolm’s life. I also present facts that Malcolm himself could not know, such as the extent of illegal FBI and New York Police Department surveillance and acts of disruption against him, the truth about those among his supporters who betrayed him politically and personally, and the identifications of those responsible for Malcolm’s assassination.”⁴

Marable argues that the Autobiography leaves out or distorts crucial information about Malcolm X. In its stead it presents invented and reinvented persona for Malcolm and this constitutes a manipulation of the reader. The Autobiography Marable asserts is as much or more the project of Alex Haley than Malcolm X. The periodization of Malcolm’s life is an invention designed to conform to certain archetypes in Black folk and popular culture. It is the product of a manipulative style in Malcolm’s personality in which he hides his true self while fashioning a chameleon-like façade with which he confronts his various constituencies as a degraded child in the wilderness of America who is morally and spiritually rescued and rehabilitated by Elijah Muhammad. The Autobiography presents the façade not the real Malcolm. The façade culminates in the perception of Malcolm X as “our Black shining prince.”⁵

But Marable says new information confirms that Malcolm was a man like most with human foibles not a paragon of virtue. He was trapped in a problematic marriage, frustrated by his inability to sexually satisfy his wife and guilty of several marital infidelities. Rather than the idyllic couple of Spike Lee’s film

version the reality according to Marable is a frustrated spouse, locked into serial pregnancies and cheating on Malcolm with one of his own body guards.

The Autobiography tells us little about Malcolm X's political transformation after the break with the NOI according to Marable. There are, not included at Malcolm's direction, several chapters of the Autobiography which address the politics of Malcolm after the transformation Marable says. These indicate that Malcolm was moving away from a politics of Black Nationalism rooted in the hatred of white people and advocacy of violence and toward the civil rights mainstream of integrationism and electoral politics.⁶ But Malcolm retains a commitment to top-down authoritarian leadership structures as reflected in the MMI and the OAAU.⁷ Marable concludes that an accurate depiction of Malcolm X cannot be constructed around the hagiographic sources or around a fundamentally flawed Autobiography. Marable thus sets himself the task of offering an alternative and superior vision of Malcolm to that of the Autobiography.⁸

Manning Marable derides the hagiographers of Malcolm but makes no explicit mention of the exploding body of scholarship on Malcolm which has emerged in the twenty years since Marable himself took up the pen except to summarily dismiss it... Much of this scholarship appears in his bibliography but he does not explicitly engage this scholarship and the scholars who produced it in the body of the book itself. Consequently, his position on that scholarship is not clear from the text. Without engaging the full spectrum of scholarship on Malcolm, Marable may be attacking a straw man with a critique limited to hagiographers.

Manning's critique of the Autobiography is not a new one. It is presented as if it is his critique alone and specific to the Autobiography but in fact the limitations highlighted are applicable to the genre of autobiography and biography generally. John Edgar Wideman, Arnold Rampersad and Alex

Gillespie have all made similar points.⁹ As Manning has demanded of Alex Haley we must also demand of Manning Marable as we read this book. What is Manning trying to say through Malcolm? What purpose is he trying to realize in writing a revisionist assessment of Malcolm? Wideman in his critique of Bruce Perry's biography of Malcolm X noted that it was "not so much a matter of determining who's right and who's wrong about the facts of Malcolm's life, but asking, in response to Perry's mode of inquiry, his revisionist portrait, what are the potential benefits of his approach and who benefits?"¹⁰ In a similar vein we must ask why would Manning cast aspersions on Malcolm's morality with scant, little or no documentation and meager discussion encompassing just several pages out of hundreds? These salacious allegations are either undocumented or unwarranted extrapolations from a single questionable source. A few examples are in order here.

