

REMEMBERING MALCOLM X



Malcolm X with daughters Quibillah and Attallah in the backyard of their East Elmhurst, Queens Home, 1963. © 1983 Robert L. Haggins

Department of Media Study, University at Buffalo

Joseph Papp's The Public Theatre, New York City

Harvard Film Archives, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Canada

Organization of Afro-American Unity: A Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives

The Organization of Afro-American Unity, organized and structured by a cross section of the Afro-American people living in the United States of America, has been patterned after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity established at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May 1963.

We, the members of the Organization of Afro-American Unity gathered together in Harlem, New York;

CONVINCED that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny;
CONSCIOUS of the fact that freedom, equality, justice, and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, we will endeavor to build a bridge of understanding and create the basis for Afro-American Unity;

CONSCIOUS of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our people for their total advancement in all spheres of human endeavor;

INSPIRED by a common determination to promote understanding among our people and cooperation in all matters pertaining to their survival and advancement, we will support the aspirations of our people for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending all organizational differences;

CONVINCED that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions of peace and security must be established and maintained;

DETERMINED to unify the Americans of African descent in their fight for Human Rights and Dignity, and being fully aware that this is not possible in the present atmosphere and condition of oppression, we dedicate ourselves to the building of a political, economic and social system of justice and peace;

DEDICATED to the unification of all people of African descent in this hemisphere and to the utilization of that unity to bring into being the organizational structure that will project the Black people's contributions to the world;

PERSUADED that the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Constitution of the United States of America, and the Bill of Rights are the principles in which we believe and these documents if put into practice represent the essence of mankind's hopes and good intentions;

DESIROUS that all Afro-American people and organizations should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of our people will be assured;

RESOLVED to reinforce the common bond of purpose between our people by submerging all of our differences and establishing a non-religious and non-sectarian constructive program for Human Rights;
DO hereby present this Charter.

I. ESTABLISHMENT

The Organization of Afro-American Unity shall include all people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as our brothers and sisters of the African continent.

II. SELF-DEFENSE

Since self-preservation is the first law of nature, we assert the Afro-American's right of self-defense.

The Constitution of the United States of America clearly affirms the right of every American citizen to bear arms. And as Americans, we will not give up a single right guaranteed under the Constitution. The history of unpunished violence against our people clearly indicates that we must be prepared to defend ourselves or we will continue to be a defenseless people at the mercy of a ruthless and violent racist mob.

We assert that in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of our people, that our people are within their rights to protect themselves by whatever means necessary. A man with a rifle or club can only be stopped by a person who defends himself with a rifle or club.

Tactics based solely on morality can only succeed when you are dealing with basically moral people or a moral system. A man or system which oppresses a man because of his color is not moral. It is the duty of every Afro-American and every Afro-American community throughout this country to protect its people against mass murderers, bombers, lynchers, floggers, brutalizers, and exploiters.

III. EDUCATION

Education is an important element in the struggle for Human Rights. It is the means to help our children and people rediscover their identity and thereby increase self-respect. Education is our passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to the people who prepare for it today.

Our children are being criminally short-changed in the public schools of America. The Afro-American schools are the poorest-run schools in New York City. Principals and teachers fail to understand the nature of the problems with which they work and as a result they cannot do the job of teaching our children. The textbooks tell our children nothing about the great contributions of Afro-Americans to the growth and development of this country. The Board of Education's integration plan is expensive and unworkable; and the organization of principals and supervisors in the New York City school system has refused to support the Board's plan to integrate the schools, thus dooming it to failure.

The Board of Education has said that even with its plan there are 10 per cent of the schools in the Harlem-Bedford-Stuyvesant community they cannot improve. This means that the Organization of Afro-American Unity must make the Afro-American community a more potent force for educational self-improvement.

A first step in the program to end the existing system of racist education is to demand that the 10 percent of the schools the Board of Education will not include in its plan be turned over to and run by the Afro-American community. We want Afro-American principals to head these schools. We want Afro-American teachers in these schools. We want textbooks written by Afro-Americans that are acceptable to us to be used in these schools.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will select and recommend people to serve on local school boards where school policy is made and passed on to the Board of Education.

Through these steps we will make the 10 percent of schools we take over educational showplaces that will attract the attention of people all over the nation.

If these proposals are not met, we will ask Afro-American parents to keep their children out of the present inferior schools they attend. When these schools in our neighborhood are controlled by Afro-Americans, we will return to them.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity recognizes the tremendous importance of the complete involvement of Afro-American parents in every phase of school life. Afro-American parents must be

willing and be able to go into the schools and see that the job of educating our children is done properly.

We call on all Afro-Americans around the nation to be aware that the conditions that exist in the New York City public school system are as deplorable in their cities as they are here. We must unite our efforts and spread our program of self-improvement through education to every Afro-American community in America.

We must establish all over the country schools of our own to train our children to become scientists and mathematicians. We must realize the need for adult education and for job retraining programs that will emphasize a changing society in which automation plays the key role. We intend to use the tools of education to help raise our people to an unprecedented level of excellence and self-respect through their own efforts.

IV. POLITICS — ECONOMICS

Basically, there are two kinds of power that count in America: economic and political, with social power deriving from the two. In order for the Afro-Americans to control their destiny, they must be able to control and affect the decisions which control their destiny: economic, political, and social. This can only be done through organization.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will organize the Afro-American community block by block to make the community aware of its power and potential; we will start immediately a voter-registration drive to make every unregistered voter in the Afro-American community an Independent voter; we propose to support and/or organize political clubs, to run independent candidates for office, and to support any Afro-American already in office who answers to and is responsible to the Afro-American community.

Economic exploitation in the Afro-American community is the most vicious form practiced on any people in America: twice as much rent for rat-infested, roach-crawling, rotting tenements; the Afro-American pays more for foods, clothing, insurance rates and so forth. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will wage an unrelenting struggle against these evils in our community. There will be organizers to work with the people to solve these problems, and start a housing self-improvement program. We propose to support rent strikes and other activities designed to better the community.

V. SOCIAL

This organization is responsible only to the Afro-American people and community and will function only with their support, both financially and numerically. We believe that our communities must be the sources of their own strength politically, economically, intellectually and culturally in the struggle for Human Rights and Dignity.

The community must reinforce its moral responsibility to rid itself of the effects of years of exploitation, neglect, and apathy, and wage an unrelenting struggle against police brutality.

The Afro-American community must accept the responsibility for regaining our people who have lost their place in society. We must declare an all-out war on organized crime in our community; a vice that is controlled by policemen who accept bribes and graft, and who must be exposed. We must establish a clinic, whereby one can get aid and cure for drug addiction and create meaningful, creative, useful activities for those who were led astray down the avenues of vice.

The people of the Afro-American community must be prepared to help each other in all ways possible; we must establish a place where unwed mothers can get help and advice; a home for the aged in Harlem and an orphanage in Harlem.

We must set up a guardian system that will help our youth who get into trouble and also provide constructive activities for our children. We must set a good example for our children and must teach them to always be ready to accept the responsibilities that are necessary for building good communities and nations. We must teach them that their greatest responsibilities are to themselves, to their families, and to their communities.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity believes that the Afro-American community must endeavor to do the major part of all charity work from within the community. Charity, however, does not mean that to which we are legally entitled in the form of government benefits. The Afro-American veteran must be made aware of all the benefits due him and the procedure for obtaining them. These veterans must be encouraged to go into business together, using GI loans, etc.

Afro-Americans must unite and work together. We must take pride in the Afro-American community for it is home and it is power.

What we do here in regaining our Self-Respect, Manhood, Dignity, and Freedom helps all people everywhere who are fighting against oppression.

VI. CULTURE

"A race of people is like an individual man; until it uses its own talent, takes pride in its own history expresses its own culture, affirms its own selfhood, it can never fulfill itself."

Our history and our culture were completely destroyed when we were forcibly brought to America in chains. And now it is important for us to know that our history did not begin with slavery's scars. We come from Africa, a great continent and a proud and varied people, a land which is the new world and was the cradle of civilization. Our culture and our history are as old as man himself and yet we know almost nothing of it. We must recapture our heritage and our identity if we are ever to liberate ourselves from the bonds of White supremacy. We must launch a cultural revolution to unbrainwash an entire people.

Our cultural revolution must be the means of bringing us closer to our African brothers and sisters. It must begin in the community and be based on community participation. Afro-Americans will be free to create only when they depend on the Afro-American community. Afro-American artists must realize that they depend on the Afro-American for inspiration. We must work toward the establishment of cultural center in Harlem which will include people of all ages, and will conduct workshops in all of the arts, such as film, creative writing, painting, theater, music, Afro-American history, etc.

This cultural revolution will be the journey of our rediscovery of ourselves. History is a people's memory, and without a memory man is demoted to the lower animals.

Armed with the knowledge of our past, we can with confidence charter a course for our future. Culture is an indispensable weapon in the freedom struggle. We must take hold of it and forge the future with the past.

