

THE MULTIFARIOUS *JIHADS* OF MALCOLM X:

*FROM MALCOLM LITTLE*

*TO*

*EL HAJJ MALIK EL-SHABAZZ*

*QUOTE: I AM ALL THAT I HAVE BEEN.*

*EL HAJJ MALIK EL-SHABAZZ, 1964*

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by

Keisha A. Hicks

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## ABSTRACT

Malcolm X is one of the most iconoclastic persons in the African American political and intellectual traditions. The challenge in performing the research for this thesis, was to find a way to examine the life of Malcolm X that is different from the scholarly work published to date. I contemplated on what might be the most impactful Islamic concept that has influenced American dominant culture during the past twenty years. The critical lens I chose to utilize is the Islamic cultural practice of *Jihad*. The attraction for me was juxtaposing various concepts of *Jihad*, which is most closely aligned with the manifestations of Malcolm's faith as a Muslim. By using *Jihad* as my critical lens for analyzing his life and speeches I hope to present an even greater appreciation for Malcolm X as a person of deep faith. The forms of Jihad I will apply for contextual analysis are Jihad bin Nafs {Jihad of the Heart}, Jihad bil Lisan {Jihad of the Tongue}, and Jihad bin Yad {Jihad of Action}. Having read the *Autobiography* several times at different stages during my academic career I thought I had gained a good understanding of Malcolm X's life. However, reading his published documents, interviews, and carefully studying his speeches I was exposed to him as an extraordinary public personality. I have determined that Malcolm X was one of the most compelling Black public intellectuals of the twentieth century.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

I was born in San Leandro, California and raised by my maternal grandparents Reverend Nathaniel Henderson and Nellie Jane Henderson. My grandparents both had a love for education. In my household we always had a library. It was not a formal library, just some bookshelves in our living room. My grandfather had a sixth grade education but was a voracious reader and a wealth of wisdom. Some of my earliest memories of him are of him sitting in his black reclining chair reading for hours. He mostly read his Bible due to him being a minister. The memory I take from watching him is he gave me a model of dedicated study and critical engagement. My grandmother was a real wordsmith she only had a ninth grade education. She adored the art of the written word. Her intellectual passion was crossword puzzles. I remember seeing her unearth words from patterns that would not reveal themselves to me. Her gift to me is a profound love for etymology. If my grandparents had been born at a different historical moment where they could have had access to higher education they both where more than capable being very accomplished intellectuals.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my maternal grandparents, my grandfather Reverend Nathaniel Henderson and my grandmother Nellie Jane Henderson for passing their love of learning on to me. If they had been born in different times they would have been scholars in their own rights.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

Malcolm X is the most popular African American Muslim in American history. He is often the introduction to Islam for Black Americans still today. Although, this fact of Malcolm as a Muslim is often overlooked by scholars and lay-people because Malcolm as a Black Nationalist was, and continues to be, more dynamic and exciting to the public. Malcolm's Black Nationalism is more pronounced in his published speeches and writings about him by other authors. His lectures in the Nation of Islam temples and later Nation of Islam (NOI) mosques are not available for public review but fortunately he left a wide body of public lectures, press conference footage, extensive interviews, and university lectures available for public examination.

The media portrayed Malcolm X as a Black Militant, anti-white, and anti-Christian. A review his life reveals that Malcolm was never associated with violence (unlike Martin, who was a constant victim of violence), but he was also often accused of preaching violence. The goal of this thesis is to develop a greater understanding of Malcolm X and the Islamic cultural practice of Jihad. As a burgeoning academic I wanted to take Malcolm X who is such an iconoclastic figure in African American History and complicate his narrative in a different way. I chose the Islamic cultural practice of Jihad because it is one of the most explosive words to emerge in the English lexicon in recent history.

The lasting fascination with Malcolm X in Black America is due to his unusually, multifaceted biography so much so that the reader can locate himself or herself in Malcolm's narrative. Malcolm's life experiences paralleled the Black American experience. In this regard his influence was widely felt by Black people because of the ability to identify with Malcolm at different points in his life. This is especially true when reading *The Autobiography of Malcolm X, as told to Alex Haley*. The candor Malcolm used even when recounting his lowest moments is what attracts



people to his autobiography. The Autobiography is how most people continue to be introduced to Malcolm X.

In thinking of a new way of attempting to describe Malcolm X in a succinct manner, I turned to the thesaurus to find underutilized synonyms for the word “many”. The word had to be attention-grabbing because it would become one of the most unique identifiers of my thesis. The word I chose was “multifarious”. According to the Oxford Dictionary, the word “multifarious” is an adjective having great variety and diversity; many and varied. I thought this word was perfect for what I was attempting to do with this intellectual work. Malcolm X still evokes strong reactions today. He is either positively or negatively associated; there is no grey area concerning Malcolm X. I am introducing the Islamic cultural practice of Jihad as a new or different critical lens in my methodology for examining Malcolm’s life as a Muslim. I felt it was important to connect a new descriptor to Malcolm X because I hope to broaden the intellectual discourse on him.

The embracement of Islam and the subsequent rejection of Christianity by Malcolm X continues to be a source of attraction for those who are searching for a form of autonomous religious identity that is not connected to chattel enslavement in the Americas. For those people who became interested in the Nation of Islam, Malcolm’s open rejection of Christianity by using the history of the enslavement of Africans and institutional racism being experienced by Blacks as one of the rationales for turning to Islam. The Nation of Islam was also where Malcolm was introduced to the national media as Minister Malcolm, the National Spokesperson for the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, the spiritual leader of the Nation of Islam.

In James Cone’s text *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream Or A Nightmare*, for example, the author uses the methodology of comparative analysis to juxtapose Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. In the Cone study Malcolm, the Black

Nationalist, is analyzed and compared to Martin Luther King Jr., the Christian integrationist, but Malcolm's faith as a Muslim is only nominally addressed. Dr. Cone is a Christian Theologian, which may have been his limitation. Islam is not generally thought of in the United States as being in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Moreover, to understand Islam requires some familiarity with the Qur'an and Arabic, which counts in part for the gap in the literature concerning Malcolm X as a Muslim.

Malcolm remains one of the most controversial and also most revered Black men in the African American political culture. Malcolm provided an alternative to the pacifism being espoused by Dr. King and other proponents of integration and assimilation. Malcolm spoke of building self-reliant businesses and institutions instead of petitioning the white dominant population for acceptance and inclusion. For young Blacks who read the autobiography the building of the Black community as viable and self-determining is still an issue because institutionalized racism has become even more exacerbated structurally over time and has not been ameliorated by integration.

My personal relationship with Malcolm X began 21 years ago. The first time I read the Autobiography of Malcolm X as told to Alex Haley was in 1988. At that point in my life I was in the embryonic stages of consciousness or awakening. I was beginning to define myself as a Black person on my own terms. As a child of the 1970s I was the chosen one in my family to desegregate the local elementary school that was virtually a public institution for white children. It was a position bestowed on me because my grandparents decided to move from Oakland, California to San Leandro, California. It was because of this geographical move my grandparents enrolled me in the neighborhood elementary school, which was all white. I was the subject of very racialized forms of educational and social discrimination. Having been socialized into a very negative perception of Blackness, reading The Autobiography of Malcolm X was cathartic and self-affirming.

During his life Malcolm X was easily the most recognizable Muslim in America. Malcolm is also one of the most misunderstood Muslims in modern African American history because he is narrowly defined as a Black Nationalist. In the text *American Jihad: Islam After Malcolm X* by Steven Barboza, the author provides us with a window of opportunity that many may have been ignored. “Regardless of whether one remembers the angry<sup>1</sup> Malcolm X of earlier days or the equality conscious El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, his stamp on the American Islamic landscape is enduring, his influence undeniable. Many Muslim converts were steered toward the religion through his autobiography, as told to Alex Haley (Barboza, 1993, p. 17).” The introduction to Islam in Black America is consistently done through *The Autobiography of Malcolm X as told to Alex Haley* since its publication in 1965. The enduring influence of Malcolm X, especially via his autobiography, is due to its relevancy across the Black American experience.

Most Americans have a very limited exposure to Islam, and subsequently they are only familiar with the Islamic cultural practice of Jihad bis Saif {Jihad by the sword}, which is associated with violence. However, there are five different forms of Jihad within Islam according to the Islamic web site [www.justislam.co.uk](http://www.justislam.co.uk).

(1) Jihad bin Nafs/Qalb “the greater Jihad” (al-jihad al-akbar){Jihad of the Heart or Soul}- The inner struggle with self (transformation), (2) Jihad bil Lisan {Jihad by the tongue}- It is defending Islam and spreading Islam by scholarly lectures, speeches, debates, and speaking out against injustices. (3) Jihad bil Yad {Jihad by the hand}- This is the Jihad of action rather

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<sup>1</sup> Barboza uses the adjective “angry” to describe the overwhelmingly honest critiques of American racism and society Malcolm provided was a poor word choice in my opinion. A more appropriate moniker could have been “fiery” or “animated”.

than words. (4) Jihad bil Qalam {Jihad by the Pen or Knowledge}- This form of Jihad involves scholarly research of Islam in aiding the spread and defense of Islam. (5) Jihad bis Saif {Jihad by the sword} “the lesser Jihad” (al-jihad al-asgahar) – There are only two situations which this form of Jihad is permissible (a) Self-defense – When someone attacks you or your nation. (b) Fighting against evil and injustice – It is a sin if a Muslim sees injustice being done and is capable of stopping it, yet does nothing about it.

(<http://www.justislam.co.uk>, 2009, The True Meaning of Jihad).

I chose to use this definition of Jihad because it was written to be clear for those who are not Muslims. Most importantly, the web site directs the reader to Suras or Chapters and Verses in the Qur’an that validates their definitions.

The word Jihad does not appear in the Arabic lexicon until 1869 C.E. according to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary. The applicable definitions are “a personal struggle in devotion to Islam especially involving spiritual discipline or a crusade for a principle or belief (Merriam-Webster, 2009, Jihad).” The word Jihad is not found in the Qur’an because the Qur’an was revealed to Muhammad in the year 610 C.E. The aforementioned can be explained by two realities: (1) being time being needed to develop Islam and gain a following; and (2) being during Muhammad’s time when people were highly migratory, while wide scale literacy requires permanent residency for schools or training facilities to be established. Although the Merriam-Webster entry is a non-Islamic based definition, it goes beyond the association with violence normally thought of when using the word Jihad, to include the other applications.

The Islamic Studies Online database defines Jihad in a more Islamic centered fashion.

Generally referring to an endeavor toward a praiseworthy aim, the term jihad has many meanings. Muslims use the term to refer to battles within themselves or to efforts to improve the Islamic community. In the West, jihad is often translated as “holy war.” In books on Islamic law and in the Qur'an, the word often refers to armed conflict in defense of Islam. This “jihad of the sword,” however, is only one of four types of struggle. Muslims can also wage jihad of the heart, the tongue, and the hand, which involve purifying the inner self, supporting good deeds, and halting harmful actions. (Islamic Studies Online, 2009, Jihad).

Some scholars on Islam who explicitly define Jihad in their work may or may not include Jihad bil Qalam, Jihad by the pen as a formal form of Jihad because it is so closely aligned with Jihad bil Lisan, Jihad of the tongue. I have decided to err on the side of caution and acknowledge all five forms of Jihad although I will be restricting my work to the three forms I have identified earlier.

A scholarly definition is provided by Jalil Roshandel and Sharon Chadha in their text *Jihad and International Security* use the following definition “The Arabic word for jihad is derived from the Arabic root j-h-d, which in its verb form actually means to struggle or strive for something. This is why the term jihad can also be used to describe a moral or spiritual struggle, or even an effort to eliminate illiteracy or poverty (Roshandel & Chadha, 2006, p. 40). The Roshandel & Chadha definition

emphasizes the notion of “striving in the way of God” as being a quest for greater spiritual development as a Muslim.

Richard Brent Turner includes the lesser-known forms of Jihad in his text *Islam in the African American Experience*. The author takes a more obligatory stance on the application of Jihad as being more of a religious requirement depending on the category. Therefore, his definition gives a wide spectrum of applications. “The essence of jihad as a religious obligation for all Muslims was the “struggle for truth in the way of God,” which in Islam’s history was expressed in different forms, from military force against nonbelievers to an inner struggle with one’s self.” (Turner, 1997, p. 14) In Turner’s definition, he covers the most public display of jihad being violent conflict to the most private being the struggle with the inner self. Turner takes his definition of Jihad from acts of violence, which are finite in their duration, to the introspective, that can span a lifetime.

Muslim Scholar Ali Mazrui define Jihad as a form of struggle, which can be introspective or very demonstrative. In his text, *Islam: Between Globalization and Counterterrorism*, Ali Mazrui defines Jihad as the following: “Contrary to popular western perceptions, jihad does not mean “holy war”. But it does mean “sacred struggle”. The struggle can be armed struggle or peaceful striving, a struggle against others or demons in oneself, a physical struggle or an intellectual one, a self regarding struggle or an other-regarding confrontation.” (Mazrui, 2003, p. 82) Dr. Mazrui’s definition give a wide breadth of applications for Jihad which all fall under Islamic doctrine.

In the text *The Future of Political Islam* by Graham E. Fuller: Jihad is defined as the following:

The word jihad may be familiar but not so the distinction between greater (akbar) and lesser (asghar) jihad: the greater is the constant struggle within the self against evil impulses that must be overcome to lead a pious life, while the lesser jihad represents defense of the Muslim community against non-Muslims, or external war against unbelief (kufr) under various conditions (Fuller, 2003, p. 150).

Muslim scholars Mazrui, Turner, and Fuller all agree on the definition of Jihad bin Nafs/Qalb being the greater or al jihad-akbar because it requires a struggle with the self. In the case of Malcolm X and the Islamic cultural practice of Jihad bin Nafs provides an alternative lens to study his personal transformation. Richard Turner uses the Christian practice of preaching as being comparable to Jihad bil Lisan {Jihad by the tongue} in an effort to get non-Muslims to understand the Islamic tenet. Jihad bil Yad {Jihad by the hand} is a prism by which we can analyze how Malcolm lived as a Muslim. The Jihad Bil Yad, or jihad by the hand, requires a believer to choose to do what is right and combat injustice by one's actions. In a sense, putting action behind Jihad bil Lisan, or struggle by the tongue.

For the purposes of this thesis I will be limiting the scope of this project to the first three forms of Jihad. Jihad bin Nafs {Jihad of the Heart}, Jihad bil Lisan {Jihad by the tongue}, and (3) Jihad bil Yad {Jihad by the hand} are the three forms I hope to find most closely associated with Malcolm X. By using the Islamic cultural practice of Jihad as a critical lens for examining the political speeches of Malcolm X we complicate his narrative in a unique way, which invites original scholarship. The goal is to use the speeches of Malcolm X as tests to explore his faith as a Muslim. By using the life and work of one of the most popular Muslims in American history as a way to examine a way to clear the misconceptions surrounding the definitions and uses of Jihad.

## Methodology

The methodology for this thesis will be primary and secondary sources. The Autobiography of Malcolm X as told to Alex Haley and selected speeches delivered by Malcolm X or El Hajj Malik El Shabazz, as primary texts, and books or scholarly works written using Malcolm X as the subject as secondary texts. The Islamic terminology will be from the Oxford Islamic Studies database accessed via the Cornell University Library System. The four chapters will be as follows:

### Chapter One

#### Introduction

The scholarship on Malcolm X to this point presents Malcolm X as the National Spokesman for the Nation of Islam, a Black Nationalist, and lastly as a Pan-Africanist. The gap in the literature on Malcolm X emerges when the lack of inquiry on how Islam manifested itself in Malcolm's life is taken into consideration. Since the Nation of Islam is a Black Nationalist religious organization, it is very logical that the bulk of scholarship on Malcolm tends to focus on his affiliation with the organization and as a Black Nationalist operating within that context. Moreover, the association between Malcolm and the Nation of Islam is made even stronger when taking into consideration that the greatest majority of public speeches and the Autobiography of Malcolm X as told to Alex Haley was produced while Malcolm was still in the Nation. In an effort to further the intellectual discourse on Malcolm X as a Muslim, I have chosen to use the Islamic cultural practice of Jihad as a critical lens for the purpose of contextual analysis. If we find any positive association with Jihad it would be quite organic on Malcolm's part because he never overtly referred to Jihad while reflecting on his life.