- Marable speculates that Malcolm might have been with Sharon 6X his alleged 18 year old mistress at the Hilton Hotel on the last night of his life. As put by Manning, "Sharon 6X may have joined him in his hotel room."¹¹ Two sources are cited, neither of whom were there that night at any time from oral history interviews approximately forty years later.
- Citing a FBI document noting that Kenyatta frequently travelled by car outside the city in the company of a woman who was identified as 'Malcolm X's' [redacted] Marable asserts without documentation that the redacted name is Betty's. The closest footnote mentions an FBI document which reports gossip in the OAAU, MMI and Mosque No.7 that Betty and Kenyatta were sexually involved and planned to marry.¹²

Malcolm X's OAAU office lines and his home phone were tapped from the middle of 1964 on. Yet Manning does not have any phone tap corroboration either for an extramarital affair between Malcolm and Sharon 6X or Betty Shabazz and Charles Kenyatta. In his interviews with detective

Gerry Fulcher, who was assigned to wiretap the OAAU Office, there is no mention on Fulcher's part of any affairs or sexual improprieties by Malcolm and Sharon 6x or anyone else. The FBI wiretap on Betty also does not indicate any improprieties. These allegations Marable attempts to give wings through extensive innuendos and extrapolations in the text.

Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention is purportedly full of errors of fact at least as reported by Karl Evanzz¹³ and Herb Boyd.¹⁴ Boyd is on record as having identified at least 25 avoidable factual errors.

Well, these are factual things that—this day and age, in the whole publishing industry, I mean, the fact checking is just thrown out the window. And I think many of these errors that I talk about could have been caught by a good fact checker. Some of them are absolutely egregious, in terms of the founding of the NAACP, the distance from the Apollo Theater to the Hotel Theresa. It was almost like he never walked the streets of Harlem. And I think that those kind of things should have been caught with a fact checker.¹⁵

Boyd goes on to raise further issues of sources and fact.

...when you look at it in terms of the letter that Malcolm wrote to Elijah Muhammad in March of 1959, that was then—a man named Gary Zimet said he had the authentic copy of that letter. That should have been challenged in the book. I don't think we went far enough with that. I mean, when you find the citation in the footnotes on that, it goes back to the same guy who was trying to sell it on eBay for \$100,000. The authenticity of that letter should be challenged.¹⁶

I believe Marable's book has been compromised by the requirements of the commercial market. These compromises are several. First, this book seems to speak to the sensibilities of a white audience: second, the salacious and sensational has been hyped in its promotion out of all proportion to its role and importance in the actual text. The process which created this book is not a model of the way Black scholarship should advance. Hoarding sources and establishing exclusive access to new materials slows down the process of new knowledge acquisition and analysis. The market should be limited or excluded as a factor determining who should have access to information and how they should write about it.

Third, while it is a work of serious scholarship, it studiously avoids dialoging in the text with other scholars or intellectual currents in Black Studies. Marable has been rightly criticized for the salacious and undocumented allegations of infidelity. In addition some critics have targeted the tangential relationship of these “revelations” to the task of evaluating Malcolm’s place in the movement and in history. Withholding these “revelations” from the academic community where he could have benefited from the widest reaction, Marable chose to maximize the commercial possibilities of the project

Marable’s text endorses American exceptionalism by refusing to seriously discuss and debate the possible role of revolutionary violence in social transformation, and it refuses to seriously take up the question of the complicity of the security apparatus of the American state in the assassination of Malcolm X.

For me the most important aspect of Marable’s biography was that which paralleled my own work, Malcolm’s political development during and after the break with the NOI. In a close inspection of Marable’s text, I concluded that his assessment of Malcolm’s political development after his split with the NOI to be quite wide of the mark. Marable has long fairly accurate descriptions of Malcolm’s political evolution and significance interspersed and bracketed by asides and qualifications which constitute subtle reversals on extremely important issues. Marable’s modifications of Malcolm’s political trajectory point in a systematic direction toward a social democratic understanding of the process of social change. Social democracy is a socialist movement supporting gradualism; the belief that gradual democratic reforms to capitalist economies will eventually succeed in creating a socialist economy. It rejects forcible imposition of socialism through revolutionary means. In a recent debate poet and activist Amiri Baraka posited approach to this biography.