When the battle is won, let history be able to say of each one of us:

"He was a dedicated patriot; Dignity was his country, Manhood was his government, and Freedom was his land."

REMEMBERING MALCOLM

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Remembering Malcolm

Gerald O'Grady

In his "best of 1992," *Village Voice* film critic J. Hoberman gave an Honorable Mention to "the event around *Malcolm X* (Spike Lee, U.S.)." *Malcolm X* was the most pre-publicized film since *Gone With the Wind* (1939). Hoberman was referring to the magazine covers, interviews and assorted press feedings on the film's turbulent development - Lee had replaced Norman Jewison as its director; its financing - Lee had raised money from Bill Cosby, Magic Johnson, Michael Jordan and Oprah Winfrey; and its political representation - Lee had engaged in a public conflict with Amiri Baraka. Hoberman was also referring to the "X" hats and merchandise of every kind, and the controversies over that trademark's ownership, which involved Xavier University, Lee's own company, Forty Acres and a Mule, the estate of Malcolm X, and a host of retailers.

REMEMBERING MALCOLM, the series of documentary film screenings is "an event" of another kind. It presents a series of real events from Malcolm's life and death as recorded on film, sometimes for transmission by television, from 1959 through 1965.

Born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, the articulate and charismatic political leader of the American 1960s changed his white slave-master name to Malcolm X in 1952 when he first joined The Nation of Islam, popularly but inaccurately known as the Black Muslims during those decades, and took the name El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz when he broke with The Messenger, Elijah Muhammad, in 1964 and founded the Moslem Mosque and the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Classically portrayed in his own best-selling book, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* as told to Alex Haley (1964), he is remembered for his courageous and outspoken advocacy of Afro-American self-determination and legitimate self-defense, his pivotal role in redefining civil rights in terms of human rights, and his superimposing an international political perspective on the domestic struggles of the mid-60s. From James Baldwin's 1968 *Esquire* essay, "Martin and Malcolm," to Spike Lee's *Do the Right Thing* in 1989, to James H. Cone's *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream or a Nightmare* (1992), the philosophies and programs advocated by Martin Luther King, Jr. and himself have been widely and continually debated throughout the Afro-American community, and the example, commitment and strategic evolution of Malcolm X have made him a strong force in contemporary political thought.

A third "event" around Spike Lee's *Malcolm X* has been the publication of 20 new books. In *Remembering Malcolm*, his assistant minister at Temple Number 7 in Harlem, Benjamin Karim, has provided entirely new information on both the empathy and severity with which Malcolm X carried out his pastoral duties there. Bruce Perry's *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America* has raised the issue of Malcolm X's bisexuality and sparked off a moving exchange between filmmaker Martin Riggins and photographer Ron Simmons, "Sexuality, Television, and Death: A Black Gay Dialogue

on Malcolm X," in a collection of essays edited by Joe Wood, *Malcolm X in Our Own Image*. In *The Judas Factor: The Plot to Kill Malcolm X*, *Washington Post* journalist Karl Evanzz has substantially added to the earlier books by George Breitman and Peter Goldman on Malcolm X's assassination, raising new questions about the relationship of John Ali, the National Secretary of the Black Muslim, to the FBI. In *Transition 56*, novelist David Bradley has outlined the twists and turns which took Marvin Worth 25 years to get the feature on Malcolm X produced. It has also become known that the African American journalist Louis Lomax, the author of *The Negro Revolt*, *The Word Is Given*, and *To Kill a Blackman*, contracted to write a screenplay on The Life and Death of Malcolm X for Twentieth Century Fox in 1968.

Because of the recent death of Alex Haley, the original manuscript of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965) has been sold by his estate and made public for the first time. Manning Marable, whose own biography of Malcolm X is forthcoming, has revealed that there are passages marked in red which Malcolm X wished to delete but which Haley kept in, passages marked in green which Haley changed after Malcolm X read it, and three additional chapters which were never published: The literary construction of the famous *Autobiography*, its veracity, and Malcolm's own restructuring of his recollections have all come under question, many by members of his own family.

Meanwhile, June Smith of Rebirth Productions in California has released a two-hour docudrama, *The Nation*, which tells its history, which includes that of Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad and Louis Farrakhan, and the organization's infiltration by J. Edgar Hoover. The Final Call in Chicago has released two videotapes by Louis Farrakhan, *The Murder of Malcolm X: 25 Years Later* and *The Malcolm X Movie: Trial for the Nation of Islam*. In Boston, Blackside Productions, which made *Eyes on the Prize*, has produced a two-hour documentary on Malcolm X which will air on The American Experience in the fall. That project will include the publication of a related book, written by John A. Williams whose novel, *The Man Who Cried I Am* (1967), was partly based on the death of Malcolm X.

This tabloid is designed to provide information about films made on the life and death of Malcolm X and about the publication of his speeches, to bring together a selected bibliography for continued reading, and to indicate the rich resources at The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture as a starting point for the pursuit of continuing research on all aspects of his career. It also includes the last political document which he was preparing on his last day, a statement of the basic aims and objectives of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, and the moving memory of James Baldwin's film script, *One Day, When I Was Lost*.

Homeboy in the Labyrinth

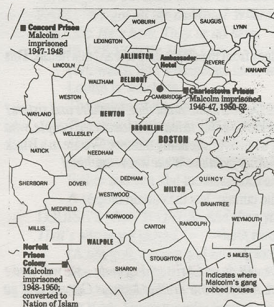
Gerald O'Grady

At the very time that I was completing my own high school education in Framingham, Massachusetts (1946-1949) and pursuing my Greek-Latin A.B. at Boston College (1949-1953), the unknown Malcolm Little, self-characterized as a hustler, was embarking on his own extraordinary education in the prisons of my neighboring towns of Concord, Charlestown and Walpole. His accomplices, convicted of burglary, were incarcerated in the Women's Reformatory of my own hometown.

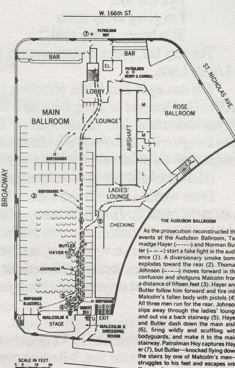
I was the invited speaker at the Harvard Law School Forum. I happened to glance through a window. Abruptly, I realized that I was looking in the direction of the apartment house that was my old burglary gang's hangout.

The date of that glance was twenty years later, December 16, 1964. It is recorded in *The Speeches of Malcolm X at Harvard* (1968), edited by Archie Epps, that University's current Dean of Students. The source of the quotation is that now well-known "hustler's" classic, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965). It is from the chapter "Icarus" in which Malcolm alluded to the same Greek myth which James Joyce had appropriated for Stephen Daedalus in his own autobiographical *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. "Standing there by the Harvard window," wrote Malcolm X, "I silently vowed to Allah that I would never forget that any wings that I wore had been put on by the religion of Islam."

Writing in *The Yale Review* about a decade later, Edwin Mendelson would call a newly-published book "the most important novel to be published in English in the past thirty years," and Richard Poirier, writing in *The Saturday Review*, would report that this new novel brought to mind Melville's *Moby Dick* and James Joyce's *Ulysses*, and that it "marked an advance beyond either book in its treatment of cultural inheritances," particularly aspects un congenial to those - like myself - with a merely literary education. That novel was Thomas Pynchon's *Gravity's Rainbow*. By now, its interpretation has engendered a growing library of books.



In late 1946 and early 1946, Malcolm headed a gang that burglarized several suburban Boston homes and stabbed some of the loot in a room at the former Ambassador Hotel. After pleading guilty, he served more than six years in three Massachusetts prisons.



It has gone unrecognized that Malcolm X is the red in its rainbow. In its principal character Tyrone Slothrop's feverish imagination, he is color-coded with both our Native American "Redmen" and with the American Communists of the 1930's. He first appears as a black shoeshine boy (GR, p. 67).

Now don't you remember Red Malcolm up there
That kid with the Red Devil's Lye in his hair. . .

In a toilet stall at the Roseland State Ballroom on Massachusetts Avenue, Slothrop overhears someone in the men's room say: "Slip the talcum to me, Malcolm," and listens to "Cherokee" coming up from the saxes downstairs. Pynchon's source was *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (p. 58): "The fact is that very few white bands could have satisfied the Negro dancers. But I know that Charlie Barnett's 'Cherokee' and 'Redskin Rhumba' drove those Negroes wild." It is over six hundred pages later that Slothrop returns to the scene, speculating that "on one Saturday night, one floor-shaking Lindyhoping Roseland night, Malcolm looked up from some Harvard kid's shoes and caught the eye of John Kennedy (the Ambassador's son), then a senior..." (GR, p. 688).

