

**"Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention" Seminar  
Williams College  
Fall Semester, 2007**

**Dr. Manning Marable, Professor of Public Affairs, History, and African-American Studies, Columbia University, and Visiting Professor, Williams College**

**Seminar Day/Time: Mondays 7:00 p.m. – 9:45 p.m.**

**Office Location: Stetson Hall, Room g14**

**Office Hours: Mondays, 2:30 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.**

**Email: [mm247@columbia.edu](mailto:mm247@columbia.edu)**

**Secretary: Ms. Courtney Teague; tel. 212.854.1489**

**Williams College Secretary: Linda A. Saharczewski; tel. 413.597.2242**

**Email: [lsaharczewski@williams.edu](mailto:lsaharczewski@williams.edu)**

**Introduction**

If one had to select one historical personality within the period 1940 to 1975 who best represented and reflected black urban life, politics, and culture in the United States, it would be extremely difficult to find someone more central than the charismatic figure of Malcolm X/El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. Born in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1925, and growing up in the Midwest, young Malcolm Little was the child of political activists who supported the militant black nationalist movement of Marcus Garvey. After his father's violent death and his mother's subsequent institutionalization due to mental illness, Little was placed in foster care and for a time in a youth detention facility. At age sixteen he left school, relocating to Boston upon the invitation of his older half-sister, Ella Little. During World War II, the zoot-suited "Detroit Red" became a small-time hustler, burglar, and narcotics dealer in Harlem and Roxbury. In January 1946, Little was arrested for burglary and weapons possession charges, and received a ten-year sentence in the Massachusetts prison system. While incarcerated, Little's siblings introduced him to the Nation of Islam, a tiny black nationalist-oriented religious movement led by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. Converting to the NOI's version of Islam, Little experienced a spiritual and intellectual epiphany behind bars. Emerging from prison in August 1952, as Malcolm X, the talented and articulate young convert was soon the assistant minister of the NOI's Detroit Temple No. 1.

The actual public career of Minister Malcolm X was, like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, remarkably and tragically short. In 1954, Malcolm X was named minister of Harlem's Temple No. 7, which he led for just short of a decade. As an itinerant spokesman for black nationalism, Malcolm X traveled constantly across the country, winning thousands of new converts to the NOI. Between 1955 and 1961, Malcolm X was personally responsible for establishing more than one hundred Muslim temples or mosques throughout the U.S. As the chief public spokesperson for Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm built the NOI from a marginal sect

to a spiritual organization of over one hundred thousand. By the early 1960s, Malcolm X was a widely celebrated (and feared) public speaker and debater at universities and in the national media. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's efforts to discredit the Nation and its leaders led the agency to engage in illegal acts of wiretapping, surveillance, disruption, and harassment.

In 1960 Malcolm X established the newspaper *Muhammad Speaks*, which by the end of the decade would have a national circulation of 600,000, the most widely-read black-owned newspaper in the country. However, by this time, serious divisions developed between Malcolm X and the NOI's patriarch, Elijah Muhammad, and his coterie of organizational leaders based in Chicago, over a number of issues. Malcolm X was personally dismayed when it was publicly revealed that Muhammad had fathered a number of children out of wedlock. He also chafed under the NOI's political conservatism and its refusal to support civil rights protests. In March, 1964, Malcolm X announced publicly his break from the NOI. He soon created two new organizations, the Muslim Mosque, Inc., designed for former NOI members as a spiritually-based group, and the secular-oriented Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). Now reaching out to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., James Farmer, and other civil rights leaders, Malcolm X proposed a broad coalition of black activist organizations, working in concert to achieve social justice.

Converting to orthodox Islam, Malcolm X completed his spiritual hajj to Mecca in April, 1964, and returned to the United States the next month as El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. During his two extended journeys through Africa and the Middle East in 1964, Malcolm X gained new insights into the problem of racism. In his *Autobiography*, he later wrote: "I was no less angry than I had been, but at the same time the true brotherhood I had seen had influenced me to recognize that anger can blind human vision." He now believed that race war was not inevitable, and felt that "America is the first country ... that can actually have a bloodless revolution."

Malcolm X's new political strategy called for building black community empowerment, through tools such as voter registration and education, economic self-sufficiency, and the development of independent politics. He called upon African Americans to transform the civil rights movement into a struggle for international human rights. Malcolm X emphasized the parallels between the African-American struggle for equality and the Asian, Latino, and African campaigns against European colonialism. Malcolm X also drew attention for criticizing the growing U.S. military involvement in Vietnam.

Upon Malcolm X's return to the United States in November 1964, death threats escalated against him and his family. In the early morning hours of February 14, 1965, his home in Elmhurst, Queens, was firebombed. On Sunday afternoon,

February 21, 1965, just before delivering an address at the Audubon Ballroom, Malcolm X/El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz was assassinated before a crowd of hundreds of people, including his pregnant wife Betty Shabazz and children.

The profound religious and political sojourn of Malcolm X was hardly noticed in the immediate aftermath of his assassination. The *New York Times* editorialized that Malcolm was "an irresponsible demagogue" and "an extraordinary and twisted man," who had utilized his "true gifts to evil purpose." *Time* magazine declared that the dead leader was "an unashamed demagogue" whose "gospel was hatred." But others saw Malcolm X more clearly. President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana sent a telegram of condolence to Malcolm's widow, saying that "your husband lived a life of dedication for human equality and dignity so that the Afro-American and people of color everywhere may live as man. His work in the cause of freedom will not be in vain ..."

Today, over forty years after his assassination, the world largely views Malcolm X as a champion of human rights. His *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, co-authored with Alex Haley, has sold millions of copies worldwide, and in 1999 was judged by *Time* magazine as one of the ten "most important non-fiction works of the twentieth century."