First of all I don't think we can just bull's-eye the writer's intentions, we must include Marable's consciousness as the overall shaper of his intentions, as well as his method...1974 Marable joined the Democratic Socialists of America, and for a time was even a Vice Chairman of that organization which is called "Left" but is not Marxist and certainly not a Marxist-Leninist organization. It is one of those organizations like the group that split from Lenin's 2nd International which he called socialists in word but chauvinists in reality....So it is important that we recognize the specific political base upon which Manning's "observations" may be judged. He is not simply "observing". He is making judgments¹⁷

In this same debate, Michael Eric Dyson complains that Baraka is applying an ideological litmus test in his criticism of the Marable biography and this is exactly what he criticizes Manning for.

This is what's interesting to me. This is what's—this is what's interesting to me, is that what—precisely what Manning was trying to do—with all, again, respect to Mr. Baraka—is to remove history from *ad hominem*, *ad feminem* attacks, to remove it from—because if we're going to indict people for the ideological axes to grind and the narrowness of their perception, all of us are vulnerable here...¹⁸

In this discussion I fundamentally agree with Baraka. Nevertheless, Baraka's methodology plays into the hands of Dyson's criticism. It is the "bulls-eying" of the contradictions between Manning's selective quoting and indirect misquoting of Malcolm's words that we can see Manning turning Malcolm's meaning toward an advocacy of a politics consistent with the fundamental tenets of social democracy. To fit Malcolm into this ideological mold, Marable strips Malcolm of his avowed commitment to self defense, armed struggle and guerilla warfare while having Malcolm repudiate positions he never assumed to begin with. For example, after refuting simplistic stereotypes of Malcolm as a purveyor of racial hatred and violence, Manning returns to embrace these very notions and phraseology. *"He had also come to reject violence for its own sake,* but he never abandoned the nationalists' ideal of "self determination,"¹⁹ (italics mine) This is followed quickly by a dubious bifurcation of Malcolm's thinking reflected in this statement: "But outside the United States, despite his respect for Nkrumah he did not see electoral politics and gradual social change as a viable approach for

transforming postcolonial societies. He endorsed *revolutionary violence against* the Apartheid regime in South Africa, and guerilla warfare against the neocolonial regime in Congo... ²⁰(Italics mine)

Marable argues that Malcolm X repudiated notions of violent revolution but remained radical in his commitment to fundamental structural change in America. "At the end of his life he realized that blacks indeed could *achieve representation and even power under America's constitutional system.*" ²¹(italics mine) "Despite his radical rhetoric, as "The Ballot or the Bullet" makes clear, the mature Malcolm believed that African Americans could use the electoral system and voting rights to achieve meaningful change."²² Marable deflects that element of Malcolm most rooted in the notion of "by any means necessary," arguing that Malcolm's commitment to revolution and guerilla warfare were just "radical rhetoric' used to disguise his shift to integrationism and electoral politics.

Manning Marable claims that Malcolm accepted the possibility of liberalism since he acknowledged the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution in the OAAU's founding statement.²³ In the very next section, Section II, of this same document, however, Malcolm X asserts the OAAU's commitment to self-defense but Manning makes no mention of this. In addition, the Declaration of Independence establishes violent rebellion and revolution as a fundamental human right while the U.S. Constitution recognizes the right of the people to "keep and bear arms." Ho Chi Minh quoted the Declaration of Independence in the Vietnamese Constitution. Did that make Ho accepting of the possibility of a liberal solution in Vietnam? . I think Manning is confused. Malcolm X was no liberal. His own words make clear that Malcolm entered the Civil Rights Movement in the hope of redirecting it into a more truly revolutionary direction away from the paradigm of liberalism and American exceptionalism.