It is in his "Homeboy" chapter that Malcolm X himself first recalled the couples "flinging high and wide" at the Roseland on his first night at work, and, later, on his first visit there after the night he quit, his dancing "the flapping eagle." He added: "After that, I never missed a Roseland lindy-hop as long as I stayed in Boston" (AMX, p. 69). In the *Autobiography's* "Epilogue," Alex Haley recalls one of their meetings: "...and then grabbing a vertical pipe with one hand (as the girl partner) he went jubilantly lindy-hopping, his coattail and the long legs and the big feet flying as they had in those Harlem days" (p. 450).

In Spike Lee's *Malcolm X* (1992), the high-flying dance at the Roseland State Ballroom prefigures the death's-eve dance at The Audubon Ballroom. In my own remembering, I superimpose the labyrinth of the Audubon on my unknown neighbor of the early 50's, "standing there by that Harvard window" in 1964, with his own premonition, based on a story which we had both read in that earlier decade - myself in a classroom, himself in a prison.

A story that I had read in prison when
I was reading a lot of Greek Mythology
flicked into my head.

The boy Icarus. Do you remember the
story?

Higher, he flew - higher - until the
heat of the sun melted the wax holding
those wings. And down came Icarus -
tumbling. (AMX, p. 331).

Gerald O'Grady teaches in the Department of Media Study at the University at Buffalo. He has been awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship to work on the films of the Civil Rights Movement, and is writing a book, "The Moving Image of Malcolm X."

Reprinted courtesy of *The Boston Globe*: "Crime and Punishment" Graphic by David Butler, which accompanied the piece entitled, "Malcolm, the Boston Years" (February 16, 1992).

Reprinted courtesy of the University of Illinois Press: Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X*, 2nd edition (Urbana, 1979), p. 272.

One Day, When I Was Lost

A Scenario Based on Alex Haley's *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*

James Baldwin

(The late afternoon, in New York, from the Statue of Liberty in the bay, and the busy water traffic, the downtown spires, then the garage of the New York Hilton Hotel.

The garage is utterly silent, long and ominous.

The door leading to the hotel opens, and a man's long, lean silhouette crosses the garage swiftly and gets into a car.

There is a long pause before he turns on the ignition and the sound of the motor rolls through the garage. The moment we hear the sound of the motor, the car's side-view mirror fills the screen—as blank as the garage. The radio begins to play—"soul music"—and the car's side-view mirror begins to move, up, into the daylight.

We see the driver's bespectacled eyes in the rear-view mirror: eyes both haunted and alert.

The music pauses. We hear an announcement that Malcolm X will be appearing at the Audubon Ballroom in the evening.

The side-view mirror, reflecting darkness, then light, then the traffic in the streets.

A red light; people crossing the street; soul music.

We now see the driver, Malcolm X, bearded, harried, and yet, at the same time, calm and proud.

As the car begins to move again, the side-view mirror begins to reflect inexplicable images, swift, overlapping, blurred.

A fire fills the screen. Then, hooded men, on horseback, smash in the windows of a country house; a fair, young mulatto woman, pregnant, flinching as the horsemen ride between her and her house; and between her and the camera.

A voice is heard, shouting, "Brothers, sisters, this is not our home! Our homeland is in Africa. In Africa!"

We hear a trolley-car's clanging bell, and see, from the point of view of the motorman, a beaten, one-eyed Black man, lying across the streetcar tracks, watching his death approach.

Malcolm's face.

The car is moving uptown, through the streets of Manhattan, and we watch Malcolm watching the people and watching the tall, proud buildings. Following Malcolm's eye we begin picking out, isolating, certain details of these buildings:

A cupola, at the topmost height of a New York building, transforms itself, as we pass, into the balcony of the presidential mansion in Dakar: flags flying, throngs of Black people cheering. The bearded Malcolm is smiling and responding to the cheers.

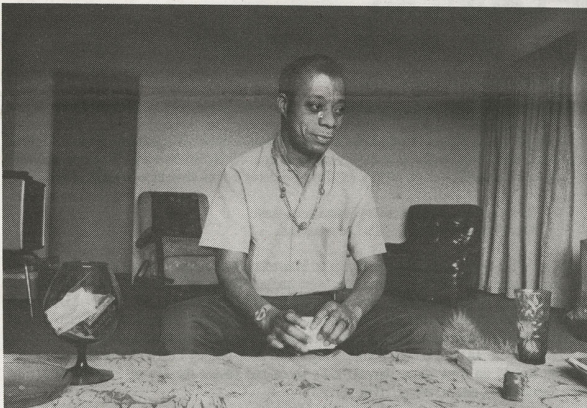
A very young Black student, male, with a bright and eager face, is speaking to him.)

STUDENT: You must return. You must come back to us.

MALCOLM: I have come back. After many centuries. Thank you—thank you!—for welcoming me. You have given me a new name!

(Malcolm, in a great hall, somewhere in Africa, being draped in an African robe.)

The Black ruler, who places this robe on him, pronounces this new name at the same time that Malcolm repeats it to the student.)



"These photographs were taken during January, 1969 while James Baldwin was working on the Malcolm X screenplay for Columbia Pictures. They were taken in the living room of his house (rented furnished, of course, as you can tell from the plastic furniture) off Sunset Boulevard in Hollywood. This is the first time I am releasing these photographs. They have been picking in my files for the last two decades. Somehow, people go for the Baldwin photographs that I took in Turkey. I am glad you asked for Hollywood portraits."

Letter from Sedat Pakay to Gerald O'Grady, May 17, 1990.

MALCOLM: Omowale.

STUDENT: It means: the son who has returned.

MALCOLM: I have had so many names—

(We see the Book of the Holy Register of True Muslims. A hand inscribes in this book the name: El-Hajj Malik El Shabazz.

(We see a family Bible and a Black hand inscribing: Malcolm Little, May 19, 1925.)

I will come back to you. I promise—(After a moment) God willing.

(The windows of New York buildings, blinding where the sun strikes.)

MALCOLM'S VOICE OVER: So many names—

(We hear the raucous sound of a Lindy Hop.

In the side-view mirror: a conked and sweating Malcolm, dancing, spinning.

A voice yells, "Hey, Red! Go on, Red!"

Malcolm acknowledges this, without missing a beat. He is dancing with a very young, radiant, Black girl, Laura. They execute a particularly spectacular and punishing *pas de deux*, the crowd roaring them on, and when Malcolm has, literally, set Laura's feet on solid ground again, he holds her against him a moment. They are very, very young; and they smile at each other that way.)

MALCOLM: You are the cutest thing.

(Malcolm's present, weary, bearded face: very much alone. Idly, he watches a very attractive blond girl striding along the avenue.)

MALCOLM'S VOICE OVER: Sophia—

(The car stops for a light.

The blond girl, who is actually not Sophia, enters a jewelry shop. We see her through the glass.

In the side-view mirror, we see:

Malcolm's long hands tangled in Sophia's long blond hair. They kiss—a long moment—and then we see that they are in a room, on a bed. Sophia is wearing a loose robe. Malcolm is naked to the waist.)

MALCOLM: And what you going to tell your White boy about your Black boy? your fine Black stud?

you nigger?—You hear me talking to you, Miss Anne?

SOPHIA: I am not going to speak about you at all.

MALCOLM: Suppose somebody else tells him?

SOPHIA: Who could make him believe it?

MALCOLM: (laughs) You keep telling me you know how White men are. (She kisses him.) Don't nobody care about you people at all?

(He pulls her down on top of him. She buries her head in his chest. Then she looks up at him.)

SOPHIA: I don't think so—don't laugh—only you—

(And Malcolm pulls her head down on his chest.)

(Malcolm, in prison, in a fist-fight. He and his opponent are separated by the guards. A voice yells, "Satan!")

MALCOLM (shouting): I didn't do a damn thing! I was minding my own business when this joker came fucking over me! I ain't no punk!

(The Guards subdue him and hurl him into solitary, Malcolm shouting and cursing every inch of the way. When the door locks behind him, he begins beating on the door, finally slumps.)

MALCOLM'S VOICE OVER: So many names.

(A tree, from which flutter old, discolored rags—which once were clothes, which once were bloodstained; great birds circling in a luminous gray sky; and then clothes billowing from the clothesline



Photographs by Sedat Pakay, who assisted Arnold Perl in researching the film *Malcolm X* (1972), made the film, *James Baldwin, From Another Place* (1970), and is currently producing a film on Walker Evans.

of the Little home.

A long female Black voice, singing:

"Bye and bye,

Bye and bye,

I'm going to lay down

This heavy, heavy load."

The very fair, young mulatto woman, pregnant, trudges from the clothesline toward this house. This is Louise Little.

The one-eyed Earl Little, preaching.)

EARL: God has sent us a prophet who will take us home. Do you understand that, brothers and sisters? Do you understand that? To take us home! Back to Africa! We're going to leave this accursed people, who been slaughtering us so long! (His listeners all are Black; a not overwhelming number. We are in a Black church.) But we must raise ourselves so that we need nothing from the White man—nothing!

(Holster of a White man on horseback. The horse is restless.

From within a white house a black hand lifts a white curtain, lets the curtain drop.)

A BLACK VOICE: Lord have mercy.

