

THE JOY OF BIRTH AND THE PAIN OF DELIVERY:  
MALCOLM X AND THE REBIRTH OF BLACK RADICALISM IN THE 1990's

Abdul Alkalimat  
May 19, 1992

SISTERS AND BROTHERS  
COMRADES AND FRIENDS

If this talk had been given a month ago it would have been a different talk and you would have been a different audience. **Los Angeles** has happened to all of us. We moved from a hypothetical to the real thing, we got an answer to our central question -- how long will our people take the pain and suffering before breaking out in rebellion?

I consider it a great opportunity to address a meeting at this moment, to speak at a time when many more of us are awake and asking questions, seeking the road forward toward rebuilding a powerful movement of Black liberation that can go through 'til the job is done. But let me also say that once the oppressed and exploited masses have broken out of the prison of silence, we have to take our intellectual task of political analysis and the forging of strategy and tactics very seriously. There are no quick and

easy answers, nothing is self-evident, nor can we assume that the debate is concluding, because the reality is that we are just beginning again.

My task is to discuss "Malcolm X and the Rebirth of Black Radicalism in the 1990's." First I want to place this discussion in a historical context that takes into account the recent wave of rebellions initiated in Los Angeles, and then I want to discuss the meaning of Malcolm X and finally make some comments on the shape and direction for social revolution in the USA.

Let us remember some basic facts:

1. Malcolm X was assassinated February 21, 1965 and the Watts rebellion broke out August 11, 1965. There were 34 killed, 1,032 injured, about 4,000 people were arrested, and approximately \$35 million in property damages.

2. In 1966, after James Meredith was shot by a sniper (would be assassin) on a march in Mississippi, the clarion call for Black power was issued forth. This was answered in October of 1966 when the Black Panther Party for Self Defense was formed in Oakland

California.

3. In 1967, July brought rebellions in Newark (23 killed, 1500 injured) and Detroit (43 killed, over 2000 injured) and a national conference on Black Power.

This was a period of great mass struggle, and corresponding repression by local, state, and federal troops. Organizational forms of resistance emerged, and a great debate about the nature of Black liberation was carried out. This represented a critical shift in the movement in the mid-1960's, from the south to the north, from civil rights to Black liberation. Malcolm X had put forward his ideas as political ideology, and these ideas began to become a material force when the masses spoke through collective action. The central issue was power, control over the resources of society, over the agencies of government, over the development and quality of life for the people of this country, and the role this country would play in the development of world affairs.

The struggle was clear for all to see. The counter revolution made strong moves: in 1968 Martin Luther King was killed, and

Richard Nixon was elected president of the United States. For our struggle, Malcolm had posed the question of two roads to power: the Ballot or the Bullet, the road of reform or the road of revolution. These proved to be the actual alternatives for the Black community.

Still under the middle class leadership of the civil rights movement, the majority choose the reform road and for over 2 decades primarily engaged in the exercise of seeking liberation at the ballot box.

On the other hand a militant minority besan to search for the road to revolution, they initiated a deeper search for a revolutionary vanguard. The key motion was the formation of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit, also in 1968. This search for a revolutionary vanguard went in many directions, usually following one of the main paths or tendencies reproduced from our radical Black tradition. Malcolm remained a universal reference for all positions and vanguard efforts.

Malcolm X was killed 27 years ago, and now he has been reborn in the hearts and minds of a new generation of Black youth. And

now, 27 years after the great Watts rebellion once again Los Angeles has erupted and put the issue of power on the agenda once again.

But this is a new time. We have had 27 years of following middle class Black leadership down the road of reformism utilizing the vote. We have voted for Black mayors, the Congressional caucus has expanded, we have a Black governor and we have even given Jesse Jackson two rides in the fast lane of the Democratic Party presidential primaries of 1984 and 1988. We did this to make things better, but the facts are that things have gotten worse.