I am prepared to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the south and elsewhere and shall do so because every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society...There is no deceiving ourselves. Good education, housing, and jobs are imperatives for the Negroes, and I shall support them in their fight to win these objectives, but I shall tell the Negroes that while these are necessary, they cannot solve the main Negro problem.²⁴

Marable continues his distortions when he advances that “Malcolm truly anticipated that the black electorate could potentially be the balance of power in a divided white republic.”²⁵ “What Malcolm sought was a fundamental restructuring of wealth and power in the United States-*not violent social revolution, but radical and meaningful change nevertheless.*”²⁶ (*italics mine*) In these words Marable has transformed Malcolm into a social democrat whose ideology presages and is fulfilled by the entry of Blacks into the electoral arena and the triumph of Barack Obama. Similar distortions toward a social democratic politics appears throughout Marable’s text. The most important distortion, however, occurs with Marable’s misunderstanding of Malcolm’s Black Nationalism.

. “The unrealized dimension of Malcolm’s racial vision was that of Black Nationalism. A political ideology... based on the assumption that racial pluralism leading to assimilation was impossible in the United States.” (Here Marable misunderstands the early Black nationalist who believed that as long as slavery existed in the United States, racial pluralism leading to assimilation was impossible. That’s why they were objectively revolutionary and radical.) “Yet as Malcolm’s experiences became more varied and extensive, his social vision expanded. He became less intolerant and more open to multiethnic and interfaith coalitions. By the final months of his life he resisted identification as a “black nationalist”, seeking ideological shelter under race neutral concepts like Pan-Africanism and Third World Revolution. ... Given the election of Barack Obama, it now raises the question of whether blacks have a separate political destiny from their white fellow citizens.”²⁷

Marable unjustifiably asserts that Malcolm jettisoned Black Nationalism as a necessary requirement of forging the kind of coalitions which have resulted in the realization of his aspirations for Black empowerment. Marable rather sees Black Nationalism as an anti-humanistic, sectarian, hatred and violence prone ideology that Malcolm was trying to distance himself from after leaving the NOI. He equates the Black Nationalism of Malcolm with the program of the NOI. This is his error

Manning Marable's definition of Black Nationalism is truncated and inaccurate. He incorrectly has Malcolm X rejecting Black Nationalism for a "race neutral" Pan Africanism and Third World revolution. Manning does not understand the various components of Black Nationalism and their interrelationship. From its inception Black Nationalism has always had an international component. The Pan Negro Nationalism of the 19th century and the emigrationism of Martin R. Delany consistently saw the need for a base area to buttress the struggle for racial liberation. Most often Africa was seen as having the greatest potential in this regard. This internationalism continues in 20th century Pan Africanism and in the "Back to Africa" agenda of Garveyism. It is a consistent feature of the Black radical tradition as it is represented in the writings and activities of socialists like DuBois and Robeson. Even the economic nationalism of petty capitalism as expressed by B.T. Washington, Garvey and Elijah Muhammad are not necessarily incompatible with an anti-imperialist, anti capitalist stance. For instance, Garvey opposed the Communists organizationally but praised Lenin on the success of the Bolshevik Revolution. DuBois in the World War I period was extremely skeptical of Garveyism but during the depression he split with the NAACP and endorsed a Garvey like economic nationalism in his projection of a Cooperative Negro Commonwealth.

In Malcolm X's most explicit statement about Black Nationalism, he essentially described, a commitment to racial autonomy (self determination) and Black economic nationalism. Both these