EARL: We shall establish our own business, raise our own food—

(Louise, at the stove, cooking; and watching the clock.)

EARL: And when we have established our sufficiency, we will do as Christ told us to do—we will shake the dust of this most accursed of nations from off our feet. And join our brother Marcus Garvey, and go home!

(The Klan, riding through the night.

Louise hears this. She looks quickly at the children, who are silent.

The clothes on the line, billowing over the heads of some of the riders as they enter the Little yard. Louise walks to the door, and faces the riders. Louise is nearly as White as they are and this lends her a very particular bitterness and a contemptuous authority.

If they are intimidated by the particular quality of her fury, they are nevertheless together and she is alone.)

LOUISE: *What you all want here, this time of night? I got my children's supper on the stove.*

A RIDER: *Where's your husband?*

LOUISE: *If he was home, would I be standing out here in the yard?*

A RIDER: *If you want to keep on standing, you better watch your tongue.*

LOUISE: *You can veil your face, but you can't hide your voice, Mr. Joel. I know every one of you.*

(A Rider laughs. His horse rears.)

A RIDER: *Well, if you know every one of us, you know we mean business. You tell your one-eyed liver-lipped preacher husband—*

LOUISE: *You tell him whatever it is you got to tell him! or ain't you man enough?*

A RIDER: *We trying to be patient—*

A RIDER: *You half-White bitch—*

LOUISE: *I might be your daughter, for all you know—or your sister!*

A RIDER: *Your husband keep on stirring up the bad niggers in this town, we going to have his ass in a sling—you tell him that!*

A RIDER: *He going to lose his other eye!*

(His restless horse rears again, and, in a sudden fury, the Rider smashes in one of the windows with the butt of his gun. He prods his horse, and all the Riders follow him. They ride around the house, smashing in every window with their gun butts, and ride away.)

Louise's clenched hands on her swollen belly.)

(Night. The streetcar tracks, from the motorman's point of view.)

Earl rushes to catch this streetcar but misses it. He stands, in an odd and violent frustration on the tracks, watching the streetcar vanish. He begins walking home.

A car with Nebraska license plates moves slowly along the dark streets, and we see that the two White men in the car are armed.

Earl walks under the billowing clothesline, and the light falls on his face as his wife opens the door. He walks slowly around his violated home; we hear the children whispering and weeping.

He turns to Louise, who stands in the doorway, who has not moved.)

LOUISE: *Earl, maybe now you'll listen to me. We can't stay here. Earl. We got to go.*

EARL: *I ain't going to let them drive me away like this—Oh no. Oh, no.*

LOUISE: *Listen to your children in there, crying, scared to death! Man, can't you hear your children! Earl. I hear my children. That's why we ain't going to run.*

(He starts into the house. Louise stops him.)

LOUISE: *Earl, it don't matter about me. I ain't worried about me. I ain't never asked for you to worry about me. We made our choice, and that's all right. But my babies, Earl—my babies!*

(She is weeping. He holds her to him, a long moment; we watch his face.)

EARL: *All right. Tell you what. We'll go. We'll go. But we can't go nowhere tonight. I got to get busy fixing these windows. And tomorrow morning—early tomorrow morning—I'll start arranging for us to get out of this town—But it going to be the same thing, no matter where we go. They ain't never going to treat us right, not here. This White man is too sick. We got to get to Africa.*

LOUISE: *Earl—Where is Africa?*

EARL: *Wherever Brother Garvey leads us.*

LOUISE: *I wish I was Black—black like you—blacker than you! Goddamn it, how I hate them, hate them! Every drop of that White rapist's blood that's in my veins!*

EARL: *Hush. He strokes her belly. We can't get far, nohow, before this little one gets here. He in a hurry. I can feel him pushing up against my hand.*

LOUISE: *He'll sure be here before we get to Africa.*

JAMES BALDWIN



ONE DAY, WHEN I WAS LOST

A SCENARIO BASED ON JAMES BALDWIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM

"HE IS THOUGHT-PROVOKING, LITIGIOUS, WRITING, BEING ONE AND THE SAME, AND HE USES WORDS AS THE SEA USES WAVES, TO FLOOD AND BEAT AGAINST AND REDEEM AND TAKE A BAY IN THE OPEN MIND."

—Langston Hughes

(They go into the house. We see a map, and Louise's finger.)

LOUISE'S VOICE OVER: *No. You were born here, Malcolm. (Her finger touches: Omaha.) And then we moved—here.*

(Her finger touches: Milwaukee.)

(Night. The screen is dark. A match is struck in the darkness. It flickers, seems nearly to go out; then another wisp of flame appears; then another.)

Earl turns in bed, beginning to awaken.

Louise sits up.)

LOUISE: *Earl!*

(The flames are devouring the house. They gather up the children, covering them with blankets, with anything, and get them out of the house.)

EARL: *We got all the children? Where's Malcolm?*

LOUISE: *He's here. They're all here.*

A CHILD'S VOICE: *Here I am.*

(We watch Earl's desperate face, watching the fire.)

Louise is watching.

The arrival of the fire engines. The firemen are White.

The crowd gathering. The crowd is White.

The fire trucks come to a halt; and the firemen stand and watch the fire.

Earl turns and watches the crowd. He picks up the baby, Malcolm, and holds him in his arms.

Father and son, the mother and the children watch the crowd watching the fire.

A map.)

LOUISE'S VOICE OVER: *And then your father built a house—here. (Her fingers stops at Lansing.) That's where we stayed.*

(A sea gull, turning and turning in the sky. A bright summer day.)

The young, bright, gawky, conked Malcolm, walking, with his shoes and a pair of girls shoes tied over his shoulders.)

MALCOLM: *I wasn't really born there. I just grew up there.*

LAURA: *I never heard of it.*

MALCOLM: *Well, there's a big town not too far from it, called Detroit—that's where they make the cars. You ever hear of Detroit?*

(Malcolm and Laura are walking along a deserted Cape Cod beach, barefoot, he with trousers rolled.)

LAURA: *Yes. I've heard of Detroit. Was—Lansing—a nice town? Did you like it there?*

MALCOLM: *I didn't want to live there. No more than I want to live in Boston.*

LAURA: *What's wrong with Boston? I live here.*

MALCOLM: *Well, I think I'm big enough to overlook that. In fact, I'm thinking of kidnapping you. You want to be like all them hill clowns? Them people your grandmother likes so much?*

LAURA: *Just because my grandmother likes them doesn't mean that I have to like them.*

MALCOLM: *She wants you to like them. She want you to be like that. She want you to marry somebody like that. Like that deacon—what's his name—so Black and puffed up he can't hardly talk—the one who call me Master Little—ha! I ain't master of nothing. He say he in banking. In banking! (An elderly Black man, solemnly winding an impressive watch.) He don't see penny one in that bank. They don't let him nowhere near the money. All he do is mop their floors. (Which after the gentleman has elaborately tucked his watch away, we see is all too true.) And old Miss Stella, talking about she with a "old family"—yeah. And what she doing with that old family? She cook their food and scrub their toilets—(A handsome Black woman is simultaneously putting on her street clothes and expertly filling a large, respectable-looking—handbag.) and take home their leftovers. If she married to that cat "in banking," I reckon she better.*

LAURA: *Don't talk like that.*

MALCOLM: *Well, it's true! And that cat "in utilities." He in, all right—when he ain't outside riding a bicycle for the gas company. In utilities!*

LAURA: *That's another generation. You haven't got to be like that.*

MALCOLM: (stops walking) *You damn right.*

LAURA: *Oh—! (Suddenly, she grabs his hand and starts running with him. They start laughing. They run to the water's edge and fall down, laughing, in the sand.) Oh, look!*

MALCOLM: *Look at what?*

(But he follows her finger and sees what she sees: the sea gull, turning and swooping in the sky.)

LAURA: *He wears the sky like an overcoat.*

MALCOLM (looks at her, amused and moved): *Honey, he's just looking for food. He got a lot of mouths to feed.*

LAURA: *You're always so—practical.*

MALCOLM: *I better be.*

(He kisses her, lightly, playfully, like a brother, and sits up. He takes their shoes off his shoulders and rests them on the sand.)

LAURA: *It's peaceful here.*

MALCOLM: *You think so? I wish it was. I wish I could make it peaceful for you. I guess I'd do anything for you—if I could do anything—*

LAURA: *But you can, Malcolm, you can! You—you could be a wonderful man.*

MALCOLM: *You know, when I was a little boy, where we lived—(He pauses, to be reassured by Laura who is lying on her side, watching him.) I ain't never really told you about where—(We watch Laura, watching Malcolm.) And so we had our own garden, you know, and so I asked my mama if I could have my own little garden, too. And so she said, Yes, and she let me. I loved it and I took care of it. I used to love to grow peas. I used to be proud when we had them on the table—on our table—*

(Louise, smiling, humming, shelling peas.)