## Chapter Two

### The Nation of Islam

The Nation of Islam is the first Black Nationalist organization with Islam as its religion. It was also the conduit for Malcolm X to enter the world stage as an orator, political leader, and author. The Nation of Islam is the major Islamic centered organization in the African American historical narrative. In order to gain an understanding of the Nation of Islam and Islam in the Black community, it is important to answer the question of how Islam was introduced to America. The genealogy of Islam in America must begin with the enslavement of African Muslims. It is important to discover how enslaved African Muslims maintained their faith. Moreover, how did enslaved African Muslims use Islam to defy their enslavement?

The Black Nationalist Tradition is also foundational to the Nation of Islam. Any conversation on Black Nationalist intellectualism and Islam must begin with David Walker and end with the Ahmadiyya Movement. We will see how the use of Islam changes from being used to justify individual freedom as in the case of enslaved African Muslim Abd al-Rahman Ibrahima as noted in Terry Alford's text *A Prince Among Slaves*. Islam will transition into being used to justify collective freedom and equality for enslaved Africans, free Blacks, and later emancipated Africans. Islam in America will change from being a mode of obtaining individual freedom for a few enslaved African Muslims to being used as a religious retention of a free African past to make the argument for group forms of resistance to enslavement. In the 20<sup>th</sup> Century we will see the development of Black Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and Pan-Islamic doctrines in Black American communities.

## Chapter Three

### Malcolm X and El Hajj Malik El Shabazz

The evolution of his leadership development should become evident in his public speeches especially after his split from Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam. How was his faith as a Muslim tested and did it change and how did these changes find their way into his speeches. Categorization of his speeches by historical periodization Malcolm's speeches and activism may correspond to Jihad bin Naf (Transformation), Jihad bil Lisan (Speech), and Jihad bil Yad (Action) as selected speeches are analyzed.

#### Chapter Four

#### Conclusion

The culmination of this thesis is in developing a neoteric<sup>2</sup> or new methodology for analyzing the life of Malcolm X as a Muslim. The answering of the overarching question for this thesis is whether Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz implicitly or organically used the forms of Jihad bin Nafs {Jihad of the Heart}, Jihad bil Lisan {Jihad by the tongue}, and (3) Jihad bil Yad {Jihad by the hand} in his life? Lastly, how can the forms of Jihad found in Malcolm's life lend themselves to a greater understanding of El Hajj Malik El Shabazz and provide in part some demystification of Islam?

#### Chapter Two: Nation of Islam

The Nation of Islam is a part of two traditions in African American history: the first being Islam in the American experience and the second being the Religious Black Nationalist tradition. These two traditions were evident in Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam. The Nation of Islam, as we know it, was the product of Elijah Muhammad, who introduced Islam to African Americans, while furthering the discussion on Black Nationalism.

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<sup>2</sup> Neoteric- Modern or new. According to Merriam – Webster Dictionary

Muhammad not only crafted the doctrine of the Nation of Islam in order to be attractive to the “negroes” of his time, he was also responsible for introducing Islam to Malcolm X. The Nation of Islam was the vehicle for Malcolm X to enter the world stage. In this chapter the history of the Nation of Islam along with the philosophies of Elijah Muhammad will be discussed. Included in that discussion will also be a conversation on how Islam transformed itself in the United States over time.

The Nation of Islam is one of the most enduring Black religious Nationalist organizations in African American history. The Nation of Islam doctrine is grounded in the tenets of both Black Nationalism and Islam in America. The original introduction of Islam to America began with the enslavement of Africans, which at that time enjoyed a dense Muslim population especially in the Senegambian region of West Africa. The Nation of Islam reintroduced Islam to the religious narrative of Blacks in the United States. By appropriating and adapting some of the religious philosophies from Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple, the Nation of Islam continued to broaden the discourse on Black spirituality beyond Christianity. The Nation of Islam is also a Black Nationalist organization, which was influenced by Marcus Garvey and the Garveyite Movement.

The Lost Found Nation of Islam in America is the formal name for what is today referred to as the Nation of Islam or more commonly NOI<sup>3</sup>. In the text the Black Crescent, Michael Gomez states “According to records internal to the organization, the Lost Found Nation of Islam in America was founded on July 4, 1930.” (Gomez, 2005, p. 276) The founder was W.D. Fard Muhammad. In some sources he was of Arabic extraction. In others his father was Pakistani and his mother was Caucasian. This is a

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<sup>3</sup> NOI – The abbreviation NOI will be used interchangeably with the more common moniker Nation of Islam.

very interesting point because the Nation of Islam has a long history of promoting a Black Nationalist agenda while serving the Black community exclusively.

According to Gomez and other scholars on the Nation of Islam, W.D. Fard Muhammad mysteriously disappeared from public record and the Nation of Islam in 1934 never to be heard from again. The disappearance of W.D. Fard Muhammad will become important later in the Nation of Islam narrative. W.D. Fard Muhammad was the exclusive leader of the Nation of Islam for only four years.

Elijah Muhammad and the other followers of W.D. Fard Muhammad could not read the Qur'an for themselves because they were English speakers and non-fluent in the Arabic language. The followers of W.D. Fard Muhammad were also dependent on his teachings and interpretations to introduce them to Islam and Islamic cultural practices. The crucial importance of W.D. Fard Muhammad is he introduced Islam to Elijah Poole whom would later become Elijah Muhammad. "The contention here is that, although Fard Muhammad may have launched the Nation, it was Elijah Muhammad who established it and who is primarily responsible for the bulk of its teachings." (Gomez, 2005, p. 276) Due to the brevity of W.D. Fard Muhammad's involvement with the Nation of Islam it was Elijah Muhammad who gave the organization the doctrine and Nation of Islam cultural practices we currently associate with the Nation of Islam.

The greatest contribution made by W.D. Fard Muhammad to the Nation of Islam was transforming Elijah Poole into Elijah Muhammad. The practice of assuming a new name signified a break from his Christian past to embrace his future as a Muslim. The process of taking an Islamic name began with Elijah Muhammad. Although Elijah Muhammad did not take an X, according to Nation of Islam history, W.D. Fard Muhammad gave him the name Muhammad.

After Elijah Muhammad assumed power as the leader of the Nation of Islam, he instituted the procedure for all new initiates into the Nation of Islam to earn their “X.” “To commemorate his rebirth, the convert drops his last name and is known simply by his first name and the letter X...At a later date, Muhammad may grant the convert a new – that is, an “original” surname, such as Shabazz.” (Lincoln, 1961, p. 110) The process of earning your X was directly correlated with two standard requirements, the first being demonstrating proficiency of learning the Nation of Islam doctrine which is incumbent upon all new converts to the Nation of Islam. The second would have been the prolonged demonstrations of faith as a Muslim and allegiance to Elijah Muhammad.

The greatest influences of Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple can be seen in the internal workings of the Nation of Islam. Noble Drew Ali introduced the practice of assuming an Islamized name. “Each new member attaches the term “el” or “bey” to his name in signification of his Asiatic status.” (Lincoln, 1961, p. 54) Similarly, during Elijah Muhammad’s reign as the leader of the Nation of Islam, members were required to earn their “X” which stood for the lost Islamic last name due to the enslavement of Africans who were brought to America. Elijah Muhammad’s logic in this case ignores the historic reality that all enslaved Africans were Africans, not necessarily Muslims. This is one of the areas where Elijah Muhammad makes attempts at legitimizing his interpretation of Islam.

In the self-published text *Message To The Blackman in America* Elijah Muhammad is very clear about the demands to improve the lives of so-called Negroes<sup>4</sup>. Like his Black Nationalist predecessor, Marcus Garvey, who delivered the

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<sup>4</sup> So-Called Negro or Negroes – This is a rejection of the word Negro used by the Nation of Islam as a racial descriptor for Black people who were not members of the Nation of Islam. A Muslim will always be identified as such by other Muslims. Black people who were outside of the Nation of Islam were still in the oppressor and oppressed relationship with whites because they had not thrown off the monikers of being Negroes or Colored.

Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World on August 13, 1920 at Madison Square Garden in New York City (finish your thought). Garvey made the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) position clear on issues concerning the economic, educational, and judicial forms of discrimination that Black people endured irrespective of their geographical location. Garvey internationalized the plight of Africans near and abroad as being related to their conditions of subjugation through enslavement or institutional racism by Europeans or whites. “Later, the UNIA delegates drafted a Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World. The declaration spelled out the Negro’s rights in terms of political and judicial equality, racial self-determination and an independent Africa under a Negro government.” (Lincoln, 1961, p. 59) In fact, Muhammad issued succinct demands for the equality between the Black and white races in the Nation of Islam’s declarative statements in “What Do The Muslims Want.” Muhammad borrows heavily from Garvey in the retrospect addressing issues of economic inequality, police brutality, and disparities in access to quality education.

Muhammad makes the Nation of Islam’s case for freedom, equality in the legal system, equality of opportunity, reparations, the right to practice Islam in Federal prisons, an end to police brutality, equal employment, no taxation without equal justice, equal education but separate schools<sup>5</sup>. In his appeal for these demands to be met by the Federal government, Elijah Muhammad addressed every social institution that discriminates against Black people. Muhammad knew that white America would never make the concessions necessary for his demands for equality for the Black man. This would require the dismantling of the white supremacist power structure. In other words, America would have to live up to its rhetoric on racial equality. “The Nation of

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix One

Islam was not only rejecting the American mainstream but was threatening to disrupt the social order “by any means necessary” if blacks did not get what they wanted.” (Myers, 1993, p. 107) Since this was not going to happen, Elijah Muhammad offered his brand of Islam to the so-called Negro as a means for them to gain his or her autonomy.

The question of gaining personal freedom through Islam as opposed to how Black people have been raised since enslavement process in America became key. In other words, Islam arrived at the same time with the enslaved Africans. Elijah Muhammad cannot be credited with introducing Islam to Black America. Islam has been a part of our collective historical memory since enslaved Africans began to arrive in the Americas. Individuals and groups used Islam during African enslavement as a means of resistance to their status as “bondsmen”. The enslaved African Muslim may have used Islam as a way to remember their past life when they were free. Enslaved Africans passed on Islam to their children as much as they could for similar reasons. They wanted to instill in their children that they were much more than the slave master’s classification of them— being sub-human. The reality is Islam was introduced to West Africa as an interloper religion. West Africans had their own naming traditions, which preceded the introduction of Islam in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. It is very plausible that Elijah Muhammad could have been uneducated in the genealogy of Islam in West Africa.

The greatest number of enslavement of Africans where primarily from Senegambian region of West Africa is a well-documented fact. One of the seminal texts on this discourse is *Exchanging our Country Marks* by Michael Gomez. So the question of did Islam survive the Middle Passage has been settled for some time.

Although, there are few surviving narratives of enslaved Muslims, four cases that have been recorded from the antebellum period stand out. Respectively, there are

the cases of Abd al-Rahman Ibrahima (Prince), Bilali or Belali Mahomet (Ben Ali), Salih Bilali, and Umar bin Said or Omar bin Said (Omar-ben-Sayeed). All of these enslaved Africans retained their faith as Muslims during their captivity.

Since the beginning of documented human activity Africans have had a worship relationship to a power greater than themselves. Whether it be manifested in a traditional African belief system or through Islam, Africans have always been a people who had a deep spiritual core. In fact, much of West African cultural practices evolve around traditional religious practices such as ancestral worship, the spiritual connection to nature, and is often expressed in song and dance during times of harvest and sanctioned festivals.

The region of West Africa had a very vibrant religious culture grounded in traditional or ethnic customs. Why did this region become Islamized over time? Islam in West Africa enjoyed two main modes of transmission: (1) the spread by warfare or violence Jihad bis Saif <sup>6</sup>; and (2) by trade via the routes of the Sahel from East Africa westward. According to the Richard Brent Turner text, Islam in the African American Experience “West African Islam can be traced to the introduction of Islam in the Sudan in the eighth or ninth century.” (Turner, 1997, p. 13) Along with the religion came Islamic cultural practices and economic trade, no matter how Islam was introduced to a Society.

In terms of Islam spreading via trade, it is a deeply entrenched Muslim custom to do business with other Muslims. In this light, it is an accepted practice, and an economic advantage to become a Muslim. Michael Gomez states in *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*.

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<sup>6</sup> Jihad bis Saif – Jihad by the Sword



As a consequence of Berber and Arab commercial activity, Islam had penetrated the savannah below the Sahara by the beginning of the ninth century. Some sub-Saharan African or (Sudanese) merchant living in the sahil or sahel...and the savannah began to convert, so that Islam became associated with trade, especially long-distance networks of exchange (Gomez, 1998, p. 61).

In this instance Islamization took on a social and economic class connotation. The ruling classes and traders of indigenous West African societies came in to contact with Islam and Arabs because of economic ventures in the trade of salt and gold.

Trade was the method for the transmission of Islam and Islamic culture to the ruling elite of West Africa. Islam spread to the masses through warfare as well. The Islamization of West Africa through Jihad bis Saif or violence is more fundamental to Islam and the enslavement of Africans in America<sup>7</sup>. “From the seventh century until the beginning of the modern era, Islam used conquest, conversion, and trade to establish a global civilization that united Africans, Asians, and Europeans under a common religion, language and rule.” (Turner, 1997, p. 13) The spread of Islam westward towards the Atlantic Ocean was a part of the global transmission of Islam, which was advancing eastward through the Far East as well.

The spread of Islam was in collusion with the trafficking in human beings. The Prophet Muhammad owned slaves himself. In fact, the first Black African converted to Islam was Bilal ibn Rabah, an Ethiopian who is also recorded in Islamic history as the first Diasporic Muslim. Muhammad set him free. “Bilal, a recently freed Abyssinian slave, became part of the inner circle of Islam and the first muezzin-the person who called Muslims to prayer in Medina.” (Turner, 1997, p. 13) As the

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<sup>7</sup> Although the enslavement of Africans happened throughout the Americas and Caribbean the focus of this chapter will be centralized in Islam in the United States.

Muezzin, Bilal enjoyed an elevated status because of his role in the community. Since all Muslims must pray five times daily, the Muezzin controls the daily activity of the Islamic Ummah or community because all activity ceases. I am mentioning Bilal because it is important to note the example Muhammad left concerning slavery. This will become important because of the enslavement of Africans who will be lost in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade were acquainted with the Islamic form of slavery, meaning the enslavement of captives of war or debtors. In any case, West Africans by and large were not familiar with the notion of chattel slavery, which was enslavement in perpetuity.

The first documented West African Muslim I will be addressing is Abd al-Rahman Ibrahima (Prince). His life is chronicled in the text *Prince Among Slaves* by Terry Alford. “Like some other African kings and princes, “Prince” had been enslaved when defeated in a war.” (Alford, 2007, p. 3) The enslavement process of Abd al-Rahman Ibrahima<sup>8</sup> was fraught with immediate losses of dignity. “His captors stripped him of his garments and ornaments and forced him to walk barefoot for one hundred miles to the Gambia River. There they sold him to the Mandinka slates who were the middle-men for the European slave traders.” (Turner, 1997, p. 29) A man of Ibrahima’s status would have never walked barefooted anywhere because it is against Arabized Islamic cultural practices. It is considered an unclean practice and he would have been totally unfamiliar with being in a state of undress in public. Moreover, Ibrahima’s state of being unclothed in public goes against the Islamic cultural practice of modesty. As a member of royalty of the Fulbe people his robes would have delineated his social status and the loss of his clothing symbolized his new reality.

