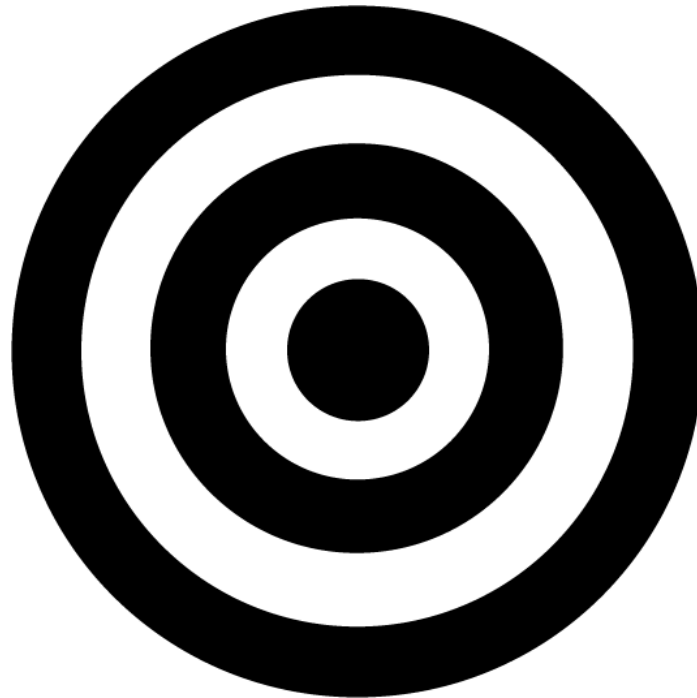


Fall 2018



ENDARCH

**JOURNAL OF BLACK POLITICAL
RESEARCH**

A Publication of
The Clark Atlanta University
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Endarch

Journal of Black Political Research

About

Endarch: Journal of Black Political Research is a double blind peer-reviewed journal published by Clark Atlanta University Department of Political Science in partnership with Atlanta University Center Robert Woodruff Library. The journal is an online publication. *Endarch* seeks to reflect, analyze, and generate activity, which will lead toward the expansion, clarification, and edification of black political thought. We seek to publish high quality works regarding the experiences of African peoples relative to political activities which are investigated, critiqued and evaluated in a manner supportive of greater understanding and constructive developments, and we thereby contribute original scholarship to the field of political science.

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Statement of Purpose*

In a decade characterized by the complete atrophy of all struggle from the sixties and the defection of most of the former participants, the principal question must be, why? What has happened consistently to denature and distort incipiently progressive impulses that appear among Black people? That question must be answered if we are to build a movement, and it cannot be answered apart from careful analysis of the economic, political and sociological structures and functions of capitalism in all its national and international, social and existential mediations. It is time that the victims move seriously to grapple with Leviathan.

Endarch, as its name would suggest identifies with motion; not any haphazard or desultory movement but movement that is conscious of its origins and destinations. As an embodiment of aggregate but mutually consistent perspectives, this journal seeks to reflect, analyze and generate activity which will ultimately lead toward the expansion, clarification and solidification of Black political thought.

The conscious nature of movement is derived from a clear social and analytic methodology. An approach which views the world as a totality but also diaphanously understands that the components comprising this world are not of equal importance. With this in mind, and given Black peoples historical grounding in oppression and exploitation, Endarch sees of paramount importance those phenomena and groups of phenomena which operate in the system of oppression and exploitation. Recognition of such phenomena must lead to the discernment of those vital elements, the crucial essences of which define and condition the world. Our purpose is to expose those essences and through this explication illuminate the totality from the vantage point of a specific oppressed people. Such is the task of a conscious and critical black political thought imbued with the task of defining the black experience in politics. It is toward this goal that we aim.