MALCOLM'S VOICE OVER: *I used to crawl on my hands and knees, looking for the bugs and the worms and then I'd kill them and bury them. (We see the ground very close as if from the viewpoint of a crawling child, and remain fascinated before one enormous green shoot.) And sometimes I would lie down on my back between my nice clean rows and gaze up at the blue sky at the clouds moving.*

(Malcolm's face.)

MALCOLM: *—And think all kinds of things.*

LAURA: *What kind of things?*

MALCOLM: *All kinds of things. I used to dream that I would be speaking to great crowds of people—and I would somehow do something which would help my father and my mother. I didn't want my mother to work so hard. (We watch Laura watching Malcolm. He suddenly grabs her hand and looks up at her.) They used to fight because they both worked too hard. (The blue sky, from the viewpoint of someone lying on his back.)*

LOUISE'S VOICE OVER: *We ain't never ate rabbit before in this house, Earl!*

(The sky; very still.)

EARL'S VOICE OVER: *Well, we going to be eating rabbit today!*

(The sky goes out of focus, goes black for a moment, tilts out of sight, and Louise comes into focus.)

LOUISE: *We only raise rabbits to sell to White folks.*

EARL: *Did you hear what I just told you?*

(A rabbit, Earl's hands on its neck, being whirled around and thrown to the floor.)

Louise is horrified, sweating, speechless.)

EARL: *Fix it for dinner. I be back soon.*

(Louise looks at the rabbit at her feet, picks it up, puts it on the sink, finds a knife.)

Earl leaves the kitchen and the yard.

Louise walks from the darkness of the kitchen into the darkness of the yard.)

LOUISE: *Earl!*

(Earl turns to face her: in focus, though already quite far away, Louise has her back to us.)

LOUISE: *Earl—?*

(Earl waves his hand, and, after a moment, turns and walks away. We watch him—still from the point of view of Louise—vanish from our sight.)

Malcolm is still holding Laura's hand.)

MALCOLM: *Are you cold?*

LAURA: *No.*

MALCOLM: *You were shivering.*

LAURA: *Every time you touch me, makes my blood run cold.*

(They laugh. He kisses her, lightly, playfully, as before. Then, suddenly, they really kiss, pull away, staring at each other with fear and wonder, and kiss again. Malcolm pulls away.)

MALCOLM: *You're the nicest girl I ever knew.*

LAURA: *You're the nicest boy.*

MALCOLM: *Oh, I'm not nice. I'm not nice at all. Your grandma's right about me. You should listen to her.*

LAURA: *I have a mind of my own, Malcolm. I'm not a child.*

MALCOLM: *Yes, you are. Compared to me, you are. I don't come from around here. You don't know anything about me. Maybe everything I ever told you was a lie.*

LAURA: *I don't know anything about? I know you're smart and distinguished—and—you're very nice.*

MALCOLM: *Will you come dance with me at the Roseland—Saturday night? I know your grandma gone have a fit.*

LAURA: *You name the night. I'll handle the fit.*

MALCOLM: (after a moment) *It's time we was going. (He kisses her on the cheek, very sorrowfully.)*

Come on.

(We watch them walk away, becoming very small figures, between the sea and the land, the sky.)

(Malcolm's garden. Night.)

We travel slowly through Malcolm's rows.

The sky: dark.

Louise, at the stove, and watching the clock.)

EARL'S VOICE OVER (in the rhythm of the clock): *Separate! Separate! Leave this accursed land! Separate!*

A BLACK VOICE: *Lord, have mercy.*

(The town: empty, dark.)

Into this silence: the clanging of the streetcar bell.

The badly beaten body of Earl Little lands heavily on the tracks. He tries to move; he cannot.

The clanging bell grows louder.

Earl's mouth opens in terror.)

from James Baldwin, *One Day, When I Was Lost* (Dell Publishing, New York, 1990), originally published by Dial Press, 1972. Permission by Doubleday.

James Baldwin (died, 1988) was one of America's most distinguished writers — novelist, essayist, playwright, poet — and active participant in the Civil Rights Movement.

Film Program Note

Ge

Madeline Anderson, *A Tribute to Malcolm X (Black Journal)* (1969) 14 minutes

An independent filmmaker's portrait of Betty Shabazz intercut with a visual review of major events in Malcolm X's life, produced for William Greaves' *Black Journal*, the first American television program produced by minorities.

Lebert Bethune, *Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom* (1966) 22 minutes

Before an enlarged photograph of Patrice Lumumba, four young intellectuals from the Black Diaspora elicit Malcolm's visions on the international organization of people and the role of women in culture. This interview is intercut with footage of oppressed peoples from around the world which was provided by the Dutch documentarian Joris Ivens.

Beryl Fox and Douglas Leiterman, *One More River* (1964) 60 minutes

Records Malcolm X's talk to SNCC volunteers in Selma, Alabama and places it in the context of interviews with the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, James Meredith's entrance to the University, and Black/White relationships.

Ken Jacobs, *Perfect Film* (1986) 22 minutes

Leading American independent filmmaker's assemblage of unedited found footage for television news recording eyewitnesses, police investigators, and bystanders at Malcolm's assassination.

Woodie King, Jr., *Death of a Prophet* (1981) 60 minutes

Dramatically recreates the last day of Malcolm's life with Morgan Freeman as Malcolm X and Martin Luther King's daughter Yolanda as his wife. Includes on-camera interviews with Ossie Davis, Amiri Baraka and Yuri Kochiyama.

William Klein, *Float Like a Butterfly, Sting Like a Bee* (1964) 94 minutes

Malcolm X at Cassius Clay/Muhammad Ali's heavyweight title victory over Sonny Liston in Miami, 1964. Includes interviews with Louis Farrakhan and other Nation of Islam members in the period Malcolm was silenced for remarks on John Kennedy's assassination.

Louis Lomax and Mike Wallace, *The Hate That Hate Produced* (1959) 58 minutes

Malcolm X's first appearance on television, the program that made Minister Malcolm famous to millions of Americans. Includes interviews with Elijah Muhammad and documentation of Nation of Islam meetings.

Richard Moore, *Messenger from Violet Drive* (1965) 29 minutes

Elijah Muhammad is interviewed at his home in Phoenix, Arizona about his philosophy, religious tenets, and the founding and history of the Nation of Islam.

Henry Morgenthau, Jr., *The Negro and the American Promise* (1963) 60 minutes

Produced in New York and elsewhere for WGBH-Boston, shows Malcolm X's powerful and engaging screen personality and highlights his aggressive, analytical style. Also includes Kenneth Clark's interviews with Martin Luther King, Jr. and James Baldwin, who give their views of Malcolm at that time.

Gil Noble, *El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz* (1978) 54 minutes

Excellent comprehensive documentary by the producer of *Like It Is*, combining his own sketches with photographs of Malcolm's early life, researched newsreel footage, and interviews. Surveys Malcolm's whole career and raises important questions about his murder.

Arnold Perl and Marvin Worth, *Malcolm X* (1972) 92 minutes

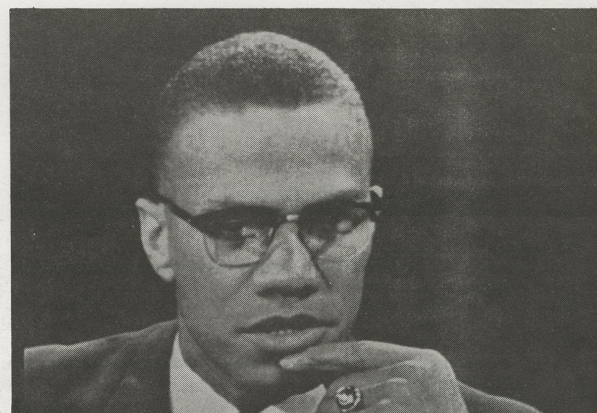
A brilliantly-constructed documentary, narrated by James Earl Jones, containing footage of Malcolm X shot in France, Great Britain, Egypt and across the United States — nominated for an Academy Award.