elements already existed in the program of the NOI as embodied in the slogan “do for self.” In Black Nationalist thinking, however, there has always been the recognition that none of this was possible without Pan-racial solidarity, the liberation of Africa, international recognition and support and the redemption of the image of the race. Marable is never able to see the relationship of Malcolm’s Black Nationalism to his embrace of Pan African internationalism and Third World Revolution. There has always been a strong internationalist, humanist revolutionary impulse in Black Nationalism. This is especially true when one examines the history of Black Religious Nationalism. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad was not the first African American to revise the white Christian notion of God. Nor was he the first to use religious justification to indicate that the white man was damned. This was a common notion among the slaves of the “invisible church.” Certainly, the righteous anger of Nat Turner was rooted in an Old Testament conception of a Just and Vengeful God. Antebellum abolitionist and Pan-Negro nationalist Henry Highland Garnet in an 1848 sermon noted scriptural support for God’s special mission for the Negro. During the nadir of Jim Crow in the late 19th century, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner argued that God was “a Negro,” and the American flag a “dirty rag.” As head of overseas missions for the AME Church, his denomination was often accused by colonial officials in Southern Africa of fomenting rebellion. Into the 20th century, in 1913 the Moorish Science Temple of Timothy Drew looked beyond Christianity for a model of spirituality and Black emancipation. At the height of the Garvey Movement, it had affiliated with Bishop George Alexander McGuire’s African Orthodox Church. This church later spread to Africa where it was associated with the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya. The black religious nationalism of the NOI was not primarily rooted in an irrational hatred of white people but had deep roots in the entire religious experience of Black people since their forcible incorporation into modern industrial society. It is this protest tradition in the Black religious experience that pushed

Malcolm to seek out orthodox Sunni Islam when he no longer could accept the religious interpretations of his mentor Elijah Muhammad.

Two weaknesses of Marable's biography close out this review. Although he hints at it, Marable refuses to seriously speculate about an active role for the security apparatus of the state in the assassination of Malcolm X. He calls for an investigation of police misconduct in not adequately protecting Malcolm but limits further speculation to the release of documents not yet available. This is a weak position to have taken after having written a book full of undocumented or scantily documented allegations of marital infidelity and betrayal of Malcolm by some of his closest associates. Rosemary Mealy most recently exposed the paucity of treatment by Marable of women in the political development of Malcolm X.²⁸ She rightly notes that activists like Yuri Kochiyama, Fannie Lou Hamer, Vicky Garvin, Alice Windom, Maya Angelou and Ella Collins among others played major roles. It is not enough to merely mention their names but a major portion of the biography should have explored in detail this contribution. This discussion should have paralleled that of Malcolm's position on the issue of gender and sexism while in the NOI with the transition that is evident with the creation of the OAAU.

Given the subtle compromising of an accurate restatement of Malcolm's political orientation and significance by Marable, I would like to close with a brief restatement of my understanding of Malcolm X.

Malcolm X: Exponent of the Black Radical Tradition

The Black Radical Tradition had roots in 19th century Pan Negro Nationalism, 20th century Pan Africanism and Garveyism, and the class struggle approach of the early Black Marxist in the African Blood Brotherhood. Malcolm X came to understand more perfectly this Black radical tradition in the last eleven months of his life. At the time of his death, he was advancing a synthesis of the revolutionary Pan

African internationalist tradition with the more conservative elements of Black economic and cultural-religious nationalism that he had inherited from the Nation of Islam. This synthesis was further impacted by the need of Malcolm X to be responsive to constituencies with strong working class traditions in cities like Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia and his base in Harlem. Malcolm X argued for a reconstruction of Black cultural identity which explicitly recognized the class character of the two contradictory cultural tendencies among Black people.

Malcolm X was central to the restoration of the resistance tradition in African American religious life. James Cone, the leading scholar of Black Liberation Theology, argues that it was Malcolm X's harsh criticism of the accommodationist orientation of church-based civil rights leadership that was a major impetus which forced the Black Church to question what had become of the prophetic role of the Black Church. (Cone 1991, p.296) Malcolm X was committed to believing in a religion that would help him fight back against oppression. He believed Islam was that religion.

Moving away from determinations based on skin color, in the final months of his life, he categorized friends and enemies on the basis of behavior alone. Malcolm X asserted that the enemy confronting the world's people of color was the white supremacists and colonialist governments organized politically and militarily as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Thus the struggle against this enemy was an international anti-imperialist, antiracist struggle for national liberation and human rights. The natural allies of African Americans were all of the nations and peoples of color who had experienced racist western imperialism.