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<sup>8</sup> *Abd al-Rahman Ibrahima* will be referred to as Ibrahima in this paper as a point of brevity.

As proof of Ibrahima's familiarity with slavery in the Islamic world Ibrahima is questioned about the similarity between slavery in America and in Timbo<sup>9</sup>. "He was asked in later years, when he had learned to speak English, if slavery at Natchez and Timbo weren't really the same. "No, no," he replied earnestly, "I tell you, [a] man own slaves [at Timbo] –he join the religion –he very good, He make slaves work till noon, go to church, then till sun go down, they work for themselves. They raise cotton, sheep, cattle, plenty, plenty." (Alford, 2007, p. 49) Ibrahima described the difference between Islamic and chattel slavery. Any form of slavery however is cruel and is in opposition to the human spirit's desire for self-determination. Ibrahima was not prepared for what awaited him in Natchez Mississippi. Work on the plantation was hard and very physical. Ronald Segal in the text *Islam's Black Slaves: The Other Black Diaspora* states: "Specifically, the master was advised not to show contempt for his slave; to share his food with him and provide clothing similar to his own; to set him no more than moderate work; not to punish him excessively if he did wrong, but to forgive him "seventy times a day"; and if they could not get on well together, to sell him to another master." (Segal, 2001, p. 35) Ibrahima knew the practice of slavery in accordance with the laws set forth by the Prophet Muhammad, not slavery in perpetuity. As a warrior he did not perform agricultural duties. In short, any form of slavery is still slavery.

The cultural retention Ibrahima was able to maintain during his years of enslavement on the Foster Plantation was due to his faith in Islam. Ibrahima was a devout Muslim as much as his enslavement would allow. Ibrahima retained his ability to write in Arabic, which is a direct reflection of his status from his past African life. "Abd al-Rahman would write the Fatiha (opening Sura, or chapter, of the Qur'an) for whites who believed they were receiving the Lord's Prayer in an exotic hand."

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<sup>9</sup> Timbo is the city Ibrahima lived in before his enslavement.

(Gomez, 1998, p. 75) The requirement of literacy in Islam complicated the notion of chattel slavery. According to Europeans, Africans had no language or history, which makes Africans non-humans and fit for enslavement. So the act of writing in Arabic refutes this notion of Africans having a non-human status through the assertion of human agency by demonstrating the ability to reason.

In the end, Ibrahima was able to use Islam to gain his freedom through his ability to read and write in Arabic. “The large, cursive letters of his hand could have belonged to a subject of the empire. The impression was that they did. Abd al-Rahman II acted with unaccustomed speed. He wanted the writer possibly a Moroccan, but undeniably a Muslim –free and would even pay for it.” (Alford, 2007, p. 100) The American Colonization Society (ACS), an organization whose purpose was the repatriation or expatriation of Africans and Free Blacks to West Africa (modern day Liberia and Sierra Leone) became a sponsor for Ibrahima because they believed he had converted to Christianity. In their racialized ignorance whites who knew Ibrahima identified him as a Moroccan prince because of his knowledge of Islam and ability to write in Arabic.

In order to take advantage of “Christian” charity Ibrahima declared a conversion to Christianity, which fit with the plans of the ACS to spread Christianity in West Africa. Although it is not discussed it is plausible for Ibrahima to have had extensive knowledge of Christianity because his second wife was a Christian, and more importantly his master was a Christian. It was a standard practice for Sundays to be days of light work for enslaved Africans who went to church. In Ibrahima’s case going to Christian church was an act against his enslavement because he was not working or performing any tasks for his master during church. Ibrahima’s ability to retain his Muslim identity and extensive working knowledge of Christianity worked to his advantage because he died on African soil in Sierra Leone as a free man.

The second enslaved African Muslim to be discussed is Bilali also known as Belali Mahomet (Ben Ali). Bilali was born in Timbo, Futa Jallon (Turner, 1997, p. 33). “Like Ayuba b. Sulayman, Umar b. Said an Abn al-Rahman, Bilali was also Fulbe.” (Gomez, 1998, p. 73) Bilali was enslaved on the Sapelo Islands in Georgia on the Spaulding Plantation. Bilali came from a prominent cleric Muslim family. His family’s position in the Mandingo Fulbe community required literacy in Arabic and a vast knowledge of Islamic law, the Qur’an, and Islamic culture.

As his mode of resistance to his enslavement, Bilali gave his nineteen children Islamic names. “Bilali maintained his identity by giving his nineteen children Muslim names and teaching them Muslim traditions. When he died, he left an Arabic manuscript that he had composed and had his prayer rug and Qur’an placed in his coffin.” (Turner, 1997, p. 33) The little information we have on Bilali was gathered during the WPA project during the New Deal era. We have the oral traditions passed down to Bilali’s great-grandchildren about his life. Although, they themselves were of advanced age when interviewed, they provided evidence of a vibrant enslaved Muslim community that existed on Sapelo Island. For example, there was an interview conducted with Bilali’s great granddaughter Katie Brown, where she recounts the oral history of her great grandfather. “Belali<sup>10</sup> an his wife Phoebe pray on duh bead,” Katie recounted. (Rashad, 1995, p. 46) The act of maintaining Salat or Islamic prayer rituals was an act of resistance because performing Salat required a work stoppage three times a day<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Belali is a different spelling for Bilali and is the same person.

<sup>11</sup> Salat according to Islamic doctrine is performed five times daily but Bilal may have only been allowed to perform his prayers three times a day because of his condition of enslavement.

Bilali was able to maintain his African language of Fula and also a command of spoken Arabic due to the geographical isolation of the Sapelo Islands. According to Rashad:

Belali was educated in Qur'anic and conversational Arabic. He always wore a kufi (prayer cap), prayed to Allah three times a day and was buried with his Qur'an and praying sheepskin...Another Muslim slave on a neighboring plantation was born in Kianah on the Niger River between Jenne and Timbuktu. When he and Bilali conversed, they used the Foula language; however, when they prayed they used Arabic (Rashad, 1995, p. 47).

Because of the harsh physical conditions of life on the Sapelo Islands, such as high rates of malaria, humidity, and isolation from mainland Georgia, many slave owners were absentee. The preference of slave owners to live elsewhere allowed the enslaved Africans who lived on Sapelo and other neighboring islands to maintain their culture, religion, and languages uninterrupted.

Lastly, Bilali's most defiant act against his enslavement was to write his narrative in Arabic. Only other enslaved Africans who were literate in Arabic would have only understood the language; this gave him the freedom to express his thoughts and experiences outside of the gaze of his owners. In fact, it is very plausible for him to have passed it off as Christian text written in Arabic, and if discovered by his masters, it would have been looked on favorably by them. "A diary of Muslim Ben Ali<sup>12</sup>, and the material language in the manuscripts of two other Muslim slaves, Abu Bakr and Umar bin Said, were somewhat intelligible." (Rashad, 1995, p. 63) The

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<sup>12</sup> Ben Ali is an anglicized pronunciation for Bilali.

power of the written word defied their status as enslaved Africans because it was a record of their lived experiences as enslaved Africans in America.

The third enslaved African of concern is Salih Bilali, a contemporary of Bilali on the Sapelo Islands of Georgia. Salih Bilali was captured during his travels for his education. “Salih Bilali, born in Massina in 1765, was probably a member of a prominent Mandingo Fulbe clerical family. When he was twelve years old, he was taken into slavery while he was returning home from Jenne, one of the major black Muslim intellectual centers of West Africa.” (Turner, 1997, p. 34) It is important to note that another mode of becoming enslaved was by traveling alone. Also during this period of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, women and children were of higher market value because of the increased chances for longevity and procreation abilities. These were important factors for Slatées<sup>13</sup> being attracted to Salih Bilali.

Since the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was an international endeavor, the introduction and spread of Islam in the western hemisphere was an unintended consequence of chattel slavery. The Bahamas was the port of entry to the western world for Bilali and Salih Bilali “His religious steadfastness may have been the result of Islamic training under Bilali in the Bahamas and Georgia.” (Turner, 1997, p. 35) These enslaved Africans would continue their relationship for many years on the Sapelo Islands. They lived on Plantations in close proximity to each other. “Bilali and Salih Bilali, resided on neighboring plantations on neighboring sea islands, were considered best of friends and were in contact with others who were apparently Fulbe.” (Gomez, 1998, p. 74). It is plausible for the relationship between these two enslaved Africans to have served as the foundation for an Islamic community on their respective plantations.

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<sup>13</sup> Slatées – Mandingo intermediaries who brought captured Africans from the interior of the Senegambian region to the coast to be sold into slavery.

Salih Bilali continued to practice Islam during his enslavement. The status he enjoyed as the driver on the plantation afforded him the freedom to practice Islam more comfortably than other enslaved Muslims. “Such was his reliability that the owner left Salih Bilali in charge of the entire plantation for months at a time, without any other supervision. Likewise, Bilali (or Ben Ali), a contemporary of Salih Bilali, was also a dependable driver and managed a plantation of four or five hundred slaves on the Georgia island of Sapelo.” (Gomez, 1998, p. 71) The geographical isolation of the sea islands of St. Simons and Sapelo Islands of Georgia afforded the opportunity for enslaved Africans like Salih Bilali the ability to retain their African traditions, and most importantly practice Islam outside of the gaze of their slave masters.

Like his contemporary, Salih Bilali gave his children Islamic names and instructed them on how to be Muslims. What is interesting about Salih Bilali is the anglicizing of his Arab name (Bilal ibn Sulayman) to his grandson becoming Ben Sullivan over time. “Ben Sullivan was eighty-eight and living on St. Simons when interviewed by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the 1930s. He was the grandson of Salih Bilali, and his father’s name was “Belali” a direct indication of the grandfather’s desire to pass on his Islamic identity.” (Gomez, 1998, p. 77) This is an example of how an Islamic identity becomes masked over time because of the potential for discrimination from American born enslaved Africans as fewer enslaved Africans arrived in the Americas. The anglicizing of Arab names also may have occurred as generations of enslaved Africans were being born outside of Africa.

The last enslaved African in this chapter is Umar bin Said or Omar bin Said (Omar-ben-Sayeed)<sup>14</sup>. His enslavement began as it did for millions of other Africans: by war. “Similarly, Umar b. Said was born in Futa Toro, along the middle Senegal

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<sup>14</sup> Umar bin Said and Omar bin Said is the same person the spelling is different depending on the Author of a text. For example, Michael Gomez prefers Arabized pronunciation Umar bin Said and Richard Brent Turner uses anglicized pronunciation Omar bin Said.



valley, and was captured and sold in the beginning of the nineteenth century. He himself writes that at the age of thirty-one, “there came to our place a large army, who killed many men and took me, and brought me to the great sea, and sold me into the hands of the Christians.” (Gomez, 1998, p. 72) Being captured as a spoil of war was a dangerous position to be in because it almost always ended with enslavement somewhere within the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

Richard Turner corroborates Gomez’s account for the enslavement of Umar bin Said. “My name is Omar-ben-Sayeed. The place of my birth is Footah Toro, between the two rivers. (Probably the Senegal and Gambia, or the Senegal and Niger, in their upper parts.)...There came a great army to my country. They killed many people. They took me to the sea, and sold me in the hands of the Christians, who bound me, and sent me on board of a great ship.” (Turner, 1997, p. 37) The two accounts of Umar bin Said’s capture validate how enslavement happened for a large number of Africans.

It appears that literacy in Arabic seems to be a common skill for many enslaved Africans. This is no different for Umar bin Said. “Several Muslims, including Lamine Kaba, Biliali, and Umar b. Said, boasted of extensive educations in West Africa.” (Gomez, 2005, p. 179) One of the most fundamental cultural practices in Islam is for every Muslim to learn to write the Qur’an in Arabic. It is the language of the Prophet Muhammad and the only language Islam uses by practitioners of the faith.

Umar maintained his Islamic faith by appearing to have converted to Christianity. As stated earlier, there were enslaved Africans who escaped the harshness of enslavement by practicing Christianity. It was to Umar’s advantage to learn the dogma of Christianity because of the beliefs of his masters could be used against them in an effort to exercise Islam. “Although Omar attended church regularly

and was said to have written Christian prayers in Arabic for white people, the evidence indicates that he used these occasions to actually write Muslim inscriptions suggestive of inner jihad or the struggle within himself to maintain his faith in an alien environment.” (Turner, 1997, p. 39-40) Since Umar wrote in Arabic he had the ability to assert his agency as a Muslim in a Christian environment as Ibrahima did in his quest for freedom.

The reason why I chose to highlight the lives of these four enslaved Africans is because they were all captured in a similar fashion as spoils of war to be sold into the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Although the four men went to different areas in the American South, Ibrahima in Mississippi, Bilali to the Sapelo Islands and Umar in North Carolina, they managed to maintain their Islamic faith.

One of the fundamental tenets of chattel slavery was to replace the name, customs, and religion of enslaved Africans. The purpose was to produce a “beast of burden” that would be capable of producing labor and commercial goods for an economic benefit. Since the naming process in African cultures is very ritualized and steeped in tribal or clan tradition it provides an anchor for self-identification, because you will know who you are and your purpose. “The act of taking away an African’s name and religious traditions and assigning him a new name and a new religion in an alien land imposed on the black a rite of passage, an unholy confirmation- “branding a mark” into his consciousness that symbolized his depersonalization and subordinate state in a new social order.” (Turner, 1997, p. 44) For slave masters, it was counterproductive for enslaved Africans to maintain any connection to their African pasts because it would remind them of the time in their lives they were free and produce a desire for liberty. So it became very important for an enslaved African to accept their “slave name” because it gave the master a false sense of security against a slave revolt, but more importantly, slave names marked their property.

All of the enslaved Africans mentioned in this chapter resisted their enslavement by using a form of jihad referred to as Jihad bil Nafs or Jihad of the heart. These men used the education they received in their respective ummahs (i.e., communities). The reason why these men were all able to read and write in Arabic was because they were Muslims, and a requirement for all Muslims is to memorize the Qur'an.

However, it should be appreciated that literacy within the towns maintained Madrasas (or Qur'anic schools), which children from ages seven to fourteen, both boys and girls, went for instruction. With Madrasa began memorization of the Qur'an by heart, and Arabic grammar was introduced. From Madrasa, young men (and occasionally young women) of sufficient means moved on to more advanced studies, often requiring travel from one town to another in order to study under the appropriate Shaykh, or master teacher of a specific curriculum. The more advanced students went on to renowned centers of learning, such as Pir and Jenne, where there were concentrations of scholars (Gomez, 2005, p. 179).

This passage is important when taking into account the fact that all of these men came from families of prestige. Their family lineage and economic status allowed them to study Arabic and Islam at advanced levels of engagement. Moreover, they came from ummahs who valued education. In this type of society it would have been very common for the vast majority of the people to be able to read and write in Arabic.

In the cases of Abd al-Rahman Ibrahima and Umar bin Said, both were able to use their ability to read and write in Arabic to manipulate the American Colonization Society to aid them in gaining their freedom and passage back to West Africa. Ibrahima and Umar claimed a conversion to Christianity and wrote Christian text in

Arabic for whites that demanded them as proof of their Christian piety. Gomez and Turner, independent of each other, agree that both men wrote Arabic text as an act of defiance. Ibrahima and Umar were successful enough that prominent members of the American Colonization Society funded portions of these men's passage back to Sierra Leone. The goal of the ACS was to use these men's fluency in Arabic to gain converts to Christianity in Africa. In fact, both men returned to Africa as "Free Men" and Muslims.