In 2000, the Malcolm X Project at Columbia University was established primarily to accomplish two goals: (1) to construct a web-based, multimedia version of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, embedding more than one thousand pieces of data – e.g., videotaped interviews, FBI documents, personal correspondence by Malcolm X, audiotaped sermons and speeches – into the text; and the completion of a full-length, detailed biography of the subject. The multimedia version of the *Autobiography* was constructed between 2001 and 2004 with the support of Columbia University's Office of the Provost. The biographical research on Malcolm X has, to date, produced a chapter on the subject in *Living Black History* (New York: Basic Civitas, 2006), and a book-in-progress, to be published by Viking/Penguin Books in 2009. In the process, we have also constructed a significant "Malcolm X Archive" of thousands of articles, FBI documents, rare audiotape recordings of speeches and interviews related to Malcolm X.

This seminar on the life and times of Malcolm X provides an original and challenging reinterpretation of one of the most prominent American leaders of the twentieth century. By the end of the seminar, I hope you will come to appreciate the meaning of literary scholar Edward Said's remark, when he suggested in his book, *Representations of the Intellectual* that the goal of non-Western intellectuals "cannot be to replace a white policeman with his native counterpart, but rather ... the invention of new souls." Malcolm Little invented and re-invented himself many times, as "Detroit Red," "Jack Carlton" (in 1944, when Malcolm worked briefly as a bar entertainer and drummer at Manhattan's

Lobster Pond nightclub), "Satan" (during Malcolm's first year in prison), "Malcolm X," and "El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz." But in a larger political context, Malcolm strove to motivate the construction of "new souls." Oppressed people, Malcolm X had learned, could not become free unless they were first made to feel themselves to be "new souls."

## **SEMINAR REQUIREMENTS**

There are several essential components which are required for the successful completion of this seminar:

1. Class participation and attendance: Students are expected to read the required readings before each class. All students are expected to participate in class discussions, and to miss a minimum number of classes. All students must regularly post comments on Blackboard at least once every two weeks (6 times) – either about the required readings, or about issues discussed in previous classes – throughout the course, beginning in Week II. The class participation grade includes the quality of our CourseWorks postings, regular attendance, individual visits with the professors, and most of all, willingness to raise thoughtful questions and to engage in discussion with other students. Class participation and attendance constitute **20 percent of the total course grade**.

2. Class short paper and oral presentation of the required week's readings. All students in the seminar will present a brief overview or synopsis of the main themes and topics discussed in one of the weekly required readings, covering Weeks III through Week XII. Each weekly presentation includes: (1) a two-page summary of the major points of themes that the authors discuss in their papers, which must be posted on our course webpage no later than Friday by 12:00 noon prior to the date of the Monday seminar meeting; (2) a brief, ten-minute oral presentation to the seminar on the key ideas and themes in the readings; and (3) answering questions about the readings, and leading the seminar in a discussion on the readings for forty-five minutes. All three components – the two-page paper posted on Friday, the oral presentation, and the quality of your discussion – constitute **20 percent of your total course grade**.

If there are two or more students who are assigned to present during a particular week, all students must review all of the readings in their respective individual summaries. During their brief oral presentations, student may choose to focus their remarks on specific texts, dividing materials with other presenters. However, all presenters are expected to be able to answer any questions pertaining to all of the readings.

3. A brief bibliography, written summary, and brief oral presentation or research papers-in-progress. At the EXTRA seminar meeting of Week VII (Tuesday,

November 6 from 4:15-6), all students will give a brief, five-minute overview of their research paper which includes a list of books, journal articles, archival materials (if relevant), newspaper articles, and other important sources about their subject, plus a 150 to 250 word description of the key themes or issues they want to examine about the subject. These bibliographies and short papers must be posted on our Blackboard webpage no later than Friday, November 2, by 12:00 noon prior to the Tuesday afternoon seminar meeting. Both components – the two-page bibliography and written summary, and your oral presentation – constitute **10 percent of your total course grade**. (Students who cannot attend class on November 6 will present on Monday, November 5.)

4. Present research papers-in-progress to the class for discussion and evaluation during Week XI (December 3). All students will give a five-minute oral presentation of their research paper, followed by questions from the seminar students and Professor Marable about their papers. The papers-in-progress must be posted on our Blackboard website no later than Friday, November 30 by 5:00 p.m.. Both components – the paper-in-progress, and your oral presentation and ability to answer questions pertaining to your topic – constitute **10 percent of your total course grade**.

5. Final seminar research paper. Each student must write a 20-page-paper excluding a bibliography and footnotes. Research papers should be at least 20 typed, double-spaced pages, plus footnotes and a one-page bibliography of sources used in the preparation of the paper. The papers are due Thursday, December 6, 2007, not later than 5:00 p.m. You will submit your paper electronically, via email.

You may utilize the texts in the required readings as part of the materials in the construction of your papers. The seminar paper is **40 percent of the total course grade**.

Late papers will be accepted up to and including December 13, 2007, but will be penalized by two points, plus one additional point for every day that they are late. Please be aware of my late grade policy. I do not grant incompletes or extensions for unfinished work. It is far better to turn in a paper that is “not quite finished” than to turn it in eight days late. The exceptions made to the incomplete policy are for reasons of medical and/or family emergencies. These exceptions must be required in writing prior to the final day of class, December 3.

## **COURSE EVALUATION AND GRADING**

1) Class attendance, biweekly Blackboard postings, and participation in class discussions:	20 percent
2) Class short paper (2 pages on course webpage posted by Friday, 12:00 noon), and oral presentation (10 minutes length) of the required week's readings, and 40 minute class discussions:	20 percent
3) A brief bibliography, written summary and oral presentation of research papers-in-progress, on Tuesday, November 6:	10 percent
4) Presentation of research papers-in-progress and class discussion, on December 3 (posted by Nov. 30):	10 percent
5) Final seminar research paper due Thursday, Dec. 6:	40 percent
TOTAL COURSE GRADE:	<u>100 percent</u>

## **REQUIRED READINGS:**

- 1) Breitman, George, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld Publishers, 1990). ISBN 0-8021-3213-8.
- 2) Clark, Steve, ed., *February 1965: The Final Speeches* (New York: Pathfinder, 1992). ISBN 0-8734-8749-4.
- 3) DeCaro, Jr., Louis, *On the Side of My People: A Religious Life of Malcolm X* (New York: New York University Press, 1996). ISBN 0-8147-1864-7.
- 4) Marable, Manning, ed., *Malcolm X Sourcebook* (2007). (All of the readings in the *Sourcebook* have been digitized and are available on the Blackboard.)
- 5) Multimedia Study Environment (MSE), *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*.
- 6) Malcolm X with Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1973). ISBN 0-3453-5068-5. (The autobiography is available in its entirety electronically for the purposes of this course.)
- 7) Turner, Richard Brent, *Islam in the African-American Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997). ISBN 0-2532-1104-2.
- 8) [www.malcolmxproject.net](http://www.malcolmxproject.net). The website contains short interviews and materials that should be read for the seminar.