- Reprint, Endarch, Fall 1974

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Editor's Remarks

We are very pleased to present three informative and insightful articles in this edition of *Endarch*. The first two articles focus on enhancing the training and knowledge base of political scientists in order to increase the impact that they have on political developments in society. The aim of both of the authors is to present information that will lead to improvements in the rigor, depth and quality of work produced by students and practitioners of political science. The third article provides a thought-provoking perspective on the growth and maturation of one of the iconic leaders of the Black struggle for human dignity and self-determination in the 1960's.

Throughout his career Baba Keita Thompson has applied his artistic talents in numerous activities to bring hope and inspiration to many people. His article in the current edition of *Endarch* will help to bring the moving message of Malcolm X to a new generation. Thompson takes an innovative approach to frame the powerful transformative experience of Malcolm X. He uses to the concept of African ancestral spirits called Egun in the Yoruba tradition to dramatically evoke the voice of Malcolm X with regard to issues of concern in the Black community. The author explores how Malcolm X transformed his life as he moved through various stages from a starting out as a petty street hustler to eventually becoming a brilliant orator and an international voice for the aspirations of African people in the United States and beyond. He goes on to call for a renewal of the revolutionary spirit in today's African American community.

Dr. Peter presents a well-organized article explaining the importance of acquiring skills in interpreting quantitative data by students and practitioners of political science. Peter makes the observation that political scientists in Nigeria could enhance their work with the expanded use of the techniques of quantitative analysis. He argues that the preference for engaging in qualitative research by most students and scholars of political science is founded in a lack of familiarity with qualitative techniques which leads them to avoid studies that require such techniques. He has found that there is a need and a desire for more training in quantitative analysis techniques, and especially with the use of statistical software packages. Peter supports his argument with a survey of scholars and students at Federal University Lakoja in Nigeria. Dr. Peter makes a strong case that

increased training in qualitative techniques can lead to better insights into political phenomena by political scientists in Nigeria. The interpretation of statistical data describing political phenomena should not be left to computer scientists. It should also be noted that it is not only in Nigeria, but also in the United States students and scholars of political science could benefit from more collaborative efforts and greater familiarity with quantitative techniques.

Mack Jones was one of the pioneers of the systematic study of Black politics in the United States. He is a founding member of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists and he organized the PhD program in political science at Clark Atlanta University – only one of two Historically Black Colleges and Universities to have such a program. One of the themes found in his impressive body of work is the responsibility of Black political scientists toward advancing the concerns and interests of the Black community. By both his leadership and his incisive writing he has exemplified excellence as a political scientist and as a scholar committed to principled advocacy for the benefit of the Black community. His life and work have served as an inspiration for two generations of African American political scientists. For those with a serious interest in the study of Black politics the book *Knowledge, Power and Black Politics* by Mack Jones is required reading.

The article by Mack Jones is a reprint of an article first published in *Endarch* in 1976. The article raises some profound points that we would still be wise to take heed of some five decades later. The article is usable as a primer for students on some of the fundamental concepts of the philosophy of science, and the application of social science methods to the condition of marginalized people, and most especially to the condition of Black people in the United States. The production of quality work by political scientists requires that they occasionally take out some time from their busy schedules to carefully think about their thinking. That is we should give some consideration to what makes for a valid scholarly argument. What are the underlying assumptions and basic values that guide our inquiries? What is the cultural worldview which frames our research questions and which shapes how we interpret phenomena and then draw conclusions from our work? These questions belong to the subject area of the philosophy of science which generally receives less attention than other subject areas for social scientists. But, as

Jones suggested if we as social scientists are to think seriously about the problems faced by Black people then we must first think seriously about how we classify, define and approach those problems.