In the end Abd al-Rahman Ibrahima (Prince), Bilali or Belali Mahomet (Ben Ali), Salih Bilali, and Umar bin Said all exhibited how the notion of Jihad had become influenced by the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. In the Senegambian region of West Africa the use of Jihad was primarily in the armed struggle. In the western hemisphere the connotation for waging a Jihad assumes an internal meaning: a mode for maintaining Islamic beliefs and customs in a hostile environment:

For African Muslim slaves, the practice of jihad through armed warfare against unbelievers was not possible in America. Instead, they reinterpreted jihad as an "inner struggle with the ego," a resistance to oppression, and a struggle for justice in an unjust land. In this context, writing in Arabic, fasting, wearing Muslim clothes, and reciting and reflecting on the Quran were the keys to an inner struggle of liberation against Christian tyranny. (Turner, 1997, p. 25)

There is evidence to support these men observed Ramadan, performed Salat regularly, wore Muslim style clothing and observed dietary restrictions. They were able to assert their Muslim identity under conditions of enslavement, which is the highest form of Jihad bin Nafs, or jihad of the heart, the inner struggle to maintain the Islamic faith.

Elijah Muhammad primarily produced the doctrine of the Nation of Islam that Blacks could identify, given their Judeo-Christian background. The primary message of Elijah Muhammad was the improvement of the Black people and the so-called Negro through Islam and the Nation of Islam's self-determination programs.

C. Eric Lincoln correctly notes that Fard and Elijah "cut the cloak to fit the cloth." Their method for teaching Islam to the "black victims of a new technocratic urban order" were imaginative, "controversial and sometimes ad hoc ... but they were always addressed to the realities of the situation rather than to an abstract theory whose relevance to [their] peculiar task had nowhere to be demonstrated." Religious orthodoxy was not the goal of this movement. (Turner, 1997, p. 158)

The doctrine created by W.D. Fard Muhammad and expanded by Elijah Muhammad required the latter to assume the role of practice of charismatic leader at the head of the Nation of Islam. Through his teachings to the members of the Nation of Islam, he would come to be revered as the "Messenger of Allah", with W.D. Fard Muhammad being Allah incarnate. The religious component differentiated Elijah Muhammad's agenda from Marcus Garvey's call for Pan-Africanism. Elijah saw Islam and the Nation of Islam more specifically as the answer to the racialized oppression Negroes suffered in America. "It was a world, for one thing, without white people and so without humiliation or fear. It offered its members respectability and security and the rare pleasure of seeing fear in the devil's eyes instead of in one's own." (Goldman, 1979, p. 80) The mosques and Nation of Islam businesses in the urban communities, such as Harlem, Chicago and Philadelphia, for example were sources of pride for Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

Elijah Muhammad could be credited with interpreting Islam in a manner that would be familiar to the Negroes of his time. Elijah had to give the Islam of his

interpretation a narrative that Negroes would recognize and connect with spiritually. “By establishing Fard Muhammad as such, and by redefining his own office in relation to this disclosure, Elijah Muhammad appropriated the trope of early Christianity and reinscribed it onto an Islamic narrative. It was a strategic move that would prove distinguishing; indeed, it is what made him a “messenger.” (Gomez, 2005, p. 287) By reinterpreting Islam to meet the needs of the American Negro, Elijah Muhammad found his audience in the poor and disenfranchised. It was there he found his people.

The most valuable recruitment tool at Elijah Muhammad’s disposal were the people who joined the Nation of Islam. One of the Nation’s<sup>15</sup> most effective methodologies for gaining members was through their social reform programs. The Nation of Islam, like the Moorish Science Temple of Noble Drew Ali, had a very successful drug rehabilitation program. According to Myers, the Nation of Islam was actively addressing social issues within the Black communities that Christians would pray about or ignore. “It treated drug addiction, a particular plague within the black community, as a social and racial problem as well as simply an addiction.” (Myers, 1993, p. 99) The rehabilitated individual would re-enter his or her community as a Muslim. The people they knew in their former life saw the changes.

The Nation of Islam was not restricted in religious ideology but it also had a political agenda. The NOI had an “economic recovery plan” for Black America with Islam at the center. A component of the rehabilitation or indoctrination into the Nation of Islam was employment. Since the Nation of Islam was a very patriarchal institution, it was a requirement for all able-bodied men to have employment for the benefit of their families and the Nation. The Nation also required women to work in

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<sup>15</sup> Nation – The use of “Nation” is a accepted abbreviation for the Nation of Islam.

the home as the familial caregiver if the husband could afford to provide for his family and meet his family's financial obligations to the Nation.

The optimal situation would be for the male members of the Nation to work in one of the Nation's businesses. The Nation of Islam held several businesses such as bakeries, barbershops, restaurants and grocery stores. Essien-Udom in the text *Black Nationalism* makes the case for the Nation of Islam being heavily invested in the Black communities where they had a population of members. "Among other important businesses are a dry-cleaning plant with its own deliverymen, a restaurant which serves 'American and Arabic-styled foods,' a dressmaking shop, two fair-sized clothing stores – one for men's wear and the other for women's goods, a barber shop, a gas station, and a number of apartment buildings." (Essien-Udom, 1969, p. 185) One thing that Elijah Muhammad did, which was an excellent public relations strategy, was to name the businesses "Your" bakery, or "Your" restaurant. By doing so, Elijah created a sense of racial pride for the whole community and as a result the Muslim businesses garnered economic support from the Black community.

One of the most pronounced attractions to the Nation of Islam was a conservative Black Nationalism. Elijah drew inspiration from both Noble Drew Ali and Marcus Garvey. Muhammad borrowed the best attributes from both organizations. The Moorish Science Temple and the Garveyite Movement both promoted racial pride but from different angles; the Moors identified as being descendents of Moroccans or Asiatic Moors, not Negro—a clear rejection of being a Negro. The Garveyites embraced their Blackness as an act of Pan-Africanism in order to make the connection to Africans abroad. The Moors and Garveyites also believed in collective economics and owned businesses in the Negro community.

Elijah Muhammad built upon the tradition of using Islamic symbols, dietary restrictions, and the adoption of a uniform that was introduced by Noble Drew Ali.

Noble Drew Ali and the Moors introduced the use of Islamic symbols such as the Crescent and Moon to Black America. “Noble Drew Ali was an intelligent and creative signifier, a self-styled prophet of the city who utilized eclectic religious, cultural and political motifs to construct a new black American cultural and political identity that involved changes in name, nationality, religion, diet, and dress.” (Turner, 1997, p. 72) Elijah had a blueprint to follow. Black people in Chicago were predisposed to Islam through Noble Drew Ali wherever there was a Moorish Science Temple. In cities that had a Moorish Science community the rest of the Black community was accustomed to the appearance of Muslim being different from the general population.

The dietary restrictions of the Moors introduced a more or less vegetarian lifestyle to Black America. Noble Drew Ali introduced the notion of refusing to consume Pork. In his ideology “pork” was a food consumed during the enslavement of Africans therefore continuing to eat it is a perpetuation of enslavement. “He emphasized the dietary laws of Islam in order to stop his people from eating pork a meat that they were forced to eat in slavery and therefore a dietary symbol of their oppression.” (Turner, 1997, p. 94) Since his members were at best two to three generations removed from enslavement, they were familiar with the notion of “slave food.” Moreover, they would have been highly sensitive to the negative connotations with anything associated with Slavery.

Elijah Muhammad took the dietary restrictions of the Moorish Science Temple further in his self-published text *How To Eat To Live*. The consumption of pork is severely restricted in accordance with Islamic law. “It is divinely prohibited flesh (swine), and God (Allah) has prohibited you and me, my brothers and sisters of the Black Nation, from eating it or even touching its dead carcass.” (Muhammad, 1967, p. 17) Elijah Muhammad introduced the notion of consuming whole wheat bread to the



Black community. “Eat whole wheat, but not the whole grain - it is too much for the digestive system. Eat wheat – never white flour, which has been robbed of all its natural vitamins and proteins.” (Muhammad, 1967, p. 6) The text goes further by providing the reader with detailed dietary restrictions including what type of vegetables are fit for consumption. In short, the vegetables, which have collective culinary retentions for African Americans such as “yams”, are forbidden in the Nation of Islam diet.

A person outside of the Nation of Islam may be curious as to how Elijah Muhammad could exact such strict control over so many people. The answer is simple he used the Fruit of Islam<sup>16</sup> at each mosque to enforce his policies. The FOI was comprised of all able-bodied men belonging to the mosque. Their role was to provide security at the mosque and in the Nation of Islam businesses, and also implement all policies coming out of Chicago.

Elijah Muhammad’s Black Economic Nationalistic ideology was attractive to those who would not join the Nation of Islam but be supportive of the organization’s businesses. The notion of economic self-determinism has a very long narrative in African American history but for Elijah Muhammad he borrowed heavily from Marcus Garvey and UNIA policies. Many of the economic policies of the Nation of Islam has its inception in the UNIA. For example, the Buy Black campaign began as a Garveyite philosophy. Garvey stressed keeping the Black dollar in the Black community. Elijah Muhammad followed Garvey’s example. “There is as yet no organized boycott of white merchants, but every Muslim is expected to “buy black” that is, to trade with his own kind in preference to “spending your money where you can’t work and can’t sit down.” (Lincoln, 1961, p. 20) The “Buy Black” policy served

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<sup>16</sup> FOI - Fruit of Islam

two functions for the Nation of Islam it promoted a Black Nationalist agenda and provided revenue for the organization. By encouraging Muslims to keep their dollars in the Black communities the residual impact was thriving Black Owned Businesses, which employed Black people in their own communities. The residual impact on the immediate community where a Nation of Islam business was located was the neighboring businesses were probably more secure, the block was clean because the Nation kept their storefront clean which influenced other business owners to do the same. More importantly, some employers in the area may have looked more favorably on hiring Black workers.

On the issue of race the Nation of Islam was Nationalistic; it did not allow Whites inside of their mosques or to become members of the Nation of Islam during Elijah Muhammad's reign. This is in the tradition of Garvey who also did not allow whites to join the UNIA. The UNIA was probably the first all Black heavily documented international organization. The perfect illustration of the use of racial exclusion would be the national introduction to America via the television production *The Hate That Hate Produced* since no whites were permitted inside any mosque. Louis Lomax got exclusive access inside the Harlem Mosque No. 7, Nation of Islam restaurants, and conducted interviews with Elijah Muhammad while introducing Malcolm X to the world stage. This is a very important event because CBS had to find a Black journalist to conduct the interviews and cameramen to film the footage. "There were also images of Nation of Islam restaurants and businesses, and people being treated courteously and with respect, but the overall effect of the show was shocking." (Myers, 1993, p. 101) What was shocking about the images of an all-Black organization was that it did not want to integrate with whites but wanted to separate themselves from whites, which had large numbers and white people knew nothing about them. The fear for whites was what else was brewing in the Black

community outside of white control. That is what was amazing to white people was the discovery that not all Black people held them in high esteem. The fact of the Nation of Islam existing was a direct challenge to Black integrationist and to white authority because whites could not control them because they had no access.

In order to promote his agenda Elijah Muhammad needed a young Minister who could travel extensively to build up the Nation. Enter Malcolm X; he was the perfect combination of things Elijah needed to draw more people to the Nation of Islam. Malcolm had a familiarity with Black Nationalism from his Garveyite parents, an innate aversion to Christianity, and an Activist Scholar who was a brilliant orator. Elijah Muhammad personally tutored Malcolm X in Nation of Islam doctrine. By the airing of *The Hate That Hate Produced* in 1959 Malcolm had been the National Minister for four years. He assumed the position in 1955. Malcolm was the complete package. He was a Black Nationalist who had a distain for whites, and although he was a Muslim he had a familiarity with Christianity because of his childhood as a preacher's kid. His oratory skills attracted attention from intellectuals. All of these attributes were overshadowed by his loyalty to Elijah Muhammad, which would contribute greatly to his meteoric ascension in popularity inside and outside of the Nation of Islam.

### Chapter Three: Malcolm X

In Islam, the notion of Jihad or struggle provides a sophisticated measure of analysis for the speeches and writings of Malcolm X. By using three major forms of jihad (1) Jihad bil Nafs, jihad of the heart (al-jihad al-akbar)(the greater jihad), (2) Jihad bil Lisan, jihad of the tongue, (3) Jihad bil Yad, the jihad of action as critical lenses, we can gain an understanding of Malcolm X as an Islamic theologian, Black Nationalist, and lastly as a Pan-Africanist.

Malcolm X came from two very distinct traditions: Islamic and Black Nationalism. The Black Nationalist Tradition is the historical moment in the American narrative which demonstrates Black frustration with the dominant white society. Some common features from David Walker to Ahmadiyya Movement was the realization of limited advancement for enslaved Africans, “free people of color”, and later African Americans due to the racialized oppression imposed by whites in the United States. As a means to combat this racialized reality many leaders from David Walker to Garvey used Islam in some form to either justify emigration back to Africa or to instill racial pride to peoples of African descent in their political writings and speeches.

The connections to Malcolm X are in the intellectual spaces these men or movements created. David Walker (armed resistance), Edward Wilmot Blyden (Self-determination & Emigration Back to Africa), Martin Delany (Race Pride & Emigration Back to Africa), Henry McNeal Turner (Emigration Back to Africa), Noble Drew Ali (Embracing African and Islamic Culture, African American Community Development), Duse Mohammad Ali (Pan-Africanism and Pan-Islamic worldview), Marcus Garvey (Pan-Africanism and Pan-Islamic worldview), Ahmadiyya Movement (Cultural Pan-Africanism and Pan-Islamic worldview).

The collective memory of African Americans most readily identifies Malcolm X with his years of national prominence as the National Minister of the Nation of Islam (1959 -1963). A narrow public perception of a well-known public figure can be restrictive, especially when he or she exercises his or her right to grow and develop as a person. This is especially true in the case of Malcolm X, who is mostly remembered as being a Black Nationalist. I have chosen to use the Islamic cultural practice of Jihad as my prism for developing an understanding of the complexities of Malcolm X as a

Muslim. The forms of Jihad this thesis will utilize are Jihad bin Nafs or Jihad of the Heart, Jihad bil Lisan or Jihad of by the Tongue, Jihad bil Yad or Jihad by the hand.

Malcolm was steadfast in his faith as a Muslim. Once he accepted Islam he remained a Muslim until his death, although his affiliations with Islamic organizations did change overtime. By using the forms of Jihad as a critical lens to analyze the published speeches of Malcolm X, a new or different appreciation for Malcolm X could be gained.

### I. Jihad bin Nafs

The first form of Jihad to be discussed is Jihad bin Nafs, Jihad of the Heart. The struggle is with the self in an effort to seek individual growth or overcome personal weaknesses in order to be more pleasing to Allah. Jihad bin Nafs or a Jihad of the Heart an internal Jihad or struggle within one's self (al jihad al akbar) is the greatest because facing personal shortcomings, requires honesty and demonstrations of faith in Allah in order to conquer the displeasing or aberrant behavior. Jihad bin Nafs is the struggle for personal transformation through work on the inner self.