The revival of Malcolm X comes out of these conditions, and everybody has to deal with it. Up til now the ruling class has dissed Malcolm and/or tried to "ig"him out of existence. Now they are trying the opposite tact, put his picture in a prime time TV sit-com (in fact 2 pictures hang on the set of ROC), and give up over \$30 million dollars to make a hollywood picture. The crises has intensified with the rebellion in Los Angeles -- the movie has a bigger job to do (cool out or misdirect) and we have a bigger job

to do (grasp more firmly the meaning of Malcolm X for the revolutionary road).

Who was Malcolm X? Was he a demon or a genius? Why is he the greatest hero of Black youth in the **1990's**?

#### WHO WAS MALCOLM X?

Perhaps even more than most people, Malcolm X was a man in motion. He experienced life so fully and **so** intensely that in his brief 40 years one has to say that he led several lives. Anytime someone attempts to define Malcolm X without regard to his full development they run the risk of distortion. And worse, this is often done as a cover for sectarianism, claiming Malcolm belongs to one's own political tendency. The responsible answer to this question requires examining his entire life and not one part of it.

Malcolm X, with the collaboration of Alex Haley, wrote a classic autobiography in the great tradition of the slave narratives of Gustavus Vassa and Frederick Douglas, and the autobiographical texts of Booker T Washington and WEB DuBois. This is our greatest single source about Malcolm X.

he had been isolated and rendered powerless other than as a source of vulgar naked violence. In this depth he experienced one of the great reversals of the 20th century, the rehabilitation and conversion of a hardened criminal. He met Bimbi, a prison intellectual, who taught him to respect language, books, and reasoning. Malcolm was introduced by his brothers and sisters to Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the Nation of Islam. These two men guided him to self emancipation, reading and writing his way to intellectual growth, and to a reversal of habits to reenforce a new life style and moral code.

He went into prison a degenerate criminal, and after seven years had become a model of commitment, dedication, and discipline when he was released in 1952. Malcolm was now a man. He was moving in the path of his father, as a Black nationalist organizer attempting to save Black people from the destruction of a white racist society.

For the next 12 years Malcolm became the main leader for the Nation of Islam's growth from 400 to 40,000 members, with Temples

organized in virtually every major city in the United States. Malcolm went to Detroit first, and then to live and study with Elijah Muhammad in Chicago. He was then assigned to organize key cities. He became Minister of the New York Temple and became the National Spokesperson for his organization and leader. He married and had 6 daughters.

#### Omowale (1964-1965)

Malcolm acted as one of the many sons of Elijah Muhammad, and was an extremely dedicated follower. However, strains developed, and on a personal and a political level the strain turned into conflict and led to separation. Mr Muhammad was alleged to have fathered several children out of wedlock with two very young assistants, and in Malcolm's eye's this was a devastating transgression only exceeded by the cover-up hoax to validate his behavior through biblical reference. Malcolm violated Muhammads mandate to remain silent after Kennedy's assassination with his famous statement "that chickens were coming home to roost." He was simply saying that "those who live by the sword die by the sword"

but in Muhammad's eyes this was an intolerable act of insubordination. Malcolm was silenced December 3, 1963, and he formally announced his independence from the Nation of Islam on March 8, 1964.

For the next year, Malcolm spent nearly 6 months abroad after announcing the formation of two organizations, the Muslim Mosque Inc. and the Organization of Afro-American Unity. In this last year Malcolm visited and lectured in over a dozen countries and established himself as atheoretical leader of the Black liberation movement. He had become even more dangerous outside of the sectarian Nation of Islam since people from all aspects of the Black community, and from all over the world were searching him out and seriously considering his ideological and political leadership. However, after less than 40 years, Malcolm was assassinated February 21, 1965 in New York City at the Audubon Ballroom while lecturing to his followers. After becoming a man advocating world brotherhood he was brutally murdered.