Mug shots of Malcolm X on entrance to prison in Charlestown, Massachusetts in 1946, in Gil Noble's *El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz* (1978)



Malcolm X taking motion pictures of the pyramids in Egypt (1964) in Arnold Perl and Marvin Worth's *Malcolm X* (1972)



Malcolm X in Henry Morgenthau, Jr.'s *The Negro and the American Promise* (1963)



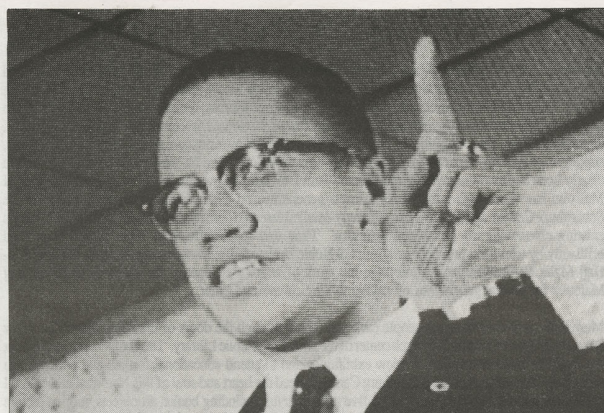
Eyewitness to Malcolm X's assassination (1965) in Ken Jacobs' *Perfect Film* (1986)



Yolanda King and Morgan Freeman in Woodie King, Jr.'s *Death of a Prophet* (1981)

and Film Distributors

O'Grady



Malcolm X speaks to SNCC in Selma, Alabama two weeks before his death in Beryl Fox and Douglas Leitterman's *One More River* (1964)



Framed picture of Malcolm X, Betty Shabazz and one of his four daughters in Madeline Anderson's *A Tribute to Malcolm X* (1969)



Malcolm X with motion picture camera in hand leaves Paris airport for the United States (1964) in Lebert Bethune's *Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom* (1966)



Sign at Audubon Ballroom on day of Malcolm X's assassination (1965) in Ken Jacobs' *Perfect Film* (1986)

A Tribute to Malcolm X

William Greaves Productions, Inc.
230 West 55th Street
New York, NY 10019
(212) 265-6150

Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom

Grove Press Film Division
841 Broadway
New York, NY 10003
(212) 614-7850

One More River

National Archives of Canada
Audio-Visual and Cartography
395 Wellington Street Room 1016
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0M3
Canada
(613) 995-5371

Perfect Film

Filmakers' Cooperative
175 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10016
(212) 889-3820

Death of a Prophet

National Black Touring Circuit, Inc.
417 Convent Avenue
New York, NY 10031
(212) 598-0400 or 283-0974

Float Like a Butterfly, Sting Like a Bee

William Klein
c/o Howard Greenberg Gallery
120 Wooster Street
New York, NY 10012
(212) 334-0010

The Hate That Hate Produced

Syracuse University
Film Marketing Division
1455 East Colvin Street
Syracuse, NY 13210
(315) 443-2432

Messenger From Violet Drive

Indiana University
Audio-Visual Center
Bloomington, IN 47405-5901
(812) 855-2103

The Negro and the American Promise

Indiana University
Audio-Visual Center
Bloomington, IN 47405-5901
(812) 855-2103

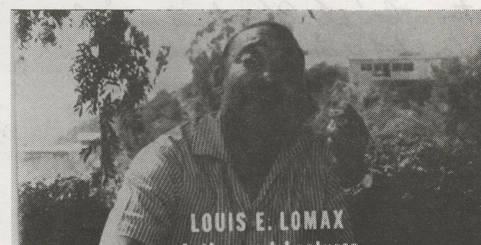
El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz

Gil Noble, Executive Producer
Like It Is
Capital Cities, ABC
7 Lincoln Square
New York, NY 10023
(212) 456-7777

Malcolm X

Swank Motion Pictures, Inc.
350 Vanderbilt Motor Parkway
Happauge, NY 11778
(800) 876-3344

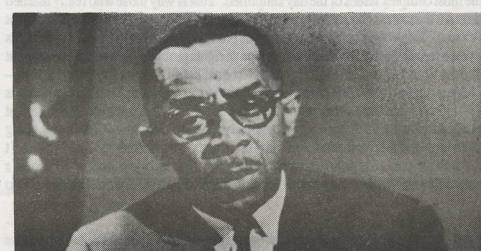
Rental fees are negotiable in each case, depending on the type of showing.



Louis Lomax in Richard Moore's *Messenger from Violet Drive* (1965)



Mike Wallace in Louis Lomax and Wallace's *The Hate That Hate Produced* (1959)



Kenneth Clark in Henry Morgenthau, Jr.'s *The Negro and the American Promise* (1963)

Malcolm's Teachings Remain Current at the Schomburg Center

James Briggs Murray

On a Spring afternoon in 1981, a young actor visited the Moving Image and Recorded Sound Division of the Schomburg Center seeking to view and listen to recordings of El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz (Malcolm X). He told me that he was preparing to play the role of Malcolm in the theatrical production, "When the Chickens Came Home to Roost." The young actor identified himself as Denzel Washington, which has since become an Academy Award-winning household name. It was clear to me nine years ago that this young actor understood the seriousness of the task that was before him. He had read some of the books by and about Malcolm, but he knew that listening to audio recordings would give him a greater appreciation for the brilliant command of words that became one of Malcolm's trademarks. As an actor, Denzel also knew that to view film footage of Malcolm would be his best opportunity to learn of Malcolm's powerful physical stature and body rhythms.

Some weeks later, from my theater seat, as I watched Denzel Washington, as Minister Malcolm X, enter the office of Elijah Muhammad (portrayed by the late Kirk Kirksey) in "When the Chickens Came Home to Roost," Denzel's seriousness as a man and strength as an actor were firmly established for many of us. Much more so than any actor I had seen before, or have seen since, Denzel made me feel the presence of Malcolm when he entered that staged office.

Friday 9 AM - April 25, 1964



إلى الملكة العربية السعودية

Dear Alex Haley:

I have just completed my pilgrimage (Hajj) to the Holy City of Mecca, the Holiest City in Islam, which is absolutely forbidden for non-believers even to rest their eyes upon. There were over 200,000 pilgrims there, at the same time. This pilgrimage is to the Muslim, as important as is going to "Heaven" to the Christian. I doubt if there have been more ~~than~~ than ten Americans to ever make this pilgrimage. I know of only two others who have actually made the Hajj (and both of them are West Indians). We Muhammad and two of his sons made what is known as "Omra" (the pilgrimage or "visit" to Mecca outside of the Hajj season). I think I'm the first American born Negro to make the actual Hajj---and if I'm not the

Postcard from Malcolm X to Alex Haley, reproduced from hardback edition of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965).

Among the lasting highlights of my lifetime thus far is the experience of looking into the face of Malcolm X, and the benefit of receiving his imprint. That is to say that he impressed many of us more than any of the media-manufactured, self-appointed or even the bonafide black leaders. No matter what one's subjective preference was, leadership was critical for young folks like myself in New York City and elsewhere in the early 1960's, as we tried to make sense out of the political, economic and social changes that were brewing. In the midst of all the confusion we experienced from the broad array of leaders (and their many opposing forces) that were presented to us, many of us found Malcolm's oratory and messages to be the primary voice of clarification. It wasn't simply that his tongue could fire up an audience in a fashion as good as (or better than) any preacher fires up his or her congregation; and, it wasn't simply that he could sit in academic environments, building irresistible logical arguments that challenged the intellect of the scholarly, the formally and informally educated, and everyone else in between; no, it was something much greater than that.

The primary ingredient in this man Malcolm was and continues to be his unshakable and uncompromising commitment to truth, honesty and integrity, no matter what the price. That is why those who really listened to him heard some of the most complex issues of the day simplified. That is why those who really listened to him heard him cut through the excess and useless baggage that many others attached to their impotent arguments. By way of example, Malcolm declared that time was being wasted arguing cases of civil rights in Uncle Sam's courts, when we were actually experiencing human rights problems that should be brought to the United Nations and the World Court. He looked at the racist established order of the United States—an order that "legally" kept so many of its black citizens either away from the voting booths or powerless after casting their ballots—and he saw that establishment as much responsible for injustices directed at African Americans as any individual who threw a bomb or led a lynch mob. He concluded that by going to the United Nations with human rights violations, African Americans would understand that "you don't take your case to the criminal, you take your criminal to court." This was just one of Malcolm's clarifications and strategies that awakened many minds, putting the position of African Americans into world perspective.

Truth, honesty and integrity, combined with sound political, economic and social strategies, are why those who really listened to Malcolm came to trust and love him. Some failed to hear him because they were not really listening to him; others failed to hear him because they were influenced by media and other misinterpretations of him; still others failed to hear him simply because they were not in that time or space; and, of course, there are those who simply have allowed time and space to let them forget!

But time and space differences become irrelevant when an actor like Denzel Washington or an interested researcher like yourself determines to come closer to Malcolm via the research process at the Schomburg Center, where Malcolm's teachings, preserved in a variety of formats, remain as alive as his spirit. Time and space differences were irrelevant when James Turner, National Director of the National Malcolm X Commemoration Day Committee, recently was a scholar-in-residence at the Schomburg Center, supplementing his already extensive knowledge base of Malcolm and his mission. Time and space have clearly been irrelevant to a young man named Paul Lee, whose devotion to the study and teachings of Malcolm have been both a model for the new generation and a help to our cataloging process at the Schomburg Center, as Mr. Lee's painstakingly detailed research has filled in several gaps in the Center's existing chronology on Malcolm's activities. Time and space differences have indeed been used brilliantly by television producer and host, Gil Noble in New York, whose productions on the life of El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz have, more than the work of any writer, opened the doors to understanding Malcolm for several generations of visitors to the Schomburg Center.