What is most striking about Jones's article first published more than fifty years ago is that it still seems well-timed and squarely aimed at clarifying current confusions – What are the root causes of the perpetual economic marginalization of the masses? What is to be done about the persistent subordination of Black political interests? How can we move beyond ideological squabbles among those groups claiming to have answers to the problems we face? Indeed if one were to simply replace the names of bygone personalities and organizations – Roy Wilkins, Amiri Baraka, the Congress of African People – with the current crop of organizations attempting to address the condition of Black people in America – the Black Lives Matters Movement, the New Black Panther Party, the National Black Unite Front, etc. – then the article could have been written yesterday. The last sentence of Jones's article now seems almost prophetic, "...until we begin to define terms clearly and precisely and include operational definitions to link our concepts to the empirical phenomena which they purport to represent, we are doomed to wander in the well beaten circular, non-cumulative path of civil rights frustration with our peregrination marked only by instant yet unrewarding conversion to the newest ideology." A host of novel ideological fancies and intellectual fads have popped up over the last fifty years. Yet, the overall socioeconomic condition of the Black majority has remained basically unchanged. At this point there are almost no personalities left, of a national stature, who aim to speak forthrightly to the collective needs and interests of African Americans as Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. once attempted to do. Black politicians as a group have been wholly absorbed into the major political party machines, and they are mostly inclined to assume the role of representing the interests of their party sponsors to the masses, rather than representing the interests of the Black masses before the political system. Most of the well-funded advocacy groups have abandoned any effort to mobilize the masses of Black people for anything other than occasional get-out-the-vote campaigns. The major established institutions have taken racial integration, with the Black masses being 'integrated' at the bottom of the heap, to be a fait accompli.

Black activism no longer has the visibility it once had in the 1960s and 1970s, but the spirit of committed activism has not gone away. There is a spirited and creative movement among various grassroots organizations and local groups including many small independent Black schools, some African-centered cultural organizations, a few militant Black self-defense groups, all along with a multitude of entrepreneurial ventures launched by race-conscious proprietors that prioritize addressing collective needs and concerns. There is also a particularly dynamic discourse about the political, economic and social conditions of African Americans taking place on some social media outlets. Additionally, there are still Black social scientists who remain deeply committed to producing work that is of some benefit to the Black community. We can all learn from the recommendations of Dr. Peter on improving our quantitative skill sets. Also, all of us can benefit from the deep insights offered by Jones on the relationship between social science approaches to problem solving and the cultural worldview of the people whose problems are to be solved, and the importance of developing well-defined and empirically-based concepts necessary for making convincing scholarly arguments. And we may all be inspired by the perspectives offered by Baba Keita Thompson on the transformational leadership of Malcolm X.

N. Whelchel
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About the Authors:

Abraham M. Peter, PhD specializes in Political Economy. He bagged his PhD from the Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka in 2012. Dr. Peter is interested in Research Methodology. He has been teaching courses in Research Methodology, Political Economy, Comparative Politics, Methodology of Conflict Resolution, Politics of Development, and Nigerian Foreign Policy since he took up a lecturing job in 2010. Dr. Peter has published extensively in reputable local, national and international journals. He participated in the 2013 edition of the Training the Trainers Workshop on Research Methodology organised by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Dakar, Senegal. Dr. Peter has also participated actively in research related workshops including; Workshop on Research Grant Proposal Writing, held at University of Maiduguri, from 16th to 17th April, 2013 and Grantsmanship for Academics organized by the Centre for Research Development and In-House Training (CREDIT), University of Ilorin, Nigeria, from 21st to 23rd March, 2017. Dr. Peter is a public speaker on development issues and currently teaches Political Science at the Federal University, Lokoja, Nigeria.

Mack Jones is professor emeritus at Clark Atlanta University (CAU) where he served as chair of the Department of Political Science. He organized the PhD program for Atlanta University which has since been carried over to CAU. Mack Jones helped to establish the study of Black politics in the United States as a scholarly discipline. He was one of the founding members of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. His writings have been very influential and several of his articles including “A Frame of Reference for Black Politics” and “Responsibility of Black Political Scientists to the Black Community” have been frequently cited. Dr. Jones served in many capacities during his illustrious career before his retirement in 2007. He also served on the faculties of Texas Southern University, Southern University, Howard University, Kentucky State University, Prairie View A & M University and Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria.