In Malcolm's life the two greatest demonstrations of Jihad bin Nafs both have to do with the Nation of Islam and Elijah Muhammad. The first being Malcolm's performing the Shahadah<sup>17</sup>. The Shahadah is always performed in Arabic by the person who wishes to convert to Islam. The Shahadah is the foundational principle of being a Muslim. No person who wishes to convert to Islam is considered a Muslim unless they perform or take the Shahadah. Malcolm took the Nation of Islam form of Shahadah while in prison according to his autobiography.<sup>18</sup> "For evil to bend its

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<sup>17</sup> Shahadah – Bearing witness to or making the profession of faith: "There is no God but God (Allah), and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah." The first of the five pillars of Islam ([www.oxfordislamicstudies.com](http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com), accessed Oct. 17, 2008). For Nation of Islam there is the addition to the Shahadah of Elijah Muhammad being the Messenger of the Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>18</sup> Malcolm would later take the formal Qur'anic based Shahadah as a part of his greatest and last personal transformation into El Hajj Malik El Shabazz.

knees, admitting its guilt, to implore the forgiveness of God, is the hardest thing in the world ... Again, again, I would force myself back down into the praying-to-Allah posture.” (Shabazz & Haley, 1965, p. 196) The physical and psychological act of submission was his struggle. In order for Malcolm to have assumed the persona of “Detroit Red,” as he was previously referred to, required a certain amount of bravado. His life as a street hustler demanded he conduct himself in a manner, which conveyed to others he was the baddest thing smoking and one not to be messed over. In order for Malcolm to take the Shahadah and step into his new identity as a Muslim he had to reject everything he was previously up to that point.

The second most dramatic demonstration of Jihad bin Nafs occurred during his split from Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam. At this point in Malcolm’s life he had been a Muslim and follower of Elijah Muhammad for twelve years and the National Minister from 1955 to 1963. For much of his adult life he was a Muslim and a member of the Nation of Islam. Moreover, Malcolm was fiercely loyal to Elijah Muhammad during those years. “The thing to me worse than death was betrayal.” (Shabazz & Haley, 1965, p. 352).” His relationship with Elijah Muhammad was akin to a father and son familiarity. It was closer than a teacher and pupil relationship. So when Elijah Muhammad’s sexual indiscretions with six of his personal secretaries became publicly confirmed within the Nation of Islam, Malcolm was still loyal to Elijah Muhammad to the point of if Elijah Muhammad would have made a public confession of his sins and claimed his children or declared an act of divine prophecy. All inconsistencies in Elijah Muhammad’s personal behavior would have been forgiven by his followers including Malcolm.

What began to break my faith was that, try as I might, I couldn’t hide, I couldn’t evade, that Mr. Muhammad, instead of facing what he had

done before his followers, as a human weakness or as fulfillment of prophecy – which I sincerely believe that Muslims would have understood, or at least they would have accepted – Mr. Muhammad had, instead, been willing to hide, to cover up what he had done. That was my major blow. (Shabazz & Haley, 1965, p. 353)

It was not the sexual indiscretions Elijah Muhammad that was the “deal breaker” or the beginning of the end of the relationship for Malcolm. It was the hypocrisy of Elijah Muhammad holding his followers to a higher moral standard than he lived up to as their spiritual leader. In fact, punishment for sexual intercourse outside of marriage was expulsion from the Nation of Islam. For Malcolm, the affront was twofold: it was religious because he lost faith in his leader and personal because for the second time in his life he lost the fatherly presence in his life. “Malcolm X’s first public statement after he parted company with Elijah Muhammad indicated that he still was a Muslim, that he now viewed religion as a personal matter, but his opinions of the Messenger had undergone radical change.” (Leader, 1993, p. 67) Through all of the turmoil within the Nation of Islam during the time of his split up until his death he remained a Muslim. In the statement Malcolm delivered to the media announcing his split from the Nation of Islam he clarifies his position.

I am and always will be a Muslim. My religion is Islam. I still believe that Mr. Muhammad’s analysis of the problem is the most realistic, and that his solution is the best one. This means that I too believe the best solution is complete separation, with our people going back home, to our own African homeland. (Malcolm X, New York, Dec. 4, 1964)

His faith in Elijah Muhammad as his religious leader ended, not in Islam that remained firm and constant.

## The Black Nationalist Expressions of Jihad bin Nafs

Similarly to Edward Wilmot Blyden, Malcolm believed Islam was the best religion for Blacks and much for the same justification. The inherent racism in the brand of Christianity introduced to enslaved Africans which would go on to become the main religion most Blacks would practice in the United States.

Edward Wilmot Blyden saw Islam as a preferable religion for Africans because of the lack of representations of God in the human form propagated in Islam. In Christianity, God is represented as a white man in turn this representation of God is used to justify the subjugation of enslaved Africans and free Blacks because they are inferior to whites because they are in God's image. According to Richard Brent Turner, in the text *Islam in the African American Experience*, Blyden saw the missing physical depictions of Christ as an equalizing characteristic. "Although he was a Presbyterian minister, his experience in West Africa led him to believe that what he perceived as Islam's lack of racial prejudice and doctrine of brotherhood made it a more appropriate religion for people of African descent than Christianity." (Turner, 1997, p. 52) By there not being any pictures of Allah in Islam only the Calligraphy of Qur'anic text being used as the only visual representation Allah, the believer is free to be a Muslim while maintaining their own traditional practices.

In Blyden's argument Islam is a more fitting religion for Africans because it served as a retention of African social relationships before the process of enslavement encroached upon Africans as contact with whites became connected with slavery. In short, it is a cultural memory of freedom. Abid Rashad, in the text *Islam, Black Nationalism and Slavery: A Detailed History* states, "Blyden constantly attacked Christianity for having imposed racial inequalities upon Black people, and felt that the absence of pictorial representations in Islamic societies had saved Blacks from always having distinguished and saintly people depicted to them as White." (Rashad, 1995,



p.150) Blyden interpreted Islam as being more egalitarian than Christianity. The image of Christ or Jesus as a white man was first commissioned by the Pope, sanctioned by the Catholic Church, and created by Michelangelo. Since this event the image of Christ has been widely associated with whiteness. So, in the name of Christ some of the world's greatest atrocities (slavery for example) have been committed against non-white peoples because they are viewed as being outside of the protection of God.

According to Sherman Jackson "As the frustrated nineteenth century black Presbyterian Edward W. Blyden complained in his classic, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, Christianity . . . came to the Negro as a slave, or at least as a subject race in a foreign land. Along with the Christian teaching, he and his children received lessons of their utter permanent inferiority and subordination to their instructor, to whom they stood in the relations of chattels." (Jackson, 2005, p. 40) In this respect, Blyden knew that worshipping a God that is the physical likeness of the people whom are your oppressors over time the practitioners of said religion would develop an inferior relationship to the people who resemble the God you serve.

Blyden also was one of the first to articulate a strong repugnance towards Christianity. Blyden often spoke of the inconsistencies he saw in the behavior of white American Christians. "Black bitterness toward racism in Christianity was another important element in the creation of the new American Islam at the turn of the century. This bitterness was linked to the Pan-Africanism and multiple expressions of black nationalist ideologies which filled the air in late nineteenth-century black America." (Turner, 1997, p. 59) In this sense, Edward Wilmot Blyden was an ideological ancestor for Malcolm X because they shared an aversion to Christianity for Africans and people of African descent because of the brutality enslaved Africans, free Blacks, and later Negroes would suffer by the hands of white American Christians.

Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple of America was the first major American Islamic organization in Black America. According to Richard Turner, “The Moorish Science Temple of America was the first mass religious movement in the history of Islam in America...It was urban, anti-Christian, and multicultural, and it developed a distinct missionary and Pan-Africanist political agenda.” (Turner, 1997, p. 72) The origins of the Canaanite Temple in Newark New Jersey were in either 1912 or 1913 according to Michael Gomez. Over time this organization would change names and become the Moorish Science Temple of America. “Newark’s was the first in a series of worship centers that would collectively come to be known as the Moorish Science Temple.” (Gomez, 2005, p. 206) The historical moment of Black migration north is important because of the hope of Black southern migrants being able to escape the overt racism they thought they left in Alabama or Georgia only to find similar social conditions in the north.

The Moorish Science Temple provided a psychological reprieve from institutional racism in the north by developing positive Black self-esteem. C. Eric Lincoln in the text *The Black Muslims in America* makes the statement, “Noble Drew sought a psychic escape: by changing their names and the symbols of their culture, his Moors hoped to change their social fortunes.” (Lincoln, 1961, p. 50) The Moorish Science Temple of America members sought to distinguish themselves as Moors. In fact, they rejected the terms Negro and Colored as racial identifiers. Noble Drew Ali taught his followers they were descendent from the Moors of Morocco and Islam was their true religion.

The doctrine of Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple was an amalgamation of different philosophies and ideologies.

The sacred text of the Moorish Science Temple of America, the Holy Koran, also called Circle Seven Koran, was written by Ali in 1927. He wrote several versions of the sixty-four page book and compiled his information from four sources: the Quran, the Bible, The Aquarian Gospels of Jesus Christ (an occult version of the New Testament), and Unto Thee I Grant (literature of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood, a Masonic order which was influenced by lore concerning the Egyptian mystery schools). (Turner, 1997, p. 93)

Even though Noble Drew Ali does not use the Qur'an in Arabic as the definitive text for the Moors, he does establish the practice of adapting Islam to the Black American experience. An example in the Circle Seven Koranic Text is, "According to all true and divine records of the human race," he said, "there is no negro, black, or colored race attached to the human family, because all the inhabitants of Africa were and are of the human race." (47:9) (Curtis, 2002, p. 53). This passage is not so much about encouraging spiritual development but more of religious justification for rejecting definitions, which are imposed as a product of racism. It is also an example of customizing Islam to fit the Black American experience.

Noble Drew Ali not only provided his followers with his version of the Koran for them to read but he also adapted the practice of daily prayers or Salat. One of the most fundamental of the Five Articles of Faith of Islam is the performance of Salat or prayers facing Mecca five times daily. Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple members did not observe Salat as an orthodox Muslim. Ali and his members prayed three times daily and did not prostrate. "Facing the east at sunrise, noon, and sunset, the Moors faced Mecca with uplifted hands; however, the prostrations and bows that normally accompany prayer were missing." (Gomez, 2005, p. 230) Noble Drew Ali is not the first to practice Salat in that fashion. During the enslavement of

Ibrahima, Bilali, Salih Bilali, and Umar bin Said all prayed facing Mecca three times daily due to their condition of enslavement did not permit performing Salat as prescribed. An indirect relationship is evident as Noble Drew Ali and the Moors were continuing a practice of Islam, which was grounded in slavery. Noble Drew Ali, like Edward Wilmot Blyden, saw the use of calligraphy to represent Allah as a mode of depicting God or Allah in non-racialized terms. “He was particularly impressed by the lack of race consciousness in Oriental religious thought and saw it in a possible answer to the Negro’s plight in a color-conscious America.” (Lincoln, 1961, p. 51) The adaptation of Islam to suite the Black American experience would be important because of the Nation of Islam.

Noble Drew Ali also introduced Islamic culture and Arabized fashions to the Black community. It served as a physical manifestation of membership into the Moorish Science Temple. The male members were required to grow beards and wear a fez at all times and women were expected to dress modestly and cover their heads. “Most secular entertainments are forbidden, as is the use of cosmetics, alcohol and tobacco. Meat and eggs are taboo. Personal cleanliness is stressed, but men are not expected to shave.” (Lincoln, 1961, p. 55) The dress code of the Moorish Science Temple members was a way of distinguishing them from the rest of the Black community. It also had the effect of serving as a non-verbal form of advertisement for the organization because their public behavior was under heavy scrutiny by Blacks outside of the organization and whites as well.

Noble Drew Ali also stressed the rejection of the American beauty esthetic. He demanded that his female followers stop straightening their hair and using skin bleachers to make themselves more acceptable to whites and the burgeoning Black middle class. “A strain of Puritanism pervaded the movement, as smoking and cosmetics were banned....Perhaps more interesting was the proscription against

chemical straighteners for the hair, clearly enacted for the purpose of encouraging the African-descended to embrace their own natural qualities.” (Gomez, 2005, p. 231) The embracing of natural hair for African Americans who belonged to the Moorish Science Temple happened at least 50 years prior to the “Black is Beautiful Movement.” This is significant because in the Club Women’s Movement that was happening simultaneously; the “Brown Paper Bag Test” was the price of admission into African American social institutions during Noble Drew Ali’s time.

Noble Drew Ali was one of the few African American leaders to connect the practice of Islam with the struggles of African Americans. Noble Drew Ali had Black Nationalist concerns, which is endemic of his time. There is little doubt that between Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple there was great cross-pollination with Marcus Garvey and the UNIA. “He fully knew and understood that in order for any people to have a sense of their own self-worth, it was necessary for them to have an identity, a name, and a land base. He established his movement on five principles: love, truth, peace, freedom, and justice.” (Rashad, 1995, p. 167) Noble Drew Ali dabbled in two worlds: the first being Islam and the second being Black Nationalism. Noble Drew Ali met the spiritual needs of his followers with Islam and attempted to ameliorate the harsh reality of being Black in America with Black Nationalism.

Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Science Temple of America do not claim to be Muslims but Moors from Morocco. This is a glaring contradiction in ideology of the Moorish Science Temple although, of their tenets were loosely borrowed from Islam. The importance of Noble Drew Ali and the Moors is the adaptation of Islam to a Black American experience. For example, the Moors established drug treatment programs and community enrichment programs in order to improve the conditions of Black people. “That the Moors were “very active in feeding the poor, providing drug and alcohol rehabilitation, and creating wholesome, disciplined community life” is

consistent with this view.” (Gomez, 2005, p. 264) In some ways, such as community services and outreach, Noble Drew Ali and the Moors served as one of the models for the Nation of Islam.

## II. Jihad bil Lisan

The Jihad bil Lisan, or Jihad by the Tongue, is concerned with speaking the truth and spreading the religion of Islam by verbal professions of faith. Malcolm X’s public life in the Nation of Islam, and after as El Hajj Malik El Shabazz as an orator is the area where Jihad bil Lisan, the Jihad of Tongue is the most evident. Malcolm X was a Muslim, Black Nationalist and Pan-Africanist. His greatest weapon against the oppression Black people were suffering was his speaking ability.

As an orator his use of Jihad bil Lisan went further than the classical definition of the spoken word being used to spread Islam and speaking out against injustices. “His commitment to the liberation of the blacks from bondage, body and soul, was total and consuming. “My hobby is stirring up Negroes,” he liked to say, and he gave it eighteen or twenty hours a day every day.” (Goldman, 1979, p. 17) He also used his oratory skills to call attention to the plight of Blacks in America. Malcolm kept encouraging others to convert to Islam, but he also spoke out against injustice as well. According to Eddie Glaude in the text *Is It Nation Time?*, Malcolm was very bold and brash in the articulation of his public addresses.

More than any other black figure during the first stage, Malcolm X articulated the underlying, almost visceral, feelings and sensibilities of black urban America – North and South, Christian and non-Christian, young and old. His early rhetoric was simply prescient: too honest, too candid, precisely the things black folk often felt but never said publicly

due to fear of white retaliation, even in the early sixties (Glaude, 2002, p. 30).

Malcolm had something to say. He knew that whites and assimilationist minded Blacks would find him and his message to be very abrasive. The uncomfortably of Black integrationist and whites was a tactical position, Malcolm rather enjoyed it because what he wanted to do was to directly challenge both groups.

While reading selected speeches of Malcolm there appears to be a natural ideological shift. The change in direction is associated with the split from Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam. As the National Minister Malcolm X represented the ideology of Elijah Muhammad and Nation of Islam agenda. Although Malcolm X made many speeches prior to 1959 there is no public record of them. There are two explanations, the first being when he became the National Minister in 1955 the goal for Elijah Muhammad was to use Malcolm to build the Nation of Islam by establishing temples. In that vein, Malcolm used his oratory skills to attract new members to the Nation of Islam. The second reason was that white America and the mainstream media did not begin to pay much attention to the Nation of Islam until the television exposé *The Hate That Hate Produced* aired in New York City. It was the combination of the needs of the Nation being the priority and lack of interest by whites that allowed Malcolm the time to perfect his oratory and debating skills before being catapulted into the national media spotlight.