Malcolm X and Martin Luther King

The brief life of Malcolm X has become mythic in its implications, and full of lessons for the masses of Black people. His life is a stark contrast to Martin Luther King. King was "the Manor born," a third generation preacher in the same large middle class church in Atlanta, and a Morehouse College graduate with a PhD from Boston University. Malcolm X was the son of an itinerant preacher who never had a permanent church, and he had to survive juvenile delinquency, a life of street crime, and drug addiction. Both Malcolm X and Martin Luther King became great leaders, travelling different roads and leading different parts of the Black community, but both were brutally murdered.

Martin Luther King had reached great heights of accomplishment, but Malcolm X had just begun to climb. He had passed through four phases. A positive Black youth was rejected and turned into a dangerous criminal. This "Satan" was converted into a zealous religious leader, who in turn was being transformed in the last year of his life into a revolutionary thinker with great mass appeal in the Black community. His appeal was

especially with the "bottom of the pile Negroes," as he used to call the homeless, the unemployed, because he felt himself to be one of the greatest victims as well.

### Radical Black Tradition

The question remains, was he a demon or a genius? There were many in the mainstream who would argue that he was a harbinger of hate and racial violence, but this was usually the reaction of whites or middle class Blacks who were not used to hearing the honest and articulate voice of the Black masses who had suffered the brunt of all of the racist violence unique to the history of the USA. It truly was shocking to hear the echoes of slavery and the lynch mob in an articulate and fearless urban working class Black leader. Malcolm forced American and the world to see itself from the eyes of the Black victim.

Malcolm was a genius nurtured in the lessons of the radical Black tradition. This tradition has been produced anew by each generation on an ad hoc basis as each had to face and fight racism and poverty. But also, this radical Black tradition has been

symbolically reproduced as the continuity of cultural legacy in opposition to oppression. Traditions like this are greater than the leaders who maintain them. This is what is meant by the statement that you can kill a freedom fighter but not the fight for freedom. Malcolm was murdered and now he **is** being born again in the minds of a new generation of Black youth.

There are five aspects to the radical Black tradition:

1. Black religion: belief in a spiritual god force, a moral first principle that gives energy to the people to resist ("God helps those who fight back"). This includes the Voodoo priest who started the Haitian revolution, Nat Turner, and contemporary Black liberation theologians like James Cone, Cornel West, and Vincent Harding.

2. PanAfricanism: belief that all Black people are linked to Africa and the great origin of all human civilization, and are obligated to fight to liberate and unite Africa. This includes great leaders like Chaka Zulu, Bishop Henry Turner, and contemporary leaders like Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore, and

Amilcar Cabral

3. Nationalism: belief in the unity and development of the Black community, especially its social institutions. This includes most of the leadership of the Black community, especially the Black church and business community.

4. Feminism: belief in the defense and development of Black women as leaders of the Black community. This includes Queen Nzinga, Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, Ida B Well, and contemporary figures like Fannie Lou Hamer, Ella Baker, Ruby Doris Robinson.

5. Socialism: belief in social justice and economic equality based on the positive role of government and self help. This includes the radicals like Paul Robeson, CLR James, Claudia Jones, and Abner Berry.

The dynamic of this tradition defies dogmatism, as doctrinaire positions like that held by Malcolm was he was in the Nation of Islam are sectarian and isolationist. The dynamic has always gained energy when the masses of people have been engaged in a

great debate in which they have attempted to gain from applying all of these aspects of the tradition to their situation to solve their problems.

There have been three great debates: 1. The Emancipation Debate (Frederick Douglas, Martin Delaney, and others in the National Negro Convention Movement); 2. The Self-Determination Debate (W E B DuBois, Booker T Washington, and Marcus Mosiah Garvey); and 3. The Black Liberation Debate (Martin Luther King and Malcolm X). By becoming a standard bearer in one of the Great Debates of the Radical Black Tradition Malcolm X will be regarded as a genius of all time for the Black community. He will never be forgotten.

### Black Youth in the 1990's

The current situation for the Black community, especially Black youth, is do dire and the "dream" such a "nightmare" that there is a great necessity for the Radical Black Tradition. This is the significance of the Malcolm revival, a reawakening of the Great Debate for freedom. We are witnessing the beginning of a