Baba Keita Sipho Thompson has now retired from the music business. Over the years, as a singer-songwriter, keyboardist and producer, he has performed all over the world and worked with such artists as Philip Bailey of Earth, Wind and Fire, Kenny Lattimore, Keith Martin, Boyz II Men, Denise Williams and most importantly, his grandson, hip-hop artist, King Issa. Baba Keita, an ordained minister, has written hundreds of songs, directed choirs and performed as a Praise Team lead singer and worshipper. One of his most rewarding experiences was his performance for President Bill Clinton. Looking back on his experiences as a missionary, Baba Keita has mixed emotions. Understanding the permanent and severe damage that white missionaries and other religious groups did (and are still doing) to African people all over the world, he is ashamed that he participated in such evil. However, as his heart is now, it was then—filled with love for the Africans. If it had not been for the missionary work, he would most likely never have been able to visit such magnificent destinations as Dominica, West Indies, Angola, West Africa, and Tembisa, South Africa. Unforgettable. Baba Keita has a history of *summa cum laude* achievements with a Bachelor of Science degree in Business Management, Masters in Business Administration, and upon completion of his current work at Clark Atlanta University will also have attained a Masters in African American Studies and a Ph.D in African American Studies. Also a native Washingtonian, as a musician growing up in DC, Baba Keita has a very unique perspective on the workplace, life as an African born in America, the significance of being a man of integrity, a husband to his beloved Adora, a loving father, grandfather and great grandfather. Additional soon to be published works include: *Ain't Nobody Else—Sho Ain't You!*, *Madvleh the Chief. The Seven Adventures*, and *7, Taco, Kuji & Nzinga: The Quest for Leadership Volume I*.

Between the Perils and the Opportunities: Exploring the Strategies for Overcoming the Challenges of Quantitative Technique in Political Science Research

Abraham M. Peter, PhD
Federal University Lokoja

Abstract

The conduct of research in political science has been bedevilled with unprecedented challenges. The problems are associated with the appropriate technique that could be adopted in profitably conducting political inquiry. The argument therefore has revolved around the possibility or otherwise of using quantitative and/or statistical approach in the conduct of political science research. Very germane to the discipline of political science in Federal University Lokoja¹ for instance is the phobia for numerical analyses, which incidentally constitute the core of quantitative methods of research. As a result of this, bulk of the researches are qualitative in nature. Yet, despite recent advances in political science methods, the problem persists and little attention has been devoted to the reasons and solutions to the phobic condition of students and researchers in quantitative methods. To this end, this study identified the major challenges students and researchers face in the conduct of quantitative research in political science and the probable ways of overcoming them. The data for this study were gotten from both primary and secondary sources such as questionnaire, textbooks, the internet and other published and unpublished materials. The study asserts that, despite the perceived perils in quantitative techniques of research, there are great opportunities that could be tapped to improve the conduct of political science research. Going by the findings of the study, it recommends the need for training and re-training of emerging political scientists on the strategies for handling quantitative techniques, collaborative engagements between political scientists and quantitatively oriented disciplines, and the need to foster a blend between quantitative and qualitative techniques.

1. Introduction

Political science research has been a subject of controversy for decades. This is not in doubt. It is a function of the acute relevance of research to the development of any human society. Different political issues and phenomena continue to emerge daily, looking for the attention of the political scientist. Most of the developmental strides that have been recorded are as a result of people's curiosity to improve knowledge.

¹ Though this study focuses on Federal University Lokoja, my experience in University of Nigeria, Nsukka where I did my graduate programmes and University of Maiduguri where I taught between 2010 and 2014 shows that the experiences are similar. Besides, the papers usually presented at the National Conferences of the umbrella body of Political Scientists in Nigeria, that is Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA) are largely qualitative in nature.

The degree of political development of a country is a direct reflection of the nature of political science research. So, sophisticated political researches inevitably herald sophisticated political systems. To this end, all hands must be on deck to improve the nature, dynamics, and potency of researches in the field of political science.