#### The Black Nationalist Expression of Jihad bin Lisan

Any conversation on the political speeches of Malcolm X must include Martin Delany. Delany's work was Pan-Africanist in nature. Since Delany's era involved the enslavement of Africans in America. Pan-Africanism for him was exercised within the American borders and abroad. He linked the conditions of the enslaved Africans in the American south to the "free Blacks" in the north by means of elaborating on the fact

of common ancestry. In Delany's work, entitled *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States Politically Considered*, he states "Reduced to abject slavery is not enough, the very thought of which should awaken every sensibility of our common nature; but those of their descendants who are freemen even in the non-slaveholding States, occupy and socially, (with but few exceptions,) as the bondman occupies in the slave States." (Delany, 1852, p. 14) Delany makes it clear that even "free Blacks" are only nominally free. They are still subject to the laws and whims of whites whom saw them as economic competition for employment in the low wage markets. Moreover, free Blacks in the north were viewed as an unintended consequence of slavery in the south. Organizations such as the American Colonization Society founded Liberia as a means of encouraging free Blacks to emigrate back to Africa thus, ridding America of its race problem.

One of the objections Delany had concerning the American Colonization Society was to provide the opportunity for "Free Blacks" to emigrate to Liberia an American colony thus transporting American culture and racism to Africa. Delany favored Nigeria as a spot for potential Black American repatriation to Africa. "He wanted his ideal colony to be located somewhere in Nigeria. He thought very little of Liberia, as he saw it as a colony of White business interests." (Rashad, 1995, p. 117) For Delany, Liberia was simply transference of racism without the opportunity for free Blacks to develop autonomously outside of white interference. Nigeria would have been more agreeable to Delany because it was a self-identified destination. It was emigration on his own terms, was the only type he could support.

Martin Delany and the question of free Black emigration back to Africa was complicated by race loyalties. As a free Black person life was as close to enslavement as possible. So does a free Black make an attempt to emigrate back to Africa thus,



leaving enslaved Africans with no one to champion their quest for freedom. What complicated the matter further for Martin Delany was the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act into law, which made free Blacks in the north subject to enslavement. Vincent Harding addresses the racialized conditions in the north that men like Delany faced while attempting to work with whites. “Martin Delany, an occasional black participant in the early biracial abolitionist partnership, was one of its most perceptive critics. He not only saw the dangers of black dependence on whites for freedom work which only blacks could do, but also, in those areas where whites could make legitimate contributions in the North, found whites a source of constant disappointment.” (Harding, 1981, p. 127) The combination of the Fugitive Slave Act and white malevolence towards free Blacks and enslaved Africans served as more than enough encouragement for Martin Delany to become discouraged with America.

Delany articulated his race pride and love for his people by claiming race superiority and associating it with Blackness. He writes:

If we did not love our race superior to others, we would not concern ourselves about their degradation; for the greatest desire of our heart is, to see them stand on a level with the most elevated of mankind. No people are ever elevated above the condition of their females, hence, the condition of the mother determines the condition of the child  
(Delany, 1852, p.199).

In this quote Delany calls for self-love among enslaved Africans and free Blacks. This is revolutionary because to love oneself demands holding yourself in esteem. So for an enslaved African or free Black person to love being an “African” and love others whom are also “African” contradicts white Christian morality because they view themselves as being superior to people of African descent. Delany also associates nationhood with the conditions of the women in that society.

Malcolm began his career as an orator and debater while incarcerated at Norfolk Prison Colony. On this point Malcolm asserts:

But I will tell you that, right there, in prison, debating, speaking to a crowd, was as exhilarating to me as the discovery of knowledge through reading had been. Standing up there, the faces looking up at me, things in my head coming out of my mouth, while my brain searched for the next best thing to follow what I was saying, and if I could sway them to my side by handling it right, then I had won the debate – once my feet got wet, I was gone on debating. (Shabazz & Haley, 1965, p. 212)

In the article “I Was Gone On Debating”: Malcolm X’s Prison Debates And Public Confrontations by Robert James Branham, the author makes a decisive statement concerning Malcolm. “Who best expresses Black anger, frustration, pride and power?” (Branham, 1995, p. 128) Malcolm embodied all of the emotions connected to being a member of an oppressed group, but what set him apart was his ability to use his intellect to ground his position. “It was right there in prison that I made up my mind to devote the rest of my life to telling the white man about himself – or die.” (Shabazz & Haley, 1965, p. 213) In the practice of public oratory Malcolm found his weapon of choice: “the spoken word”. It is heavily documented by a multiplicity of scholars that Brother Malcolm<sup>19</sup> had no problem speaking truth to the white supremacist power structure in America as an Afro-American man and a Muslim. As a Muslim Minister Malcolm could not hold his tongue on matters concerning the plight of Afro-Americans. Malcolm did not limit his razor sharp critiques to whites; he was just as critical of Blacks, especially on the question of non-violent direct action.

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<sup>19</sup> Brother Malcolm is one of the many names used to identify Malcolm X.

Malcolm X entered the world stage not as Malcolm Little. He had rejected his Christian name or “Slave” name upon earning his “X” shortly after being released from prison. “Now Malcolm had given up Little, his slave name, and taken an X, which represented his unknown African name and symbolized the heritage that had been stolen from him.” (Myers, 1993, p. 85). This complete public rejection of Christianity was difficult to process for whites and many integration minded Negroes as well. The logic behind rejecting your Christian last name according to Elijah Muhammad was to acknowledge the loss of identity that occurred during the enslavement of Africans. Most importantly, assuming the “X” as your last name rejects the name of the slave master. The practice of slave owners to give slaves their last name was a means to denote their human property. It was probably unknown to Elijah Muhammad that many African cultures have had procedures and ceremonies to name a newborn child. In that respect names have been important to Africans for centuries.

Elijah Muhammad was the son of a Southern Baptist Preacher and he realized very early that he had a charismatic jewel in Malcolm. Malcolm had a presence that could not be denied, and even if you disagreed with him you paid attention. Mr. Muhammad also recognized that Malcolm embodied the redemptive qualities of the Nation of Islam that Elijah wanted to promote as the public image of the Nation of Islam.

In the PBS documentary *Make It Plain* Malcolm’s sister Yvonne reminisced about how Malcolm liked to use parables to illustrate the point he wanted to make. “Malcolm would take the most common thing and make an example out of it. He’d use a cup of coffee. He would say “take a cup of coffee, you add milk to it becomes cool its diluted.” (*Make It Plain*, PBS Video, 1994) The coffee analogy was a favorite illustration for integration Malcolm liked to use because it was simple and direct.

Everyone understands that Black coffee once diluted with white milk loses some of its potency. It is no longer as black or strong as the coffee was in its original state.

Malcolm had a searing delivery style when either engaging the public or media. Elijah Muhammad gave Malcolm X the opportunity to use all of his intellectual assets. “Elijah Muhammad was giving Malcolm something he had never been given before: the opportunity to use his talents. What was more, he was using those talents for the betterment of his people.” (Myers, 1993, p. 87) Since Elijah was a Baptist preacher’s child he recognized what Malcolm was and what his strengths were as his National Minister.

Most preachers’ children have very high proclivities toward public speaking and know how to present themselves to their audience. “Moreover, Malcolm X was a star of the media. He was young, strong, handsome, and vibrant, and he changed his name each time he modified his religious and political identities. His ‘jihad of words’ in defense of Islam was both forceful and seductive and echoed similar jihads of words against the West in the Muslim world.” (Turner, 1997, p. 175) What made Malcolm different was that he used his skills to extol the improbability of any real integration as being unreasonable because of the institutional racism practiced by whites. Malcolm also used his oratory skills to critique non-violent direct action as being impractical and ineffective by using the violence Black Civil Rights Protestors were experiencing as evidence. In the speech *The Crisis of Racism*, delivered May 1, 1962, Malcolm uses the metaphor the “American Dream” to demonstrate race relations. “But I would like to point out at the out start that what is looked upon as an ‘American Dream’ for white people has long been an ‘American Nightmare’ for black people.” (Malcolm X, Los Angeles, May 1, 1962) Malcolm concisely illustrated how the white supremacist power structure was designed to advantage whites and disadvantage Black people. This is a strong analogy because the rhetoric is the

“American Dream”<sup>20</sup> is for all Americans. The notion of the “American Dream” is the reward for individual hard work that leads to the accumulation of wealth. What is unstated and inherent in the concept of the “American Dream” is institutional racism<sup>21</sup>. The reality for all Black Americans was they were still Black and thusly, living outside of the “American Dream”. The statement situates being American and being a Black American as two distinct entities. Moreover, for Malcolm being “American” and being “Black” were diametrically opposed social constructions. For him, Americanness was directly associated with whiteness because of the history of the United States.

Henry McNeal Turner is another figure in the foundation of Black Nationalism. Turner not only introduced the concept of “God is Black” as a tenet of Black religious Nationalism. He also had a realistic view of race relations in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. He fully understood that he would never be accepted as an equal to whites. Turner had lived through ample examples of racism during his lifetime. Turner lived through the Civil War, World War I, and the infamous summer of 1919 (also known as Red Summer) because of the high number of race riots. Turner witnessed racism towards Negroes by white American Christians over a long time. Bearing this in mind, it is understandable that he would become disillusioned with America. “With its failure, however, he became a downright pessimist and an advocate of emigration. Turner also became famous for popularizing the idea that the Almighty was black.” (Curtis, 2002, p. 66) His identification of the race problem locating it with whites was the exact opposition of the accommodationist Booker T. Washington approach to improving the lot of Negroes in America.

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<sup>20</sup> The American Dream is based in the Protestant Ethic a term coined by Max Weber which implies if a person is willing to work hard they are entitled to reap the rewards of their labor.

<sup>21</sup> Institutional Racism – See Appendix Four

Turner saw racism, which plagued America as being unsolvable. He felt that whites would never accept Negroes as their equal. His solution was for Negroes to emigrate back to Africa. In Turner's opinion emigrating back to Africa represented a rejection of the racism Negroes faced in America. "Turner wanted a migration of about five hundred thousand Black people who would raise pride and respect among Blacks everywhere." (Rashad, 1995, p.116) The mass exodus Turner hoped for is the antecedent to Marcus Garvey's Back to Africa movement.

As an Activist Scholar Malcolm X was very critical of the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Christian leadership. There were three major criticisms Malcolm had against the Civil Rights Movement: (1) Non-violent direct action, (2) integration and (3) coalition building with white liberals. Malcolm did not see the logic in non-violent direct action as the main form of social resistance to be used to bring about true equality of opportunity for Blacks in America. At his press conference to announce his split from the Nation of Islam and Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm clarifies his position on non-violent direct action. He explicitly asserts, "Concerning nonviolence: it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law." (Malcolm X, New York, Dec. 4, 1963) The Modern Civil Rights Era was one of the most racially violent periods in American history excluding Slavery.

Malcolm only had to look to his family history to find evidence of white malevolence. His father was murdered, his mother was institutionalized, in an insane asylum by whites. The acts of violence committed against Malcolm's family was all he needed to justify not being willing to offer himself up as fodder for the cause of non-violent direct action. In his speech Message to the Grassroots Brother Malcolm makes the point: "There is nothing in our book, the Koran that teaches us to suffer

peacefully. Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hands on you, send him to the cemetery.” (Malcolm X, Detroit Michigan, Nov. 10, 1963) The use of intelligence and peacefulness is a drastic departure from the Christian tenet of “turn the other cheek”. There is no implication of benevolence being offered to those who commit violent and place you in harm’s way.

Malcolm was not the first Black Nationalist to call for armed resistance to the oppressive conditions Blacks were suffering; that distinction belongs to David Walker. In 1829, David Walker published the seminal revolutionary treatise on the condition of enslaved Africans and “free people of color<sup>22</sup>”: *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America*. David Walker is often referred to as the Father of the Black Radical Tradition because of *The Appeal*’s<sup>23</sup> brazened depiction of the conditions of enslaved Africans and free people of color. Walker shattered the comfort of white Americans in writing with his analysis of the desire for freedom and self-determination of Blacks, which was in direct opposition to the myths of bringing the heathens to Christianity and of the “happy” slave whites used to justify chattel slavery and racism.

In *The Appeal*, Walker described the brutality of enslavement and the potential emasculation of enslaved African men. Walker wrote of a man’s natural instinct to protect his family, which is one of the most basic of freedoms. Since the very nature of

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<sup>22</sup> Free People of Color is the moniker given to blacks born to “free” mothers because the status of people of African descent born in the United States assumed the “free” or “enslaved” status of the mother.

<sup>23</sup> *The Appeal* is the commonly accepted abbreviation for the formal title: *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America*.

enslavement in America was to reduce African peoples to beasts of burden, the act of protecting one's family was an assertion of individual will.

Now, I ask you had you not rather be killed than to be a slave to a tyrant, who takes the life of your mother, wife, and dear little children? Look upon your mother, wife and children, and answer God Almighty; and believe this that it is no more harm for you to kill a man, who is trying to kill you, than it is for you to take a drink of water when thirsty; in fact, the man who will stand still and let another murder him, is worse than an infidel, and if he has common sense, ought not to be pitied (Walker, 1829, p. 37).

In this single quote Walker accomplishes two implied goals: (1) to publicly encourage the armed resistance to the condition of enslavement; (2) the promotion of individual autonomy. The greatest fear among white Americans who owned slaves was insurrection. A slave revolt was life threatening and detrimental to their economic reality. Given that *The Appeal* was situated in a very precarious moment in American history, between the attempted slave revolt of Denmark Vesey (1822) and the rebellion of Nat Turner (1831), white fear of a slave uprising was very palpable. More importantly, this white fear often carried grave consequences for enslaved Africans and free Blacks<sup>24</sup>.

An interesting read of *The Appeal* is as a Pan-African because Walker linked the conditions of enslaved Africans with "free Blacks". Although *The Appeal* concentrates primarily on the conditions of enslaved Africans in the United States there is a positive association to Pan-Africanism due to the concern of Africans and the international nature of chattel slavery. Walker calls attention to the precariousness

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<sup>24</sup> The moniker "Free Blacks" is synonymous with "Free People of Color" and will be used interchangeably.



of “freedom” for “Free People of Color”<sup>25</sup> to be enslaved. “If any of you wish to know how FREE you are, let one of you start and go thro’ the southern and western States of this country, and unless you travel as a slave to a white man (a servant is a slave to the man whom he serves,) or have your free papers (which if you are not careful they will get from you) if they do not take you up and put you in jail, and if you cannot give evidence of your freedom, sell you into eternal slavery...”(Walker, 1829, p. 40-41) In fact, it was very difficult for “free Blacks” to maintain their freedom. The white supremacist power structure was set up to maintain slavery and keep “free Blacks” in a near enslaved status. Free Blacks had to have the economic capital to purchase their “freedom papers” and maintain employment in often-hostile environments. Another reality was “free Blacks” had to be known to whites in their communities as “free” and not enslaved. According to Vincent Harding, in *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America*, “Whatever the future of black people in America, by 1829 Walker had also developed a mature and fascinating sense of pan-African identity, tying together past, present, and future. He not only identified black people with the past greatness of Egypt and the rest of Africa, but went on to identify the bonds of future struggle.” (Harding, 1981, 91) *The Appeal* is Walker’s attempt to connect peoples of African descent no matter where they were to the common struggle for freedom and independence.

In a multiplicity of ways David Walker served as a predecessor to Malcolm X. Walker expressed his misgivings about the motives of the American Colonization Society. Walker saw his “freedom” as being interlinked with the enslavement of his “brethren” in the American South. To emigrate to Liberia (a United States colony) would leave enslaved Africans with no potential opportunity to escape their enslavement. Another objection to Liberia could have been the relationship between

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<sup>25</sup> Free People of Color – Is the legal term for people of African descent who were not enslaved.

the colonizer and the colonized which existed in Liberia could have been not very different from what free Blacks were enduring in the United States. In truth, it is still the dichotomy of the oppressed and the oppressor. Although Walker was not a proponent for emigration to Africa he was an agitator for unity among enslaved Africans and free Blacks. In Walker's case it was more Pan-Africanist to stay in the United States and agitate for the freedom of enslaved Africans and freedom of "quasi-enslaved" free people of color.