A number of required readings for the course are on Blackboard, and are indicated in the syllabus under the specific weeks that they are assigned.

**RECOMMENDED VIEWING:**

Spike Lee, *Malcolm X* (Burbank, California: Warner Home Video, 1992).

Orlando Bagwell, *Malcolm X: Make It Plain* (Boston, MA: Blackside Inc. 1993).

E-course, "Malcolm X: Life After Death."

[wwwapp.cc.Columbia.edu/ccnmtl/app/portfolio/results\\_zx.jsp](http://wwwapp.cc.Columbia.edu/ccnmtl/app/portfolio/results_zx.jsp).

**OPTIONAL READING:**

Some of these texts should be available at the Williams College Library:

Breitman, George, *The Last Year of Malcolm X* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1967). ISBN 0-8734-8003-1.

Clegg, Claude Andrew, *An Original Man: The Life and Times of Elijah Muhammad* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998). ISBN 0-3121-8153-1.

Collins, Rodnell P., and Peter Bailey, *Seventh Child: A Family Memoir of Malcolm X* (New York: Kensington Publishing Corp., 1998). ISBN 0-7582-0117-6.

Cone, James H., *Martin and Malcolm and America* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1992). ISBN 0-88344-824-6.

DeCaro, Jr., Louis, *Malcolm and the Cross: The Nation of Islam, Malcolm X, and Christianity* (New York: New York University Press, 1998). ISBN 0-8147-1932-5.

Goldman, Peter, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973). ISBN 0-2520-0774-3.

Perry, Bruce, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America* (Barrytown, New York: Station Hill Press, 1991). ISBN 0-8826-8103-6.

Perry, Bruce, ed., *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches* (New York: Pathfinder, 1985). ISBN 0-8734-8543-2.

Rickford, Russell J., *Betty Shabazz: A Life Before & After Malcolm X* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2003). ISBN 1-4022-0171-0.

Sales, Jr., William W., *From Civil Rights to Black Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity* (Boston: South End Press, 1994). ISBN 0-89608-480-9.

**SEMINAR CALENDAR: "MALCOLM X: A LIFE OF REINVENTION"  
SEMINAR – FALL 2007 – at a glance:**

WEEK	DATE	NOTE
I	Sept. 10	Introduction to the seminar's requirements; introduction to MSE; and background on Malcolm X; biography, <i>Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention</i> .
II	Sept. 17	Malcolm X's childhood, "Detroit Red," and Islam in Black America.
III	Sept. 24	Prison Years and Early Ministry, 1946-1955.
IV	Oct. 1	The Nation of Islam, 1955-1960
	Oct. 8	[Fall Reading Period: No Class.]
V	Oct. 15	The National Spokesman, 1960-1962.
VI	Oct. 22	Malcolm X, M. L. King, Jr., and the Civil Rights Movement
	Oct. 29	[Class Canceled]
VII	Nov. 5	The Silencing, Muhammad Ali, and Out: December, 1963 – April 1964.
VIII	Nov. 6	Extra class meeting, 4:15 – 6:00 p.m. Students Report on Papers in Progress
IX	Nov. 12	A New Vision? The Epiphany of Mecca and African Sojourner, 1964.
X	Nov. 19	1965: The Final Months.
XI	Nov. 26	February 21, 1965: The Assassination and Aftermath.
XII	Dec. 3	Presentation of Research Papers, posted Nov. 30.
XIII	Dec. 6	Final Research papers are due, 5 p.m. electronically
	Dec. 13	Final date for submitting research papers with late penalty.

**COURSE SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS**

I. September 10: "Introduction: Rediscovering Malcolm X's Life and Legacy."

Introduction to the seminar; review of seminar requirements; introduction to website, [www.malcolmxproject.net](http://www.malcolmxproject.net); introduction to the "Multimedia Study Environment (MSE) *Autobiography*; and a lecture about my biography, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*.

Readings:

1. M. S. Handler, "Introduction," in Malcolm X with Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, pp. xxv-xxx.
2. Malcolm X with Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, Chapter 1.
3. MSE: Chapter 1.



## II. September 17: "Malcolm's Childhood, the Legend of 'Detroit Red,' and Background on Islam in Black America."

### Readings:

1. Malcolm X/Haley, *Autobiography*, Chapters 2-9.
2. MSE: Chapters 2-9.
3. Richard Brent Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience*, pp. 1-173.
4. Louis De Caro, Jr., *On the Side of My People*, chapters 3-4, pp. 38-58.
5. Blackboard readings:
  - (1) Ted Vincent, "The Garveyite Parents of Malcolm X," *Black Scholar* (March/April 1989), pp. 10-13.
  - (2) Robin D.G. Kelley, "The Riddle of the Zoot: Malcolm Little and Black Cultural Politics During World War II," in Joe Wood, ed., *Malcolm X: In Our Own Image*, pp. 155-182.
  - (3) Rodnell Collins, *Seventh Child*, Chapter 4, pp. 38-47.
6. [www.malcolmxproject.net](http://www.malcolmxproject.net). Required viewing of interviews in section, "Malcolm X's Childhood, 'Detroit Red,' and Islam in Black America." Include commentaries by scholars Robin D.G. Kelley, Louis DeCaro, Jr., and Farah Jasmine Griffin, as well as Peter Bailey, a member of Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU).