Research in itself is a scientific endeavour that must be carried out by a scientific mind. “The concept of research is as old as science”². It is the hallmark of any scientific inquiry. The central target of research is to attend to the inquisitiveness of man. Researches are aimed at making innovations that are cardinal to inventions and discoveries.

It is also noted that “for a scientific mind, all knowledge is a response to a question, if there has not been a question, there can be no scientific knowledge.”³ Man being a social being is daily faced with challenges of trying to understand and appreciate his environment and the attendant social phenomena. With the growing need for continual development and human progress, certain critical issues must necessarily be addressed.

There are diverse approaches to carrying out research. The general argument is that the nature of the study determines the type of approach or technique to be adopted. Going by this development, it is also presupposed that scholars, researchers, and students are encouraged to adopt one or more of these approaches that best suit them and also agree with their background and research orientation. The choice of an approach(es) to use have been argued to have effect on the final outcome of the research.

² Geotz, W. P. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2005, P. 268

³ Gueye, P. S. An introduction to the epistemology of the social sciences. In J. B. Ouedraogo, & C. Cardoso, *Readings in methodology: African perspective*, Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA, 2011, P. 47.

As a result of the growing debate among researchers on the best technique to adopt in the conduct of social research, scholars and researchers are attuned to embracing any innovative means that can ease research while at the same time boosting the robustness of social inquiry. So, the argument has revolved around the qualitative and quantitative techniques of research. Researchers of qualitative background are comfortable with the continuity of the qualitative method, which they are familiar with whereas those who are quantitatively inclined are comfortable with the continuity of the quantitative approach to the conduct of social research.

The choice of an approach to political and social inquiry depends on a number of factors, which include: the researcher's orientation, his interest, the type of knowledge sought, his personal experiences, his background, among others. In political science in particular, the controversy over the choice of approach revolved around the debate between traditionalism and behaviourism. This made the innovation of the 1960s, christened post behavioural revolution a welcomed development as it helped to enhance the fusion of both the qualitative and quantitative approaches in the conduct of political inquiry.

Despite the precision and the empirical orientation of the quantitative technique to the conduct of research, many political scientists are not comfortable with it. They see it as being more perilous due to the issues that are of concern to the political scientist. A lot more are uncomfortable with anything numeric, hence their clamour for the perpetuity of the qualitative technique to the conduct of political science research.⁴⁵

⁴ Koen Slootmaeckers, Bart Kerremans and Johan Adriaensen, Too Afraid to Learn: Attitudes towards Statistics as a Barrier to Learning Statistics and to Acquiring Quantitative Skills. *Politics*, 2013.

⁵ The statistical sophistication that has become predominant in the publication of many political journals in many advanced societies is still lacking in Nigerian journals of political science.

To this end, having the consciousness of the perceived perils of the quantitative technique to the conduct of political science research, this paper attempts to explore the opportunities therein and the possibility of capacity building as a means to deepening the knowledge and application of the quantitative techniques among political scientists in Nigeria. Apart from this introduction, the other parts of this paper are; methods and materials, literature review, the perils of quantitative technique in political science, the opportunities of quantitative technique, conclusion, recommendations, and references.

2. Method and materials

2.1. Method and source of data

The paper relied on both the qualitative and quantitative techniques of research. The qualitative method deals with a “situated activity that locates the observer in the world,” where the researchers are “attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” in natural settings.⁶ That is to say, better comprehension of the opinions of the producers of the information is core to effective interpretation of their views. In doing so, the researcher must be detailed and exhaustive in terms of the volume of information sourced. Applying the views of others to current realities will be a tedious one, particularly if the issues addressed by those people and the issue at hand are not similar. It will need high level manipulative skills of the researcher to effectively aggregate, articulate and interpret the findings to tally with existing realities. This is what this paper brought out.

⁶ Gabrielian, V., Yang, K., & Spice, S., Qualitative research methods. In G. J. K. Yang, *Handbook of research methods in public administration*, Auerbach Publications, Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, P. 142.