He envisaged the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), established on June 28, 1964, as the vehicle around which the national identity of Black people could be consolidated. The Black United Front had to make space for the poor and the déclassé elements to articulate

their agenda and assume leadership positions in the struggle. He made special efforts to put women in leadership roles in the OAAU.

In electoral politics, the Black United Front would function independently of the Democratic and Republican parties. Malcolm X saw them as two factions of a single white supremacist party. The Black United Front would test the limits of the effectiveness of the electoral arena for Black liberation or as Malcolm X put it “the ballot or the bullet.” Its politics would not be limited to the electoral arena nor constrained by non-violence but would draw upon the experience of national liberation struggles throughout the world to resist “by any means necessary.”

Malcolm X spoke frankly about the role of violence in four areas of social conflict. First, he affirmed the right of self defense as a fundamental human right. Second, Malcolm recognized a psychological need to be able to respond to the violence of the oppressor as a fundamental condition of manhood and self respect. Third, Malcolm saw nationalist struggles as necessarily violent. Last African Americans were not only a race but a nationality and therefore have a collective right of self defense, which can include the serious consideration of urban guerilla warfare.

Malcolm X is important because his experiences are typical of the experiences that transformed African Americans in the twentieth century, the move from rural peasantry to industrial proletariat, to post-industrial redundancy, all of which prepared Black people for a truly revolutionary role. He is one of the two most important black leadership figures in the second half of the twentieth century. Along with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X clarified the alternatives facing Black people in the post –industrial period. Malcolm’s role in the Movement was primarily ideological. Tens of thousands of Black people were energized by Malcolm to take action. He re-stated aloud Black people’s hidden and unacknowledged moods, feelings and sensibilities. He did this in ways that they helped them gain

greater clarity as to who they were, what their problems were and how they might go about building a movement to liberate themselves. He did this through a down-to-earth reformulation of the Black radical tradition.

Manning Marable's biography of Malcolm X should be read and critiqued as a work of serious but flawed scholarship. It should not be the first book read by those being introduced to Malcolm X. That introduction remains reserved for **The Autobiography of Malcolm X**.

Endnotes

¹ http://www.newsweek.com/2011/04/10/skip_gates_s_next-big-idea.html

² Manning Marable, **Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention** (New York: Viking Press, 2011)

³ *ibid.*

⁴ *ibid.* p.12

⁵ *ibid.* pp10-11

⁶ *ibid.* p. 302

⁷ *ibid.* p. 193

⁸ *ibid.* p.12

⁹ John E Wideman, "Malcolm X: The Art of Autobiography" **Malcolm X: In Our Own Image** edited by Joe Wood (New York: St. Martins Press, 1992); Rampersad, Arnold, "The Color of His Eyes: Bruce Perry's *Malcolm* and Malcolm's *Malcolm*" **Malcolm X: In Our Own Image** edited by Joe Wood (New York: St. Martins Press, 1992); Alex Gillespie, "Autobiography and Identity: Malcolm X as Author and Hero." **In The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X** edited by Robert E. Terrill (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.36-37

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 111

¹¹ Marable, **Malcolm X**, p.423

¹² Ibid. p. 380

¹³ “Paper Tiger”: Karl Evanzz Blistering Review of Manning Marable’s Malcolm X
<http://www.voxunion.com/2011/4/13/>

¹⁴ <http://www.democracynow.org/2011/04/19/manning-marables-new-biography-refuels>

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Marable, **Malcolm X**, p.

²⁰ Ibid. p 485.

²¹ Ibid. p.482

²² Ibid. p. 484

²³ Ibid. p.353

²⁴ Malcolm X, “Declaration of Independence, March 8 1964” in **Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements** edited by George Breitman (New York: Grove Press, 1965) p.18.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 484

²⁶ Ibid. p.483

²⁷ Ibid. pp-484-485

²⁸ Rosemari Mealy, Presentation at “Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Black Revolutionary” Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, May 19 2011.