## III. September 24: "The Prison Years and Early Ministry, 1946-1955."

### Readings:

1. Malcolm X/Haley, *Autobiography*, Chapters 10-13.
2. MSE: Chapters 10-13.
3. De Caro, *On the Side of My People*, chapters 5-8, pp. 59-110.
4. Blackboard readings:
  - (1) Rodnell Collins, *Seventh Child*, Chapter 6, pp. 70-82.
  - (2) C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America*, Chapters 1, 4-5, pp. 31, 63-129.
5. Wayne Taylor, "Premillennium Tension: Malcolm X and the Eschatology of the Nation of Islam," *Souls*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (Winter 2005), pp. 52-65.
6. [www.malcolmxproject.net](http://www.malcolmxproject.net). Required viewing of interviews in section, "The Prison Years and Early Ministry: 1945-55."

## IV. October 1: "The Lost and the Found: The Nation of Islam, 1955-1960"

### Readings:

1. Malcolm X/Haley, *Autobiography*, Chapter 14.
2. MSE: Chapter 14.
3. De Caro, *On the Side of My People*, Chapter 9-12, pp. 111-170.

4. Blackboard readings:

(1) Malcolm X, "Unity," (Spring 1960) in Louis E. Lomax, *When the Word is Given* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), pp. 128-135.

(2) Malcolm X, "Minister Malcolm X Enunciates the Muslim Program," in *Muhammad Speaks*, September 1960 (excerpted).

5. Sourcebook readings (available on Blackboard):

(1) "What *Courier* Readers Think: Muhammad Articles Called Undesirable," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 31, 1957, sec. 2, p. 15.

(2) "What *Courier* Readers Think: Malcolm X Fires Away at Principal," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 31, 1957, sec. 2, p. 5.

(3) "Moslem Announces \$ Million Law Suit," *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 9, 1957, p. 1.

(4) "Moslems Await 'D-Day' in N.Y. Court," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 24, 1958, p. 7

(5) "Postpone Moslem Hearing," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 31, 1958, p. 3.

(6) "TV Show Hits Black Groups," *Amsterdam News*, July 25, 1959, p. 2.

(7) "To Answer TV Critics: Muhammad Speaks Here on Sunday," *Amsterdam News*, July 25, 1959, p. 2.

(8) "Moslems Fight Back; Bar White Press," *Amsterdam News*, August 1, 1959, pp. 1, 31.

(9) "Races: The Black Supremacists," *Time*, August 10, 1959, National Affairs Column, pp. 4-5.

(10) "Africa Eyes Us," *Amsterdam News*, August 22, 1959.

(11) Clark, "Rise in Racial Extremism Worries Harlem Leaders," *New York Times*, January 25, 1960, pp. 1, 18.

(12) "Muslims Ask Foes to 6-Hour Rally," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 21, 1960, p. 2.

(13) Frankel, "Cuban in Harlem," *New York Times*, September 20, 1960, p. 1.

(14) "Malcolm X Explains Wee-Hour Visit to Castro at Theresa," *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 1, 1960, p. 3.

(15) Hailey, "Nkrumah Tells Rally in Harlem Negroes Form U.S.-Africa Bond," *New York Times*, October 6, 1960, p. 18.

(16) Terry, "Black Muslim Elijah's Lowly Start," *Washington Post*, December 12, 1960, p. A3.

(17) Terry, "Black Muslims Told They're 'Chosen People'," *Washington Post*, December 15, 1960, p. B12.

(18) Terry, "Black Muslims' Hate Campaign Criticized," *Washington Post*, December 16, 1960. p. A18.

6. [www.malcolmproject.net](http://www.malcolmproject.net). Required viewing of interviews in section, "The Lost and the Found: The Nation of Islam, 1955-1960."

V. October 15: "The National Spokesman, 1960-1962."

Readings:

1. Malcolm X/Haley, *Autobiography*, Chapters 15-16.
2. De Caro, *On the Side of My People*, Chapter 13, pp. 171-188.
3. MSE:
  - (1) Chapters 15-16.
  - (2) Multimedia Index: Malcolm X, *Message to the Grass Roots*, November 10, 1963 (to be listened to in conjunction with the readings in Breitman)
4. Blackboard readings:
  - (1) Malcolm X, "A Partial Transcript of a Sermon, June 16, 1961," In Louis De Caro, Jr., *Malcolm and the Cross*, pp. 223-235.
  - (2) Malcolm X, "Malcolm X Proclaims Muhammad as Man of the Hour: Address at Yale University (October 1962)," in Roy L. Hill, ed., *Rhetoric of Racial Revolt*, pp. 304-317.
5. Sourcebook readings (available on Blackboard):
  - (1) Teague, "Negroes Say Conditions in U.S. Explain Nationalists' Militancy," *New York Times*, March 2, 1961, pp. 1, 17.
  - (2) O'Kane, "Muslim Negroes Suing the State," *New York Times*, March 19, 1961, pp. 1, 46.
  - (3) Kihiss, "In Return for Years of Slavery, Four or Five States," *New York Times*, April 23, 1961, p. 406.
  - (4) Cultist is Slain Battling Police," *New York Times*, April 29, 1962, p. 72.
  - (5) "In Los Angeles Riot: Charge Muslim was 'Murdered'," *Amsterdam News*, May 5, 1962, pp. 1, 40.
  - (6) Becker, "Cultists on Coast Denounce Police," *New York Times*, May 6, 1962, p. 73.
  - (7) "Study Shows Los Angeles Police Were Investigating Muslims at Time of Riot," *Amsterdam News*, May 12, 1962, pp. 1, 2.
  - (8) "Coast Muslims Face Riot Charges," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 12, 1962, p. 7.
  - (9) "Los Angeles Tensions Up Over Police Brutality," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 19, 1962, p. 4.
  - (10) "The Muslim Message: All White Men Devils, All Negroes Divine," *Newsweek*, August 27, 1962, pp. 26-27.
  - (11) "What *Courier* Readers Think: Muslim vs. Moslem!" *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 6, 1962, p. 13.
  - (12) "Malcolm X in Court," *Amsterdam News*, November 17, 1962, pp. 1, 2.
  - (13) "Amsterdam News Readers Write...: Malcolm X Speaks," *Amsterdam News*, November 24, 1962, p. 39.
  - (14) Turner, "Militancy Urged on U.S. Negroes," *New York Times*, November 26, 1962, p. 18.