More than sixty-five thousand people each year come through the doors of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, a research center of the New York Public Library. They come from throughout the world to conduct research, to view exhibitions and to attend educational forums and performance programs. The nucleus of the Schomburg Center, indeed the heart and soul of this historical and cultural environment are the collections of some five million items, including books, art objects, motion picture films, manuscripts, photographs, recorded music, oral histories, sheet music, newspapers, playbills, radio and television programs, prints, posters, maps, etc. Indeed, virtually any format through which the history of a people can be documented, and virtually any discipline in which peoples of African descent have excelled or participated, can be found represented at the Schomburg Center. The Center has its roots in the collecting life of Arturo Alfonso Schomburg, a Puerto Rican of African descent.



Brother El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz speaking at the Audubon Ballroom, a week or two before his assassination, February, 1965. Photograph by Laurence Henry. Courtesy of Laurence Henry Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

Arturo Alfonso Schomburg was born in Puerto Rico in 1874. Sometime in his early school years, he asked an instructor why there was so much literature documenting the Spanish side of his heritage, but virtually nothing depicting the African side. He was essentially told that Africans had no history about which to write. And so, just as Malcolm's early quest for knowledge is marked by his literally reading the dictionary, Arthur Schomburg set out to collect any and everything he could get his hands on that was either by or about people of African descent. From his home base in New York during the Harlem Renaissance, he travelled abroad to search for books, manuscripts, art objects, etc. By the mid-1920s his vast collection was acquired for the New York Public Library and housed in Harlem's Division of Negro Literature, History and Prints. Schomburg served as curator of the collection from 1932 until his death in 1938, whereupon the collection was named for him.

Today the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture is the world's largest and most comprehensive institution for the study of the history and culture of peoples of African descent the world over. It houses more than 100,000 books; approximately 1,000 newspapers, magazines and other periodicals from throughout the world; some 250,000 photographs, including portraits and documentary images; about 15,000 record albums, preserving the international varieties of black music; 10,000 pieces of sheet music; 4,000 video recordings, with a strong collection of public affairs television programs; more than 8,000 art objects, ranging from traditional African creations to African American fine art; hundreds of collections of the personal papers of key contributors to black history and culture and the records of numerous organizations; some 400 motion picture films, principally independent documentary productions; and, 5,000 hours of spoken arts recordings (oral histories, radio programs, lectures, speeches, and conference proceedings).

The Schomburg Center's research materials documenting the life and teachings of Malcolm X are among our thousands of prized collections which we must preserve and make accessible to all. In addition to his own autobiography, the Schomburg Center holds some sixty books relating to the life and thoughts of Malcolm X. Hundreds of newspaper and magazine articles from both the general and the African American press assist researchers in tracking media interpretations and misinterpretations of Malcolm. We hold perhaps seventy-five photographs of Malcolm, nearly half of which are from the personal collection of one of his photographers, Laurence Henry. All of these collections are heavily used. By way of example, a recent review of our usage ledger books in the Center's Moving Image and Recorded Sound Division revealed that, on average, at least one person each day comes to the Schomburg Center specifically to listen to audio tapes of Malcolm's speeches or to view film footage of him. Not very many are actors seeking to interpret Malcolm as was Denzel Washington nearly a decade ago. The great majority are either students working on an assignment (often it's due the next day); or, they are the new generation of Muslims, searching for insights into the roots of the Nation of Islam; or, they are simply persons seeking to expand their understanding of this man of whom they've heard so much. Most of them are young folks, born into a world of television and other audiovisual forms of information dissemination; so, the most important experience for them has been to see and hear the man himself via audiovisual recordings.

The Schomburg Center holds more than fifty hours of Malcolm's speeches, lectures and interviews on audio tape. Among the more frequently used are his 1962 speech on racism, segregation, police brutality, etc. at the fund-raising rally in New York entitled, "The Crisis of Racism," to benefit the Freedom Riders arrested in Monroe, North Carolina; his outline of the philosophy of the Nation of Islam as presented to the students and faculty of the City College of New York in 1963 while still officially representing the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam; two 1964 versions of his famous "The Ballot or the Bullet" speech, one in Detroit, the other presented at Cleveland's Cory Methodist Church at a rally sponsored by the Cleveland chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, both giving a clear picture of Malcolm's philosophy of Black Nationalism following his split with Elijah Muhammad; two 1964 "Militant Labor Forum" speeches in New York, one focusing on Black nationalism, the other revolving around the so-called Harlem "Hate Gang" and Malcolm's travels abroad; two December 1964 speeches on the impact of the African revolution upon blacks in America, one at a Harlem rally, the other at Harvard Law School; the December 1964 Harlem rally in support of seating the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party in the United States Congress, in which Malcolm, along with Fannie Lou Hamer, discussed voter registration in the South; the January 1965 Militant Labor Forum focusing on the prospects for freedom; the January 1965 interview with Malcolm by members of the Young Socialist Alliance; the January 1965 speech to members of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity on African history; a January 1965 radio interview in which Malcolm discusses the evolution of his political and religious philosophies subsequent to his break with the Nation of Islam; and, the speech, just weeks before his death, before the London School of Economics, in which Malcolm discusses racism and foreign policy in the United States, black nationalism and contemporary independence struggles in Africa.

Following the assassination, there are recordings of numerous memorial and analytical testimonies to the life and teachings of Malcolm. These include the April 1965 memorial meeting of the Young Socialist Alliance focusing on the role of Malcolm X and his significance to youth, and including a review by Malcolm's personal secretary, James Shabazz, of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity and Muslim Mosque, Incorporated; several sessions in which George Breitman discusses different aspects of the life and impact of Malcolm; the February 1966 Socialist Workers' Party memorial symposium in which George Breitman, Clifton DeBerry and Milton Henry analyze Malcolm's place in and impact upon history; and, the roles of the CIA and local police in Malcolm's assassination are discussed by Eric Norden and Herman Porter respectively at the Detroit Militant Labor Forum.

The Schomburg Center's moving image documentation of Malcolm's life consists of motion picture film and video recordings of speeches and documentary and public affairs television productions. The most often requested is Gil Noble's "El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz," a one-hour biographical review of Malcolm's life. Originally aired over WABC-TV in New York, where Mr. Noble hosts and produces the weekly "Like It Is" program, it has become the standard introduction to Malcolm for young people at the Schomburg Center. We hold a video recording of an interview with Malcolm conducted at the University

of California at Berkeley in 1963 and footage of Malcolm's presentation at the Oxford Union Society Debate in London, which centered upon Conservative Senator Barry Goldwater's proclamation that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice; and, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." Another regularly screened production is the film, "Messenger From Violet Drive," in which Elijah Muhammad explains the philosophy of the Nation of Islam from his residence in Arizona. The theatrical production of "When the Chickens Came Home to Roost," as performed by Kirk Kirksey and Denzel Washington, provides a cultural interpretation of a historic meeting. In a broadcast of "Tony Brown's Journal," more than fifteen years after the assassination, entitled "Malcolm X's Death: Other Voices," we see and hear Talmadge Hayer, one of the convicted assassins of Malcolm, speak out for the first time, admitting his guilt, but proclaiming the innocence of others convicted along with him. He discloses the names of those who actually acted with him. In that same broadcast, journalist Peter Goldman discusses the role of the police in the investigation following Malcolm's assassination. Other relevant video productions are the interview of Louis Farrakhan in 1972 by Ellis Haizlip on Mr. Haizlip's "Soul" program on WNET-TV in New York; Mister Farrakhan's "Rebirth of the Nation" production released in 1982; and, an interview I conducted with Elijah Muhammad's son Wallace at the Schomburg Center in 1983.

All of these materials have been (or are currently being) officially cataloged in the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN), the national computer data base of the Research Libraries Group, making their existence known to researchers at more than one thousand computer terminals, generally at university libraries throughout the United States. At the Schomburg Center, a researcher simply searches our data base, just as he or she would at some other university, and discovers the existence of these recordings as well as the materials in the other formats mentioned earlier. The difference is that, since the collections are actually housed at the Schomburg Center, one need not then make travel arrangements to have access to them. Audio recordings are fed to individual listening booths through a remote audio system, generally within five minutes of a request. Film and video materials are screened by appointment; however, expanded facilities will soon greatly reduce or eliminate the need for prior appointments for screenings. Reproductions are not permitted due to copyright restrictions; however, we offer referrals to distributors of both audio and video recordings.

The Schomburg Center regularly becomes involved in providing research support for a variety of publications and radio and television projects. Professor Gerald O'Grady, the creator and editor of this publication, for example, has made use of many of the images of Malcolm held by the Schomburg Center. Henry Hampton, producer of the two "Eyes on the Prize" broadcasts, called upon me to expose his project staff to footage and information on Malcolm during their pre-production "school." It is critical that the history of the civil rights movement in America not always be presented from the perspective of the Southern experience. The influence of Malcolm upon the national movement for freedom, justice, equal opportunity and human rights must be put in perspective. All too often, his influence upon the movement and on the other African American organizational leaders, including Martin Luther King, Jr., is left out of our dissemination of information to the new generations.