As mentioned earlier David Walker was the first man of African descent to publicly advocate for armed resistance in the struggle for freedom and in the protection of family. Malcolm X also deduced that violence in the act of self-preservation is justified when violence is being imposed on Black bodies. "If he lynches, then you need to learn the art of lynching. That's equality. You say, 'Why man, you should be arrested!' No, if the government hasn't stopped lynching then the government should either be arrested or allow us to stop it." (Malcolm X, Embassy, Los Angeles Speech, April 16, 1961) In this statement, Malcolm succinctly summarized the Negro<sup>26</sup> experience. The early 1960s was the apex of violence against Negroes especially in the American south where lynchings were a common occurrence.

One of the more profound instances of common ideologies shared between David Walker and Malcolm X is in the notion of dying at an early age because of their beliefs being so oppositional to dominant white society. According to Vincent Harding, in the text *There Is A River*, David Walker assumed he would meet an unnatural death. Harding gives ten recurring themes in *The Appeal*, one of them being: "... (9) The likelihood that he, Walker, would be imprisoned or assassinated as

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<sup>26</sup> Negro – The term Negro will be used in an effort to remain historically accurate to the period of American history.

a result of the Appeal...”(Harding, 1981, p. 87) Walker knew that calling for enslaved Africans and free Blacks to reject the subservient position white America placed on them by using whatever means at their disposal would cost him his life. He lived the last year of his life under the stress of having a price being put on his head. Although it has never been proven it is suspected that Walker died by way of poisoning.

Although David Walker makes references to Islam in *The Appeal*, he did not view Islam as an alternative to Christianity. “The Pagans, Jews and Mahometans try to make proselytes to their religions, and whatever human being adopts their religions, they extend to them their protection. But Christian Americans not only hinder their fellow creatures, the Africans, but thousands of them will absolutely beat a coloured person nearly to death, if they catch him on his knees, supplicating the throne of grace.” (Walker, 1829, p. 48) Walker examines the difference of being enslaved according to Islamic traditions and the Qur’an. Walker points out that if an enslaved African converted to Islam they gained their freedom. On the other hand, if an enslaved African accepted Christianity they were still a slave and subject the brutality of chattel slavery.

Malcolm often used the allegory of the “House Negro” and “Field Negro” to demonstrate an alternate stance on integration. For example, in the speech *Twenty Million Black People in a Political, Economic, and Mental Prison*, delivered on January 23, 1963 at Michigan State University, Malcolm said the House Negro represented those Blacks involved in the Civil Rights Movement who wanted to integrate into being an American. “Whereas there is – he wants to be an American rather than to be Black. He wants to be something other than what he is. And knowing that America is a white country, he knows he can’t be Black and be an American too. So he never calls himself Black. He calls himself an American Negro—a Negro in America.” (Malcolm X, Michigan State University, Jan. 23, 1963.) The identification

of being Black was a direct challenge to Negroes who took offense to being connected to Africa or Blackness in any form.

Malcolm also presented the other Negro personality, meaning the Field Negro who did not want to live anywhere near the master. “But then you had another Negro out in the field. The house Negro was in the minority. The masses – the field Negroes were the masses. They were the majority. When the master got sick, they prayed that he’d die. If his house caught on fire, they’d pray for a wind to come along and fan the breeze.” (Malcolm X, Michigan State University, Jan. 23, 1963.) The Field Negro or the masses did not want to integrate; in fact, everything they prayed for was to the detriment of the master and for the advancement of their freedom.

In the same speech Malcolm identifies himself as a Black man. He takes the political stance of embracing his Blackness as his self-defined racial identity. “We are speaking as – I am speaking as a Black Man. And I’m letting you know how a Black Man thinks, how a Black Man feels, and how dissatisfied Black men should have been 400 years ago.” (Malcolm X, Michigan State University, Jan. 23, 1963.) By self-identifying himself, Malcolm equalized himself to any white man because he demanded to be respected as a man, not treated as a Negro. He put himself on the equal playing field with white men because he demanded to be respected.

The last fallacy with the Civil Rights Movement Malcolm attacked was its leaders and their desire to coalesce with liberal whites. In the text *The Negro Mood*, Lerone Bennett defines the “Liberal” approach to Civil Rights. “Moderation: that is the dominant liberal value. Liberals are moderately for the Fourteenth Amendment; they are moderately for Negro freedom, and they think Negroes ought to be moderate. This means almost always that Negroes must dilute their demands, that they must wait, that they must not rock the boat.” (Bennett, 1964, p. 82) The sugarcoating of the “Negro Problem” was exactly what Malcolm was speaking out against to Negroes. He

did not want the history of maltreatment suffered by Negroes to be palatable for liberal whites. Malcolm was all for “rocking the boat.” Following Malcolm’s rationale: why should things be made comfortable for whites, they never make things comfortable for us. In the speech *The Ballot or the Bullet*, delivered April 12, 1964 in Detroit Michigan, he outlines how American institutions have failed Negroes. “The government has failed us – you can’t deny that. Anytime you live in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and you’re walking and singing “We Shall Overcome”, the government has failed you. This is part of what’s wrong with you: you do too much singing. Today it’s time to stop singing and start swinging.” (Malcolm X, Detroit Michigan, Apr. 12, 1964)! In this quote Malcolm implies the tactic of non-violent direct action and interracial demonstrations would not be effective to gain real tangible benefits for the Negro people.

Another point of contingency Malcolm had with the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement was over funding for their organizations. All of the big eight organizations that supported the Civil Rights Movement were depended on white liberal monies to meet their operating costs. In effect, it doesn’t matter if the figurehead of an organization is Negro if the money is white then the control of the organizational agenda is in the hands of whites. “No organization that is financed by white support can ever be independent enough to fight the power structure with the type of tactics necessary to get real results.” (Malcolm X, Harlem NY, Jun. 28, 1964) Malcolm was about changing the relationships of power in American society since the status quo was based in the racialized oppression of people of African descent and the relationship between money and power is synonymous.

Lerone Bennett goes on in *The Negro Mood* to state the liberal agenda is to promote gradual change. In the view of liberal whites the oppression suffered by Negroes should be ameliorated slowly as to not upset the American power structure.

“The key word here is believe. The liberal believes something should be done, but not too soon and not here. He is all negation, the white liberal: now is not the time, this is not the place, the weapon you have is too large or too small... He wants results without risks, freedom without danger, love without hate. He affirms tomorrow, denies yesterday, and evades today.” (Bennett, 1964, p. 79) For liberal whites superficial or cosmetic changes are enough because they show some improvement for a few Blacks without impacting the social and economic capital associated with whiteness. The problem with this analysis of racism is it impacts all people who belong to the discriminated against race. The Black masses wanted more. Black people were demanding equality and access, both social markers would have directly challenged the dominant power structure.

The Ahmadiyya Movement is important to the history of Islam in America. The Ahmadis have their origins in the Punjab province of India. The Ahmadiyya Movement’s foundational tenet is in being a multi-racial sect of Islam in the United States. “Ahmadiyya was unquestionably one of the most significant movements in the history of Islam in the United States in the twentieth century, providing as it did the first multi-racial model for American Islam.” (Turner, 1997, p. 110). What made the Ahmadiyya Movement attractive to Blacks was that the universal membership was open to anyone regardless of race. It was a place where Blacks were equal to other races; they were treated no differently and had the same opportunities to advance in the organization as anyone else. In fact, the leader Mufi Muhammad Sadiq used racism in America as a recruitment tool in the Black community.

According to the United States Census racial categories Arabs are considered white no matter what their phenotypical appearance may be. So, according to American race categories and prejudices against “Negroes” it would have been to a Negro’s advantage to become an Ahmadiyya Muslim. Jazz great Dizzy Gillespie

spoke to this same matter. “In his autobiography Gillespie voiced ambivalence about Islamic conversions among his fellow musicians.

Man, if you join the Muslim faith, you ain’t colored no more, you’ll be white,” they’d say.

You get a new name and you don’t have to be a nigger no more . .

.They had no idea of black consciousness; all they were trying to do was escape the stigma of being “colored” Musicians started having it printed on their union cards where it said “race”, “W” for

white...Another cat . . . went into this restaurant, and they said they didn’t serve colored in there. So he said, “I don’t blame you. But I

don’t have to go under the rule of colored because my name is Mustafa Dalil. (Dannin, 2002, p. 59)<sup>27</sup>

Gillespie asserts that musicians were attracted to the Ahmadiyyas because life on the road as a working musician was much more comfortable as a Muslim during segregation. The reason being they fell in the grey area of racism. They where not classified as being a Negro but they had to be treated as if they were “honorary” white people meaning they had to be seated in restaurants and could stay in any hotel in the American south.

For example, Charlie Parker is rumored to have been an Ahmadiyya Muslim.

“A lot of jazz musicians were Muslims. Charlie Parker, they said, was Muslim -Abdul Karim. Out there in the big world, a lot of people were Muslims. In the 1920s, 1930s,

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<sup>27</sup> The numerous jazz musicians who were associated with the Ahmadiyya movement in the 1950s included Ahmad Jamal in Chicago; Yusef Lateef in Detroit and New York City; Art Blakey, Fard Daleel, a trumpeter in New York City; Nuh Alahi, a drummer in Cincinnati who later became a vice-president for the Ahmadiyya community in Los Angeles; McCoy Tyner; Sahib Shihab; and vocalist Dakota Staton (who changed her name to Aliya Rabia) and her husband Talib Daoud in Philadelphia (Turner, 1997, 139).

to be Muslim allowed you to pose as an Egyptian –a foreigner. You could avoid the segregation,” (Turner, 1997, p. 143) A by-product of this new found independence was evident in Black musicians demanding their royalties for ownership of the music they created. By the musicians claiming their status as “other” or non-Negro they had an agency that was not afforded the American Negro in normal situations. The fact of them demanding their royalties and equal pay for engagements all came from them feeling like they were equal to any white man in their profession and they acted like it.

In terms of creativity, the Ahmadiyya Movement being based in India gave jazz musicians permission to explore different instruments and sounds. The notion of Pan-Africanism allowed jazz musicians to experiment with Yoruba instruments from West Africa and Afro-Cuban rhythms. The Be-Bop of Dizzy Gillespie and the fusion Jazz of Miles Davis was born out of this creative Pan-African and Pan-Islamic moment in music.

One of the important contributions of the Ahmadiyya Movement is the translation of the Qur’an into English to be distributed in the Black community. It is the first time that the Qur’an can be read in a language other than Arabic thus increasing the potential for the further spread of Islam in the non-Arabic literate world. “During this period, the Ahmadi distributed Qur’ans, prayer rugs, and African and Islamic literature to Black Americans, thereby reacquainting them with the knowledge of their Muslim ancestors. They also provided information about the Islamic empires of Africa.” (Rashad, 1995, p. 135) By making Islam more accessible to the Black American population, the Ahmadi introduced African and Islamic history and culture to Black Americans. They gave Negroes literature on Askia Muhammad (a West African King) and the University of Sankore in Timbuktu as a means of connecting Black Americans to their Islamic and African past in order to improve their American membership.



Malcolm very seldomly spoke to white people even when the audience was predominately white. He was speaking directly to Black America. He knew that the integrationist minded so-called Negroes did not have the access to power necessary to bring about real social equality. By providing an alternative political option to non-violence as a tactic, Malcolm was offering Black America a different form of empowerment.

### III. Jihad bil Yad

The last of the three forms of Jihad to be discussed in this thesis is Jihad Bil Yad, or Jihad by the Hand, requires a believer to choose to do what is right and combat injustice by one's actions. In a sense, putting action behind Jihad bil Lisan, or struggle by the tongue. Around twenty-seven mosques were created by Malcolm X personally during the twelve years he was a Minister in the Nation of Islam. In order to accomplish such a feat, he had to have a message that would ring true with the vast majority of Afro-Americans he attracted into the Nation of Islam. The message was simple: Black people are catching hell all over from the white man and non-violent direct action is not working. It is illogical to be non-violent with someone who is violent with you. Although the aforementioned is not a direct quote from Malcolm X it is reflective of his rhetorical style.

Malcolm spoke of economic self-determination. The notion of Black people being able to operate outside of dependence on white philanthropy meant one thing "Black Power". In the announcement of the formation of the Organization for Afro-American Unity, Malcolm gave his rationale for the deliberate exclusion of white funds.

Because any time you have an organization that costs \$2.50 a year to belong to, it means that organization has to turn in another direction for funds. And that is what castrates it. Because as soon as the white

liberals begin to support it, they tell it what to do and what not to do. This is why Garvey was able to be more militant. Garvey didn't ask them for help. He asked our people for help. And this is what we're going to do. We're going to try to follow his books. So we're going to have a \$2.00 joining fee and ask every member to contribute a dollar a week. (Malcolm X, Harlem NY, Jun. 28, 1964)

The psychological benefit for those who joined the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) was that it was a Black funded organization, and there was physical proof of Black economic strength. The weekly dues were a method of revenue generation used to ensure non-white financial support would be ongoing. By creating internal fund-raising for the OAAU, outside of white control, Malcolm was free to develop the agenda according to the needs of Afro-American people. For example, the OAAU was the organization Malcolm used as his legitimizing institution for bringing charges against the United States for Human Rights Violations to the United Nations.

The notion of having an autonomous political organization was a value instilled in Malcolm by his Garveyite parents. By following this logic it would be perfectly feasible for Malcolm to insist the OAAU to be exclusively funded from within the Black community. He saw for himself as a child how autonomous the UNIA was in building its platform for racial separation. Garvey could explore a Back to Africa agenda because whites did not control his access to funds. "Garvey preached complete political and economic separation from the United States via a back-to-Africa program which, in actuality, was only one aspect of his plan for total African redemption." (Rashad, 1995, p. 187) What made Garvey so dangerous to white America was exactly the same thing for Brother Malcolm: they were both unplacatable to whites and did not want to assimilate. Malcolm and Garvey both demanded performance and support to come from Blacks and no one else. William

Sales makes this point of Malcolm's aspirations for the OAAU being a vehicle to promote Black political and economic agency. "As Malcolm put it, "It was a big order – the organization I was creating in my mind, one which would help to challenge the American Black man to gain his human rights, and to cure his mental, spiritual, economic and political sickness." (Sales, 1994, p. 72) Like its predecessor, the UNIA, the hope for the OAAU was to foster unity among Black people wherever they may be geographically located.

#### Black Nationalist Expression of Jihad bil Yad

It is very interesting how interrelated people can be in the right circumstances. For instance, Duse Mohammed Ali and Marcus Garvey met in London. In fact, Garvey worked on the African Times and Oriental Review. "Marcus Garvey was introduced to Islam in England as a young man...His mentor in Pan-Africanism was a Sudanese-Egyptian named Duse Mohammed Ali a prominent member of London's Muslim community and one of the most significant figures in the international Pan-African movement during that time." (Turner, 1997, p. 83) To further illustrate the point of divine connectedness, Garvey also was under the tutelage of J.E. Casley Hayford who was in turn educated by Edward Wilmot Blyden.

For our purposes, Garvey's most important West African contact was J.E. Casely Hayford, whose work emphasized the theme of signification and identity. Hayford, born in the Gold Coast (Ghana) and educated in Sierra Leone by Edward Wilmot Blyden, was the most significant West African nationalist in the early twentieth century. His most important book, Ethiopia Unbound, was probably Garvey's source for Blyden's Islamic Pan-Africanist ideas, which he utilized in the Universal Negro Improvement Association. (Turner, 1997, p. 85)

This is a Pan-Africanist full circle moment. As Garvey was developing the platform for the UNIA, he was being influenced indirectly by Edward Wilmot Blyden, from J.E. Casely Hayford and his contemporary Noble Drew Ali.