- (15) "Pulse of New York's Public: No Compromise," *Amsterdam News*, December 1, 1962, p. 10.
- (16) "L.A. Muslims Face Trial Over 'Riot'," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 15, 1962, p. 22.
6. [www.malcolmproject.net](http://www.malcolmproject.net). Required viewing of interviews in section, "The National Spokesman, 1960-1962."

VI. October 22: "Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Politics of Civil Rights, 1962-1963."

Readings:

1. MSE: Multimedia Index: Malcolm X, "Success of Martin Luther King, Jr.," Malcolm X Speaks Again, radio broadcast: Contact, May 25, 1964.
2. Blackboard readings:
  - (1) Malcolm X and James Farmer, "Separation or Integration: A Debate," in *Dialogue Magazine* 3 (May 1962), pp. 14-18.
  - (2) LeRoi Jones, "What Does Nonviolence Mean?" *Home: Social Essays*, pp. 133-154.
  - (3) Manning Marable, "Malcolm, Martin and the Mandates of Justice," in Manning Marable, *Speaking Truth to Power: Essays on Race, Resistance and Radicalism*, pp. 134-138.
  - (4) Robin Kelley, "House Negroes on the Loose: Malcolm X and the Black Bourgeoisie," *Callaloo* 21 (2) 1998:419-435.
  - (5) James Baldwin, "Malcolm and Martin," *Esquire* 77 (4) 1972: 94-97, 195-196, 198, 201-202.
  - (6) James Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America*, Chapter 9, "Two Roads to Freedom," pp. 244-271; Part of Chapter 10, "Nothing But Men," pp. 272-273, 280-287; Chapter 11, "Making Their Mark: Legacies," pp. 288-314; and "Conclusion," pp. 315-318.
  - (7) The Playboy Interview: Malcolm X Speaks with Alex Haley (May 1963)," in Gallen, ed., *Malcolm X: As They Knew Him*, pp. 109-130.
  - (8) "Minister Malcolm: A Conversation with Kenneth B. Clark (June 1963)," in Gallen, ed., *Malcolm X: As They Knew Him*, pp. 131-134.
  - (9) Malcolm X, "God's Judgment of White America," in *The End of White World Supremacy*, pp. 121-148.
3. Sourcebook readings (available on Blackboard):
  - (1) "Muslims Press Race Separation," *New York Times*, February 26, 1963, p. 3.
  - (2) "X Marks the Spot," *Newsweek*, May 6, 1963, p. 28.
  - (3) Handler, "Malcolm X Starting Drive in Washington," *New York Times*, May 10, 1963, pp. 1, 14.
  - (4) Handler, "Malcolm X Terms Dr. King's Tactics Futile," *New York Times*, May 11, 1963, p. 9.

- (5) "Themes and Variations: Coffee with Malcolm X," *Wall Street Journal*, May 16, 1963, p. 12.
  - (6) Handler, "Malcolm X Scores Kennedy on Racial Policy," *New York Times*, May 17, 1963, p. 14.
  - (7) "Why Black Muslims Are Focusing on the Nation's Capital Now," *US News & World Report*, May 27, 1963, p. 24.
  - (8) Malcolm X Disputes Nonviolence Policy," *New York Times*, June 5, 1963, p. 29.
  - (9) Malcolm X, "Muslim Teachings," *New York Times*, August 25, 1963, p. SM2.
  - (10) "3 Negro Speakers on TV Hold Kennedy Leadership Inadequate," *New York Times*, June 25, 1963, p. 13.
4. Clayborne Carson, "The Unfinished Dialogue of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X," *Souls*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (Winter 2005), pp. 12-19.
  5. George Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks*, pp. 3-17.
  6. [www.malcolmxproject.net](http://www.malcolmxproject.net). Required viewing of interviews in section, "Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and the Civil Rights Movement."

VII. November 5: "The Silencing, Muhammad Ali, and Out, December 1963-April 1964."

Readings:

1. Richard Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience*, pp. 174-214.
2. Blackboard readings:
  - (1) Plimpton, "Miami Notebook: Cassius Clay and Malcolm X," *Harper's Magazine* (June 1964), pp. 54-61.
  - (2) George Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks*, "Introduction," "The Split," "The Transition Period," and "Radicalism," pp. 7-50.
  - (3) Malcolm X, "His Best Credentials: On the Air with Joe Rainey" (March 20, 1964), in Gallen, ed., *Malcolm X: As They Knew Him*, pp. 155-166.
3. Sourcebook readings:
  - (1) "Malcolm X Scores U.S. and Kennedy," *New York Times*, December 2, 1963, p. 21.
  - (2) Apple, "Malcolm X Silenced for Remarks on Assassination of Kennedy," *New York Times*, December 5, 1963, p. 22.
  - (3) "Malcolm Expected to be Replaced," *New York Times*, December 6, 1963, p. 27.
  - (4) "Elijah Suspends Malcolm," *Amsterdam News*, December 7, 1963, pp. 1-2.
  - (5) "May Mean Policy Change: Muzzling of Malcolm X For Indefinite Period," *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 14, 1963, p. 1.
  - (6) "Nation Still Mourns Death," *Muhammad Speaks*, December 20, 1963, pp. 1, 3.