Quantitative method on the other hands deals with a “systematic empirical investigation of observable phenomena via statistical, mathematical or computational techniques”⁷. This represents the empirical orientation of research. It deals with the collection of numeric data on the subject matter of a particular research.

The qualitative data was sourced from published documents such as text books, journal articles, internet sources, official publications, among others whereas the quantitative data was sourced from questionnaires administered on the target respondents.

The data were analyzed using both the qualitative and the quantitative methods of data analysis. Qualitatively, the content analysis of several documents was used. Efforts were made towards appropriate aggregation, articulation and interpretation of the information sourced from documentary evidences that support the focus of the paper. The qualitative documents helped to validate the information sourced from the questionnaires administered. Data gotten from the questionnaire were quantified and analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). This was done through the normal process of numbering, coding, entry, analysis and interpretation of the information gotten through the questionnaire. This was done to give them quantitative outlook for ease of analysis. Simple statistics such as simple percentages, tables, crosstabulation, among others were used.

2.2. Sampling and sample size

The study used the simple random technique in the selection of the sample upon which the questionnaires were administered. The major concern of this paper is to further

⁷ Given Lisa M. *The Sage encyclopaedia of qualitative research methods*, Los Angeles, California: Sage Publications, 2008.

the general argument on the possibility or otherwise of using statistical/quantitative approach in the conduct of political science research. This was premised on the assumption that political science researchers and students are more comfortable with qualitative research. So, the emphasis of the study is on students and researchers of the Department of Political Science, Federal University, Lokoja. Going by this, twenty questionnaires were administered on lecturers and final year students of the Department of Political Science. Eleven questionnaires were administered on the lecturers and final years students of the Department of Geography whereas the remaining nine were administered on selected lecturers and final year students of the Department of Economics. The choice of final year students is purposive. They have some knowledge in the conduct of research, having being on their final year project.

The choice of lecturers and final year students of the Departments of Geography and Economics was to serve as a control experiment. These are sister social – science disciplines that have been doing some forms of quantitative analyses. The target of this is to check the disciplines that employ statistical/quantitative approaches to research and what can be probably done to improve the use of quantitative research method by political science students and researchers in the conduct of political and social inquiry.

3. Literature review – The qualitative – quantitative argument

The qualitative method involves the collection of extensive narrative data in order to gain insights into phenomena of interest. In fact, the qualitative approach to research “is concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behaviour.”⁸

⁸ Kothari, C. R. *Research methodology: Methods and techniques*. New Delhi: New Age International (P) Ltd., Publishers, 2004, P. 5.

Research in such a situation is a function of researcher's insights and impressions. It involves the collection of extensive narrative data (non-numerical data) on many variables over an extended period of time in a naturalistic setting. One of the aims of qualitative research is to provide a complete, detailed description of the research topic. Social scientists who are engaged in qualitative research "rely largely on descriptive accounts of the reality they study."⁹

Majority of Nigeria's political scientists have pitched their tent with the long and extensive normative and descriptive accounts to elicit information required for their studies. This argument corroborates with the doctrine of traditionalism, which represents the first attempt to understand the discipline of political science. This is a movement that began in political science after the First World War. The emphasis of this assumption is on legalities, norms and ethos. This school of thought believed in the consideration of normative and historical issues in politics. This implies that, such category of political scientists believed that political science issues cannot be amenable to quantitative and numeric calculation.

The quantitative technique on the other hands involves the collection of numerical data in order to explain, predict, and/or control phenomena of interest; data analysis is mainly statistical. As rightly asserted the quantitative research technique is "by numbers."¹⁰ Quantitative involves "the generation of data in quantitative form which can be subjected to rigorous quantitative analysis in a formal and rigid fashion."¹¹ The

⁹ Sodaro, J. M. *Comparative politics: A global introduction*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2008, P. 78.