Garvey brought intellectual militancy to the notions of Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism by challenging “Negro” leadership on their agendas, hence the resentment he would later endure from the Negro leaders of the day. “For example, when Marcus Garvey announced in 1920 that “the white man need expect no more Negro blood shed on his behalf” and that “the dying to be done by the black man in the future ... will be done to make himself free,” the speech was sufficiently alarming to be cited as sedition.” (Lincoln, 1961, 42) This was at the height of the practice of lynching in America. The statement above is Black Nationalist in the David Walker tradition of serving notice of the Black response to further violence against the group.

One of the most evident tenets of Black Nationalism and Pan-Islamism is in cooperative economics. Garvey often delivered fiery speeches at the Liberty Hall in Harlem about the importance of “buying Black.” The Garvey Buy Black culminated with the Black Star Shipping Line. “Garvey preached complete political and economic separation from the United States via a back-to-Africa program which, in actuality, was only one aspect of his plan for total African redemption.” (Rashad, 1995, p. 187) Garvey attempted to operate outside of white economic control by selling stock in the Black Star Shipping Line in order to raise revenue. The potential this had if it had been successful would have been the mobilization of millions of African descendants and vast amounts of goods and merchandise through the African diaspora while maintaining ownership and control.

The pilgrimage Brother Malcolm made after he left the Nation of Islam had to have brought an immense sense of faith and purpose to Malcolm, because for the first time in his spiritual life he was exposed to orthodox or Sunni Islam. “In Islam we were

taught that as long as one didn't know the truth, he lives in darkness. But once the truth was accepted, and recognized, he lived in the light, and whoever would then go against it would be punished by Allah." (Shabazz & Haley, p. 216) Malcolm's faith bound him to the will of Allah.

Duse Mohammed Ali as a diasporic Muslim was one of the men to bring Islam into its modernity. Duse Mohammed Ali had a Pan-African and Pan-Islamic agenda. He was of African Sudanese and Egyptian parentage thusly, he identified himself as an African and Muslim. "Upon his return to London, Duse Mohamed turned to historical research and political activity. His passionate treatise on modern Egyptian history was published in 1911 when he also attended the First Universal Races Congress held at the University of London. This experience inspired him to create a journal that he named the African Times and Orient Review." (Dannin, 2002, p. 41) This period is marked by the Colonizing activities of England controlling much of the Islamic world. So as a means to combat the colonizers encroachment on the practice of Islam in these countries Duse Mohammed Ali created the African Times and Orient Review to provide a forum to unite Muslims wherever they may be found in the colonized world.

The audience Duse Mohammed Ali was attempting to reach was implied in the name of the journal. African Times concerned itself with the issues facing peoples of African descent on the continent and in the diaspora, and the Orient Review was Pan-Islamic because it was a method of connecting Muslims in Africa, the Arab world, and Asia. "The rationale and purpose of Duse Mohammed Ali's African Times and Orient Review was to make a case for the unification of Pan-Africanist and Pan-Islamic discourses in America, Europe, Africa, and Asia, central to the journal's vision was the theme of signification and identity." (Turner, 1997, p. 83) Duse Mohammed Ali's mode of Pan-Africanism and Pan-Islamism had the potential to unite Muslims in the

Islamic diaspora as well as influence non-Muslims. In this instance geography is important because he was living in London and affiliated with the University of London at the time the journal was in its infancy.

At the end of his life Malcolm was intellectually free to express his views however he chose. He remained consistent in the political beliefs of Black Nationalism and his faith in Islam until the end of his life, which is his testament to the tenets of Jihad bil Lisan. “I don’t have to tell you - never once did I bite my tongue or miss a single opportunity to tell the truth about the crimes, the evils and indignities that are suffered by the black man in America.” (Shabazz & Haley, p. 396) Brother Malcolm gave it to you straight up with no chaser. Although he still preferred his coffee to be the only thing integrated in his life, he did not think of whites as “devils” as he did in his Nation of Islam days. It is not an intellectual stretch to assume a healthy dose of distance, until Black people learned to build internal coalitions to solve their own problems and create their own political agenda, would have been a public stance Malcolm would have taken.

When Malcolm was near the end of his life his concern was not for himself but for his family. Malcolm knew he lived his life according to Islamic Law. Malcolm consistently stood on the side of his people whether they were fully with him or not. In the United States, Afro-Americans qualify as an oppressed group, worthy of him making his Jihad or a just struggle against injustices. Ossie Davis reflected on Malcolm as a man who was not afraid to put the truth about United States race relations out on display for public discourse. “Malcolm kept snatching our lies away. He kept shouting the painful truth we whites and blacks did not want to hear from all the housetops. And he wouldn’t stop for love nor money.” (Clarke, 1969, p. 129) Malcolm was not afraid to use his tongue as a sword to cut through to the truth no

matter how uncomfortable it was to hear. He was uncompromising in his commitment to ending racial injustices suffered by Afro-Americans.

As a true believer in Islam and as his mother's son, he knew his life was drawing to an end. Malcolm admitted that he sometimes had prophetic warnings or an intuition, a gift he attributed to his mother.

It was then that my mother had this vision. She had always been a strange woman in this sense, and had always had a strong intuition of things about to happen. And most of her children are the same way I think. When something is about to happen, I can feel something, sense something. I never have known something to happen that has caught me completely off guard – except once. (Shabazz & Haley, p. 12)

One source of peace Malcolm could have drawn on was the Islamic Law regarding martyrs. According to the Ahadith<sup>28</sup> the reward for waging a just Jihad was to gain Paradise upon death. Malcolm caught more hell here on earth than most Black men in the United States: his father was lynched, mother driven insane from the pressure of raising eight children, raised himself from a pre-teen, petty criminal, to National Minister for the Nation of Islam, and lastly as a Sunni Muslim and Statesman. His journey was about uplifting his people from racialized oppression and to please to Allah.

Why does Malcolm X or El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz remain a controversial figure in Black America? The reason is simple. Loving Brother Malcolm requires loving yourself as a Black person and moreover, loving your people. Embracing Malcolm X as a personal or political hero demands scholarship. Having Malcolm X as

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<sup>28</sup> Report of the words and deeds of Muhammad and other early Muslims; considered an authoritative source of revelation, second only to the *Quran* (sometimes referred to as sayings of the Prophet). Hadith (pl. Ahadith) “Oxford Islamic Studies Index accessed April 6, 2009”.  
[http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/article/opr/t125/e758?\\_hi=3&\\_pos=6#match](http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/article/opr/t125/e758?_hi=3&_pos=6#match)

a hero demands a will to be free from oppression and the willingness to work towards that goal. Malcolm said it himself. “A person who follows me should prepare for life as a criminalized individual. Anyone who wants to follow me and my movement has got to be ready to go to jail, to the hospital, and to the cemetery before he can truly be free.” (Shabazz & Haley, p. 479) Ideologically, the aforementioned quote is the precursor to Fred Hampton’s famous statement “Get Free or Die Trying”. This is how the legacy of Brother Malcolm continues to live.

#### Chapter Four: Conclusion

In the eulogy delivered by Ozzie Davis, he referred to Malcolm as “Our Shining Black Prince.” In my opinion Malcolm X or El Hajj Malik El Shabazz is one of the quintessential iconoclastic figures in African American history. An iconoclast, by definition is someone who is a questioner, a rebel, or a revolutionary. While I was reflecting on Malcolm X’s life every one of the above descriptors fits him exquisitely (you might want to use the word “perfectly”).

Malcolm never accepted the status quo of racial inequality. He consistently spoke of the disparities suffered by Black people brought on by institutional racism and inequality in his speeches, lectures, and debates. His critique of racism in America was more astute because Malcolm lived in the American Midwest and North all of his life. So when he spoke of racism in America he was not limited to a particular region. Malcolm thought America was racist irrespective of geographical location.

Northern Blacks had the vote that was being fought for in the American South by Dr. King and the Civil Rights Movement. Malcolm’s assessment for the relevancy of Civil Rights Voting Act was simple: Blacks in the South did not have the right to vote, and Blacks in the rest of the country had nothing to vote for. Malcolm’s position on the plight of Blacks in America was they did not enjoy their rightful share in



American prosperity, especially when compared to the material wealth of whites and the accesses to privilege at the expense of Blacks in America.

Malcolm took his arguments against institutionalized racism and internationalized his position beyond the borders of the United States when he traveled abroad but especially to Africa. While traveling in Africa Malcolm addressed the Organization of African Unity concerning the plight of Blacks in America. The autonomous Malcolm became the greatest danger to the American public image of social stability vis à vis the image the U.S. government desired to present to the International community. Malcolm blew the lid off the notion that racism only existed in the American South and that it was under control. Malcolm, being from Harlem and speaking of the plight of Black people in America, he dispelled the regional argument the government was trying to promote. By using the international stage to air his grievances against the racism in America Malcolm was setting the foundation for bringing Human Rights violations charges against the United States to the United Nations. I think this is key because for the first time the politics of the “Black American Male” is outside of white American control.

Malcolm was rebellious by nature. If there was a power structure that supported the white dominate social structure Malcolm was all for dismantling the entity. The defiant nature of Malcolm X continues to attract and engage young people but especially Black youths as they are forming their racial and/or religious identities. On a daily basis, somewhere in Black America, a child or young adult is picking up the text on his or her own, or being introduced by an elder to the Autobiography of Malcolm X as told to Alex Haley for the first time. While I have been writing my thesis it has come up in several conversations that people remember the first time they read the Autobiography of Malcolm X as told to Alex Haley as an adolescence or

young adult. Moreover, they remember the impact of personally relating to Malcolm at some point during his narrative.

The longevity of Malcolm X's popularity is due to the transparency he displayed about his life. The power of Malcolm X's narrative is in the redemptive nature of his life. Malcolm had many epiphanous moments during his life, but the strongest moments were connected with Nation of Islam. At his point of entry into the Nation he ceased being Malcolm Little once he earned his "X." Similarly, shortly after he declared his independence from the Nation of Islam, Malcolm when on the Hajj (i.e., pilgrimage) and returned as El Hajj Malik El Shabazz.

The Autobiography of Malcolm X is one of the books that changed me and others like me foundationally. Once you have read the Autobiography Malcolm seems to permeate your being by the Epilogue. One of the most revolutionary acts of Malcolm X was for him to have penned his Autobiography with Alex Haley because of the permanency of written word. Malcolm X can be identified as a revolutionary because he changed and/or expanded minds. I can offer myself as evidence of someone who has been changed by the lasting influence of Malcolm X. I had no frame of reference for being unapologetically Black and intelligent before I read the Autobiography of Malcolm X.

As a point of summation, I found evidence of Malcolm X being a very prolific Jihadist. When applying the concept of Jihad bin Nafs {Jihad of the Heart} the evidence of the transformations Malcolm underwent to become a Muslim and later in his quests to perfect his faith in Allah remained consistent from his Nation of Islam years until his assassination. Jihad bil Lisan {Jihad of the Tongue} is evident in the sheer volume of Malcolm's speeches that have been published from 1959 to 1965. I have read thirty-five that were published from the delineated years. It was not uncommon for Malcolm to have spoken at two different but geographically close

venues in the same day. For example, Malcolm delivered the speech, Twenty Million Black People in a Political, Economic, and Mental Prison at Michigan State University in the afternoon and at the University of Michigan, he gave the same speech in the evening. The Last form of Jihad I found a preponderance of evidence was in Jihad bil Yad {Jihad of Action}. In my opinion there has been no Muslim in America who promoted Islam more actively than Malcolm X. Some may contest that statement but I would remind the naysayer that the Autobiography of Malcolm X as told to Alex Haley has been in print, circulation, and widely assigned at colleges/universities in the United States consistently for the past forty-four years.

When performing any kind of research there are always things, which occur by happenstance. The unintended consequence for me was listening to the rich stories faculty members have about their connection to Malcolm X. The relationships they have either cultivated or maintained with Malcolm posthumously are varied and individualistic, but every faculty member that I spoke to about my thesis encountered Malcolm in their youth either personally or via his Autobiography and speeches. The importance of revisiting our iconoclastic figures is in the ability to complicate their historical narratives. By applying new paradigms to research, the Africana scholar is afforded the opportunity to provide a neoteric perspective on the people we hold in high esteem in African American history.

Malcolm is still very much apart of Black America's collective consciousness. There is an old African proverb that I will paraphrase. "No one really dies until their name stops being invoked". Following this African cosmology maxim, Malcolm truly transitioned into being an ancestor instead of expiring on February 21, 1965 at the Audobon Ballroom on that fateful day in Harlem.

## APPENDIX ONE

### Program And Position: What Do The Muslims Want?

1. We want freedom. We want full and complete freedom. (Muhammad, 1965, p. 161-162)
2. We want justice. Equal justice under the law. We want justice applied equally regardless of creed, class or color. (Muhammad, 1965, p. 161-162)
3. We want equality of opportunity. We want equal membership in society with the best in civilized society. (Muhammad, 1965, p. 161-162)
4. We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendents from slaves to be allowed, to establish a separate state or territory of their own either on this continent or elsewhere... (Muhammad, 1965, p. 161-162)
5. We want freedom for all Believers of Islam now held in federal prisons...(Muhammad, 1965, p. 161-162)
6. We want in immediate end to the police brutality and mob attacks against the so-called Negro throughout the United States. (Muhammad, 1965, p. 161-162)
7. As long as we are not allowed to establish a state or territory of our own, we demand not only equal justice under the laws of the United States but equal employment opportunities NOW! (Muhammad, 1965, p. 161-162)
8. We want the government of the United States to exempt our people from ALL taxation as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the laws of the land. (Muhammad, 1965, p. 161-162)

9. We want equal education-but separate schools up to 16 for boys and 18 for girls on the conditions that girls be sent to women's colleges and universities. (Muhammad, 1965, p. 161-162)
10. We believe that intermarriage or race mixing should be prohibited. We want the religion of Islam taught without hindrance or suppression. (Muhammad, 1965, p. 161-162)

## APPENDIX TWO

### Fugitive Slave Act

That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder, or prevent such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any persons lawfully assisting him, her, or them, from arresting such a fugitive from service or labor, either with or without process as aforesaid; or shall rescue, or attempt to rescue such fugitive from service or labor, from the custody of such claimant, his or her agent or attorney or other person or personal lawfully assisting as aforesaid...or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not to exceed six months, by indictment and conviction before the district court of the United States for the district in which such offense may have been committed..." (Delany, 1852, p. 151)

## APPENDIX THREE

### Fruit of Islam

As a security force, the FOI stands guard in the temples, checks visitors at all Muslim meetings, and provides a personal guard for all ministers and traveling officials, including the Messenger and Louis Farrakhan. As a disciplinary force, it supervises the “trials” of Muslims charged with such offenses as adultery, the use of narcotics, misuse of temple funds, not attending meetings, sleeping during meetings, reporting temple activities to outsiders, using unbecoming language before female Muslims, eating or selling pork, failing to pay extra dues for being overweight, allowing anyone to enter the temple under the influence of liquor, or stating an unwillingness to die for Allah. (Allah, 2007, p. 88)

## APPENDIX FOUR

### Institutional Racism

Institutional Racism – The racism that is found in the operations of social institutions such as education, housing, and healthcare. It is the institutionally sustained race based differential access based on skin color. The term was coined by Stokely Carmichael. “The history of every institution of this society indicates that a major concern in the ordering and structuring of the society has been the maintaining of the Negro community in its condition of dependence and oppression. This has not been on the level of individual acts of discrimination between individual whites against individual Negroes, but as total acts by the white community against the Negro community. Institutional racism.” (Carmichael, Thelwell, 2003, p. 533)



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