- (7) "Cassius Clay Almost Says He's a Muslim," *Amsterdam News*, January 25, 1964, pp. 1-2.
- (8) "Malcolm X In Florida," *Amsterdam News*, January 25, 1964, p. 1.
- (9) "Bar Malcolm X From Muslims' Chi Convention," *Amsterdam News*, February 15, 1964, pp. 1-2.
- (10) "Malcolm X 'Comeback' in March," *Amsterdam News*, February 22, 1964, pp. 1-2.
- (11) Muhammad, "Regrets of the Doubters," *Muhammad Speaks*, February 28, 1964, pp. 1, 8.
- (12) Matthews, "The 'Greatest One' Pays A Visit to the *Amsterdam News*," *Amsterdam News*, March 7, 1964, p. 1, 2.
- (13) Handler, "Malcolm X Splits with Muhammad," *New York Times*, March 9, 1964, pp. 1, 42.
- (14) Handler, "Malcolm X Sees Rise in Violence," *New York Times*, March 13, 1964, p. 20.
- (15) Photo of MX, Elder Michaux, and Muhammad Ali, *Amsterdam News*, March 14, 1964, p. 50.
- (16) Cartoon of MX, "In the Middle," *Amsterdam News*, March 14, 1964, p. 12.
- (17) "Why I Quit and What I Plan Next'," *Amsterdam News*, March 14, 1964, pp. 1, 51.
- (18) "Telegram to Muhammad," *Amsterdam News*, March 14, 1964, pp. 1, 51.
- (19) "To Start 'Action' Program: Malcolm X Remains Muslim, Pushes Economic Freedom," *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 14, 1964, p. 1.
- (20) Powledge, "Negroes Ponder Malcolm's Move," *New York Times*, March 15, 1964, p. 46.
- (21) Crawford, "The Ominous Malcolm X Exits from the Muslims," *Life*, March 20, 1964, pp. 40-40A.
- (22) "Malcolm X Tells of Death Threat," *Amsterdam News*, March 21, 1964, p. 50.
- (23) "Clay Drops Malcolm X," *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 21, 1964, p. 1.
- (24) "1,000 in Harlem Cheer Malcolm X," *New York Times*, March 23, 1964, p. 18.
- (25) "Malcolm's Brand X," *Newsweek*, March 23, 1964, p. 32.
- (26) Samuels, "Feud Within the Black Muslims," *New York Times*, March 22, 1964, pp. 17, 104-105.
- (27) Todd, "MX Explains His Rifle Statement," *Amsterdam News*, March 28, 1964, p. 35.
- (28) Murrain, "Angry at Filibuster in Senate," *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 28, 1964, p. 1.
- (29) "Malcolm X Plans Muslim Crusade," *New York Times*, April 3, 1964, p. 23.

- (30) Malcolm Murder Plot Denied by Muslims," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 4, 1964, p. 1.
- (31) "MX Ignores Brother," *Amsterdam News*, April 4, 1964, pp. 1-2.
- (32) Minister James, "Obey Divine Messengers, Find Life of Truth," *Muhammad Speaks*, April 10, 1964, pp. 1, 3, 9.
- (33) "Malcolm Exposed by His Brother," *Muhammad Speaks*, April 10, 1964, pp. 3-4.
- (34) "Organize Rifle Club in Ohio: Malcolm X On the Scene," *Amsterdam News*, April 11, 1964, pp. 1-2.
4. [www.malcolmxproject.net](http://www.malcolmxproject.net). Required viewing of interviews in section "The Silencing, Muhammad Ali, and Out: December, 1963-April, 1964."

#### VIII. EXTRA CLASS MEETING NOVEMBER 6: Student Short Papers and Seminar Presentations.

All students present a brief, two-page bibliography and written summary (250 to 500 words) of their prospective research paper topics. Bibliographies and summaries must be posted on Blackboard not later than Friday, November 2, 12:00 noon. Each student must also give a five-minute oral presentation of his/her topic to the seminar.

#### IX. November 12: "A New Vision? The Epiphany of Mecca" and "African Sojourn, 1964."

##### Readings:

1. Malcolm X/Haley: *Autobiography*, Chapter 17-18.
2. George Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks*, pp. 18-71.
3. De Caro, *On The Side of My People*, Chapter 18, pp. 230-245.
4. MSE: Chapters 17-18.
5. Blackboard readings:
  - (1) Edward E. Curtis IV, "Islamic Universalism, Black Particularism, and the Dual Identity of Malcolm X (1925-1965), *Islam in Black America: Identity, Liberation, and Difference in African-American Islamic Thought*, pp. 85-105.
  - (2) Abdelwahab M. Elmessiri, "Islam As a Pastoral in the Life of Malcolm X," in John Henrik Clarke, ed., *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times*, pp. 69-78.
  - (3) "Interview with Malcolm X by A. B. Spellman," *Monthly Review* (May 1964), pp. 14-24.
  - (4) Malcolm X, "An Open Letter to Elijah Muhammad" (June 23, 1964), in *Malcolm and the Cross*, pp. 221-222.
  - (5) George Breitman, "Allies and Alliances" and "Appendix A: Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives of the Organization of Afro-American Unity," *The Last Year of Malcolm X*, pp. 51-63, 115-122.