We are fortunate to live in an age of audiovisual and computer technology that enables us to preserve and disseminate information about the people and events of history and culture. It is ironic and appropriate to mention here, that Malcolm's attorney, the Honorable Percy Sutton, former Manhattan Borough President and a pioneer in black media ownership, in 1990 announced his willingness to shut down one of the principal talk radio outlets for African Americans, radio station WLIB in New York, should callers continue to use the station for the divisiveness of attacking African American leaders. Specifically, the difficulties experienced between African Americans and Koreans in New York City, and the unity plea made by Mayor David Dinkins, resulted in numerous criticisms and attacks upon the Mayor over WLIB Radio. It brings to mind Malcolm's many pleas for settling arguments behind closed doors in order not to fall into the "divide and conquer" trap. As he clarified on numerous occasions, we may have different methods of achieving our goals, but our ultimate objectives are the same: freedom, justice, equal opportunity and human rights. Indeed, when we see and hear Malcolm's statements more than a quarter of a century later, it is clear that his political, social and economic teachings remain current today.

James Briggs Murray is founding Head of the Moving Image and Recorded Sound Division and founding Director of the Oral History/Video Documentation Program at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. This essay was written in June, 1990.



Followers attempt to save Malcolm X after his shooting at Audubon Ballroom, February 21, 1965. Photograph by Earl Grant, *Life Magazine*. Courtesy of Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

Pathfinder Press

Michael Baumann



Pathfinder mural, 410 West Street, New York City. Photograph by Arthur Hughes, November 24, 1989. Courtesy of The Pathfinder Press.

Any kind of movement for freedom of Black people based solely within the confines of America is absolutely doomed to fail. So one of the first steps by the Organization of Afro-American Unity was to come up with a program that would make our grievances international and make the world see that our problem was no longer a Negro problem or an American problem but a human problem. A problem for humanity. And a problem which should be attacked by all elements of humanity.
Malcolm X, February 16, 1965.

Malcolm X is one of the most important revolutionary leaders to have emerged from the working class in this century. Today, twenty five years after his death from an assassin's bullet, his message continues to reach new generations on every continent seeking to deepen the fight for liberation.

Throughout his years as a leading figure in the Nation of Islam, Malcolm was an uncompromising fighter for Black rights and a revolutionary opponent of U.S. foreign policy and its role in oppressing the peoples of Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

From his first public statements until his dying day Malcolm proclaimed his steadfast opposition to Jim Crow segregation; his pride in his African roots; his refusal to speak of himself as an "American"; his emphasis on the need to look at all events in their international context; his support for the right of self-defense against racist terror; and his rejection of the illusion that justice can somehow come from the goodheartedness of the oppressors, or out of some "humanity" shared with them.

Following his break with the Nation of Islam in March 1964, Malcolm's stated views also became increasingly anticapitalist and then prosocialist as well. New themes were expressed, such as the need to explain the role of the United States as an imperialist power, the need to participate in civil rights and other protest actions, and the need to involve women on an equal footing in these battles. His political outlook was still evolving at the time of his assassination in February 1965.

Pathfinder is proud to have published the writings and speeches in which Malcolm X presented his rapidly evolving views. From Tokyo to Havana to Soweto to Los Angeles—in English and in translation in five other languages—these speeches have reached hundreds of thousands.

At the time of his death, virtually none of Malcolm's speeches and interviews were in print. An exception were three speeches Malcolm had given at forums sponsored by the *Militant*, a New York newsweekly that had transcribed and printed the talks.

Because of the importance of Malcolm X's ideas and activity—and because of the profound lessons they offer to those engaged in struggle—Pathfinder, which is associated with the *Militant*, moved quickly following Malcolm's death to bring them into print in permanent form.

Beginning with the texts published in the *Militant*, Pathfinder reprinted Malcolm's works in books and pamphlets. Within less than a year it published *Two Speeches by Malcolm X*, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, and *Malcolm X Speaks*. These were followed by *Malcolm X on Afro-American History* (1967), *By Any Means Necessary* (1970), the Spanish-language *Habla Malcolm X* (1984), and most recently *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches* (1989).

In collaboration with Malcolm's widow, Dr. Betty Shabazz, this publishing effort has continued for twenty-five years. As new editions are printed, these classic works of Malcolm's speeches and writings are being upgraded with background material, explanatory notes, and indexes prepared for new generations of readers. These are initial steps toward preparation of a future full-scale collection of Malcolm's works.

The power of these works stems from the fact that Malcolm spoke the simple truth—unadorned, unvarnished, and uncompromising. Malcolm's truth was explosive because it explained the connection between the oppression of Blacks in the U.S. and the oppression of other exploited peoples throughout the world.

Malcolm developed and absorbed important ideas and explained them carefully to those he knew would change the world. He shared with other great revolutionary leaders in history the ability to speak clearly to the oppressed.

Pathfinder is a small publishing house with limited resources. But the appeal of Malcolm and its other principal authors reaches far beyond the limits encountered by many small publishers.

An expression of this reality is the six-story, 10,000 square foot mural that covers the wall of the Pathfinder offices on Manhattan's lower west side. The mural depicts a giant printing press turning out the works of revolutionary leaders published by Pathfinder. Malcolm X is a central figure, alongside Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Maurice Bishop, Thomas Sankara, V.I. Lenin, and Karl Marx.

Completed in November 1989, the mural has become a New York landmark. Truly an international project, it is the work of more than 80 artists from 20 countries, including Cuba, South Africa, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Ireland, Canada, and Iran. The portrait of Malcolm X was painted by the distinguished artist Carol Bayard.

Michael Baumann is an Editor at Pathfinder Press.

Permission by Norton Sandler, Pathfinder Press.

Malcolm X - Selected Bibliography

Gerald O'Grady



Imam Alhajj Hesham concludes funeral services for El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz at the Faith Temple, Church of God in Christ, Harlem, February 27, 1965. ©1983 Robert L. Haggins



Audience for a Malcolm X talk at Audubon Ballroom, Harlem, sometime in 1965. ©1983 Robert L. Haggins

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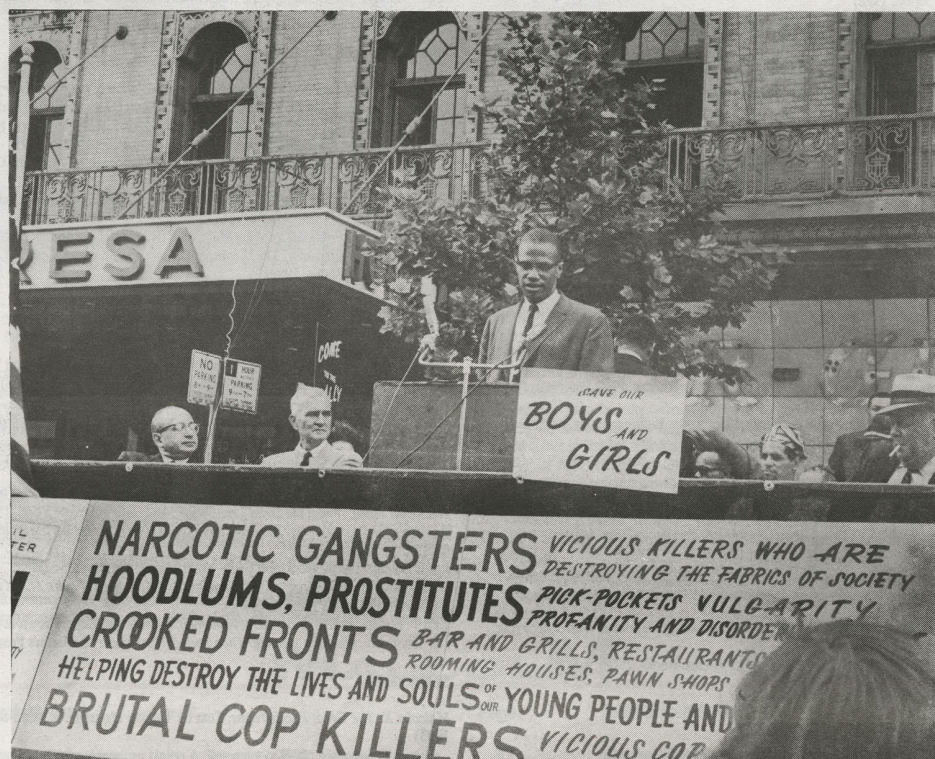
Films

Films and their distributors are listed on page 7.

REMEMBERING MALCOLM X



Malcolm X speaking at a Muslim rally in front of Harlem's famed National African Memorial Bookstore, "The House of Common Sense and Home of Proper Propaganda," 2105 Seventh Avenue at 125th Street, popularly known as Harlem Square, July 21, 1962. © 1983 Robert L. Haggins



Malcolm X speaks in Harlem, circa 1962-1963. © 1983 Robert L. Haggins

Robert Haggins was the personal photographer of Malcolm X. He tells his story in "Behind the Fire," *The City Sun* (April 25 - May 1, 1990), p. A12