- (6) Albert Cleage and George Breitman, "Myths About Malcolm X: Two Views," *International Socialist Review* 28 (5) (September/October 1967), pp. 33-60.
- (7) Claude Andrew Clegg III, Chapter 7, "Trials and Tribulations," *An Original Man: The Life and Times of Elijah Muhammad*, pp. 149-189.
6. Sourcebook readings (available on Blackboard):
- (1) "Seek To Evict Malcolm X From Home in Queens," *Amsterdam News*, April 18, 1964, pp. 1-2.
  - (2) "Minister Who Knew Him Best," *Muhammad Speaks*, May 8, 1964, p. 13.
  - (3) Handler, "Malcolm X Pleased by Whites' Attitude On Trip to Mecca," *New York Times*, May 8, 1964, pp. 1, 38.
  - (4) "Seek to Link Malcolm X to Slayings in Harlem," *Amsterdam News*, May 9, 1964, p. 1.
  - (5) "Malcolm X Woods 2 Rights Leaders," *New York Times*, May 19, 1964, p. 28.
  - (6) "Malcolm Says He is Backed Abroad," *New York Times*, May 22, 1964, p. 22.
  - (7) "Malcolm Rejects Race Separation," *New York Times*, May 24, 1964, p. 61.
  - (8) "Goals Changed by Malcolm X," *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 1964, p. D26.
  - (9) "'My Next Move'—Malcolm X: An Exclusive Interview," *Amsterdam News*, May 30, 1964, pp. 1, 52.
  - (10) "The Truth About Fall of a Minister," *Muhammad Speaks*, June 5, 1964, p. 8.
  - (11) "Police on Alert Over Muslim Rift," *New York Times*, June 18, 1964, p. 25.
  - (12) "Malcolm X Flees for Life; Muslim Factions at War; Seize Guns, Ammo," *Amsterdam News*, June 20, 1964, pp. 1-2.
  - (13) "Clay Coming Here with Muhammad," *Amsterdam News*, June 27, 1964, pp. 1-2.
  - (14) "Malcolm Calls for Muslim Peace," *New York Times*, June 27, 1964, p. 9.
  - (15) "Malcolm X Repeats Call for Negro Unity on Rights," *New York Times*, June 29, 1964, p. 32.
  - (16) "Malcolm Says Muhammad Fails Cause of Negroes," *New York Times*, June 30, 1964, p. 20.
  - (17) Wechsler, "The Cult of Malcolm X," *The Progressive* (June 1964), pp. 24-28.
  - (18) "Open Letter: Muslim Minister Writes to Muhammad," *Muhammad Speaks*, July 3, 1964, p. 9.



7. Liz Mazucci, "Going Back to Our Own: Interpreting Malcolm X's Transition From 'Black Asiatic' to 'Afro-American,'" *Souls*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (Winter 2005), pp. 66-83 (available on Blackboard).
8. [www.malcolmproject.net](http://www.malcolmproject.net). Required viewing of interviews in sections, "A New Vision: The Epiphany of Mecca," and "African Sojourner, 1964."

#### X. November 19: "1965: The Final Months."

##### Readings:

1. Malcolm X/Haley, *Autobiography*, Chapter 19.
2. Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks*, pp. 88-156.
3. Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience*, pp. 147-173; 214-233.
4. Steve Clark, ed., *February 1965: The Final Speeches*, pp. 17-256.
3. MSE:
  - (1) Chapter 19.
  - (2) Multimedia Index: Malcolm X, "Zanzibar," OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Harlem, December 13, 1964 (to be listened to in conjunction with "At the Audubon" in Breitman).
  - (3) Multimedia Index: Malcolm X, *Prospects for Freedom*, January 7, 1965 (to be listened to in conjunction with "Prospects for Freedom in 1965" in Breitman).
  - (4) Multimedia Index: Malcolm X, "The Last Message," Detroit, February 14, 1965 (to be listened to in conjunction with "Educate our people in the science of politics" in Clark).
  - (5) Multimedia Index: "Malcolm X Speaks About Firebombing of His Home," New York: CBS News, February 15, 1965.
6. Blackboard reading: Claude Andrew Clegg III, Chapter 8, "Rumors of War," *An Original Man: The Life and Times of Elijah Muhammad*, pp. 190-234.
7. Sourcebook readings (available on Blackboard):
  - (1) "Malcolm X In, Out to London," *Amsterdam News*, December 5, 1964, p. 4.
  - (2) Lusbasch, "Malcolm Favors a Mau Mau in U.S.," *New York Times*, December 21, 1964, p. 20.
  - (3) Handler, "Malcolm X Cites Role in U.N. Fight," *New York Times*, January 2, 1965, p. 6.
  - (4) Les Matthews, "Muslim Factions At War; Clay's Ex-Secretary On Run," *Amsterdam News*, January 16, 1965, pp. 1-2.
  - (5) "Cassius (Muhammad Ali) Speaks Out on Malcolm X," *Amsterdam News*, January 16, 1965, pp. 1-2.
  - (6) Booker, "Malcolm X Speaks," *Amsterdam News*, February 6, 1965, pp. 1-2.
  - (7) "Malcolm X Barred From France," *London Times*, February 10, 1965, p. 11.

- (8) "Malcolm X Barred by French Security," *New York Times*, February 10, 1965, p. 3.
- (9) "Break Up of the Old World!," *Muhammad Speaks*, February 12, 1965, pp. 1, 3.
- (10) "I'm Ready to Meet the Challenges of the Messenger's Foes," *Muhammad Speaks*, February 12, 1965, p. 4.
- (11) "Malcolm [sic] X To Reveal New Plans," *Amsterdam News*, February 13, 1965, p. 5.
- (12) Handler, "Malcolm X Flees Firebomb Attack," *New York Times*, February 15, 1965, pp. 1, 21.
- (13) "Malcolm Accuses Muslims of Blaze; They Point to Him," *New York Times*, February 16, 1965, p. 18.
- (14) "Bottle of Gasoline Found on Dresser in Malcolm X Home," *New York Times*, February 17, 1965, p. 34.
- (15) "Malcolm X Denies He Is Bomber," *Amsterdam News*, February 20, 1965.
- (16) "Malcolm X Flees For His Life," *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 11, 1964, p. 4.
- (17) "Malcolm X Bids Africans, Take Negro Issue to U.N.," *New York Times*, July 18, 1964, p. 2.
- (18) "Malcolm X Lays Harlem Riot To 'Scare Tactics' of Police," *New York Times*, July 21, 1964, p. 22.
- (19) "Beware of False Prophets," *Muhammad Speaks*, July 31, 1964, pp. 1, 3, 8.
- (20) Handler, "Malcolm X Seeks U.N. Negro Debate," *New York Times*, August 13, 1964, p. 22.
- (21) "Mr. Muhammad Speaks: Calls Malcolm X Greatest Hypocrite He's Ever Seen," *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 5, 1964, p. 19.
- (22) "Order Eviction of MX," *Amsterdam News*, September 5, 1964, p. 1.
- (23) "Malcolm X Article Favors Goldwater," *New York Times*, September 8, 1964, p. 19.
- (24) "Vicious Scheming and Treachery by Malcolm X," "Biography of Hypocrite: By Two Muslim Brothers Who Knew Him Best," *Muhammad Speaks*, September 25, 1964, p. 16.
- (25) "Malcolm Rejects Racist Doctrine," *New York Times*, October 4, 1964, p. 59.
- (26) "Minister Exposed by Those Who Knew Him Through Life," *Muhammad Speaks*, October 9, 1964, p. 5.
8. [www.malcolmxproject.net](http://www.malcolmxproject.net). Required viewing of interviews in section "1968: The Final Months."

XI. November 26: "February 21, 1965: The Assassination and Aftermath."

Readings:

1. Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks*, pp. 194-226.
2. Blackboard readings:
  - (1) Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X*, Chapter 29, pp. 256-278; Chapter 48, pp. 359-373; and Afterthoughts, pp. 409-435.
  - (2) Earl Grant, "The Last Days of Malcolm X," in John Henrik Clarke, ed., *Malcolm X: The Man and His Times*, pp. 83-105.
  - (3) Eldridge Cleaver, "Initial Reactions on the Assassination of Malcolm X," *Souls on Ice*, pp. 50-61.
  - (4) C. Gerald Fraser, "Seeking Malcolm X," *American Legacy*, Vol. 8, no. 3 (Fall 2002), pp. 35-43.
  - (5) Manning Marable, "Malcolm X's Life After Death," *American Legacy*, Vol. 8, no. 3 (Fall 2002), pp. 44-61.
  - (6) Manning Marable, "Selling Malcolm: Black History on the Auction Block," *The Crisis*, Vol. 109, no. 5 (September/October 2002), pp. 18-21.
3. Sourcebook readings:
  - (1) Kihiss, "Malcolm X Shot to Death at Rally Here," *New York Times*, February 22, 1965, pp. 1, 10.
  - (2) Montgomery, "Harlem is Quiet as News Spreads," *New York Times*, February 22, 1965, p. 11.
  - (3) Lipsyte, "Other Muslims Fear For Lives," *New York Times*, February 22, 1965, p. 10.
  - (4) Benjamin, "Malcolm X Lived in 2 Worlds, White and Black, Both Bitter," *New York Times*, February 22, 1965, p. 10.
  - (5) Jones, "Malcolm Knew He Was a 'Marked Man'," *New York Times*, February 22, 1965, pp. 1, 11.
  - (6) Talese, "Police Save Suspect From the Crowd," *New York Times*, February 22, 1965, p. 10.
  - (7) Lissner, "Malcolm Fought for Top Power in Muslim Movement and Lost," *New York Times*, February 22, 1965, p. 11.
  - (8) "Obituary of Malcolm X," *New York Times*, February 22, 1965, p. 20.
  - (9) "Malcolm X Gunned Down," *Los Angeles Times*, February 22, 1965, p. 11.
  - (10) "Hatred for Whites Obsessed Malcolm X," *Los Angeles Times*, February 22, 1965, p. 11.
  - (11) "Muslim Mosque Burns in Harlem; Blast Reported," *New York Times*, February 23, 1965, pp. 1, 20.
  - (12) "China Reds Say Malcolm X Was Slain by 'Imperialists'," *New York Times*, February 25, 1965.
  - (13) Kihiss, "Hunt for Killers in Malcolm Case 'On Right Track'," *New York Times*, February 25, 1965, pp. 1, 18.
  - (14) Kenworthy, "Malcolm Called a Martyr Abroad," *New York Times*, February 26, 1965, p. 15.
  - (15) "Cops Fear Muslim 'War' Over Malcolm X Slaying," *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 27, 1965, p. 1.

- (16) "Baldwin: Malcolm's Death is a 'Setback'," *Amsterdam News*, February 27, 1965, p. 20.
- (17) "What Harlemites Say About Malcolm X Slaying," *Amsterdam News*, February 27, 1965, p. 22.
- (18) Hicks, "Another Angle: Malcolm X," *Amsterdam News*, February 27, 1965, p. 9.
- (19) "Trust Fund for Malcolm X's Kids," *Amsterdam News*, February 27, 1965, p. 1.
- (20) "Black Muslim Guard Held in the Murder of Malcolm X," *New York Times*, February 27, 1965, pp. 1, 10.
- (21) Rustin, "On Malcolm X," *New American*, February 28, 1965, pp. 1, 8.
- (22) Montgomery, "Malcolm Buried as True Moslem Despite the Unorthodox Ritual," *New York Times*, February 28, 1965, p. 72.
- (23) "30,000 Mourn Malcolm X," *Amsterdam News*, March 6, 1965, p. 33.
- (24) "Lawyer Says Malcolm Was Poisoned," *Amsterdam News*, March 13, 1965, p. 4.
- (25) "Malcolm X Fund Grows to \$5,200," *Amsterdam News*, March 13, 1965, p. 4.
- (26) "Malcolm X Aide Dead in Boston," *New York Times*, March 14, 1965, p. 57.
- (27) "Malcolm X's Sister Takes Over; Says She Fears New Violence," *New York Times*, March 16, 1965, p. 33.
- (28) Montgomery, "Malcolm X a Harlem Idol on Eve of Murder Trial," *New York Times*, December 6, 1965, p. 46.
4. Richard Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience*, pp. 238-241.
5. Interview with Herman Ferguson, "The Price of Freedom," *Souls*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (Winter 2005), pp. 84-106.
6. Steve Clark, ed., *Malcolm X: The Final Speeches*, pp. 257-266.
7. [www.malcolmxproject.net](http://www.malcolmxproject.net). Required viewing of interviews in section, "February 21, 1965: The Assassination and Aftermath."

## XII. December 3: Presentation of Research Papers.

Students post on Blackboard their research papers-in-progress. Students each must give 5-minute oral presentations about their papers, and answer questions at the seminar meeting.

XIII. Thursday, December 6: All final research papers must be submitted to me electronically (at [mm247@columbia.edu](mailto:mm247@columbia.edu)) by 5:00 p.m. Papers submitted after this date/time will be considered late.

Thursday, December 13: Final date for the submission of late research papers, with late penalty.

MM:sfc