¹⁰ Sodaro, 2008, P. 64.

¹¹ Kothari, 2004, P. 5.

quantitative research technique looks mainly at social phenomena that has the potential to vary in measurable degrees or quantities.¹²

In the early decades of the twentieth century, many scholars embraced quantitative methods as part of a drive to make the social sciences more scientific. Quantitative methods began to gain currency across the social sciences in the 1920s and 1930s. The adoption of these methods accelerated at mid – century, as conveyed by references to the behavioural revolution.

4. The perils of quantitative research in political science

There are a number of perils that have made the conduct of quantitative research a contentious issue in political science. Some of those perceived perilous issues are:

4.1. Absence of quantitative preparatory background by political scientists

Many of the Nigerian political scientists do not have preparatory background in quantitative research. This constitutes a major obstacle to the possibility of using it in the conduct of political science researches. It is often impossible to give what one does not have. The modern political scientists, who are more attuned to the qualitative order of research will not be able to impart to students quantitative knowledge. The implication of this is the perpetuity and continuity of the dominance of qualitative technique in the conduct of political science research.

Despite the fact that it is generally believed that numbers do not lie, the people who gather, analyze, and interpret them are quite capable of skirting the facts every now and then. The possibility of falsification and/or omission that can eventually invalidate the result of the research is traceable to the degree of integrity and honesty of the people

¹² Sodaro, 2008.

handling the data. This is where the problem comes in. Many of the Nigeria’s political scientists are unskillful in the handling of numeric data.¹³ The logical implication of this is that if such people are compelled to use quantitative technique, they may have to depend on statisticians and computer scientists for help. Since the external helpers are not abreast with political realities, interpretation and generalization will definitely be doubtful. From design to execution, there are plenty of chances for human error to affect a quantitative study.

The number of respondents that claimed to have knowledge of and that have used statistical analysis as seen on tables 4.1a and 4.1b stands at 38 for those who claimed to have knowledge of statistical analysis and 30 for those who said they have actually used it in their researches. This corresponds to 95 percent and 75 percent respectively.

Table 4.1a. Field of study * Do you have any specific knowledge about statistical analysis? Crosstabulation

		Do you have any specific knowledge about statistical analysis?		Total
		Yes	No	
Field of study	Political Science	19	1	20
	Economics	9	0	9
	Geography	10	1	11
Total		38	2	40

Source: Computed from the field work of the researcher

Table 4.1b. Field of study * Do you often use statistical methods to analyse your data? Crosstabulation

		Do you often use statistical methods to analyse your data?	Total

¹³ This is evident in the nature of publications emanating from them. I am practically aware that many of the quantitative data collected by political scientists are contracted out to statisticians for analysis.

	Yes	No	
Political Science	11	9	20
Economics	9	0	9
Geography	10	1	11
Total	30	10	40

Source: Computed from the field work of the researcher

Figure 4.1 contradicts the opinions presented on tables 4.1a and 4.1b. Figure 4.1 shows the contrary particularly for political science scholars and students. It indicates almost zero with respect to the statistical package(s) hitherto used. Despite the fact that statistics is taught as part of the requirements for graduation and award Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.) Degree in Political Science, the practical dimension, which ordinarily should lead to the application of the skills for the purpose of collecting, analysing and interpreting data is scarcely taught.

The responses on figure 4.1 attest to the issue of lack of familiarity with software packages that can be used to analyse quantitative data by political scientists. Data analysis is a cardinal aspect of quantitative research. Although there are software packages that are “readily available for the various simple and complicated analytical and quantitative techniques of which researchers generally make use of.”¹⁴ As a palliative to the gross dearth of statistical skills, some political scientists who insist on the conduct of quantitative study often resort to the services of statisticians and computer scientists for the purpose of analysing and interpreting their data. This often does not go down well judging by the inability of these analysts to effectively interpret the data so analysed with respect to the peculiarity of political science research.

¹⁴ Kothari, 2004, P. 372.

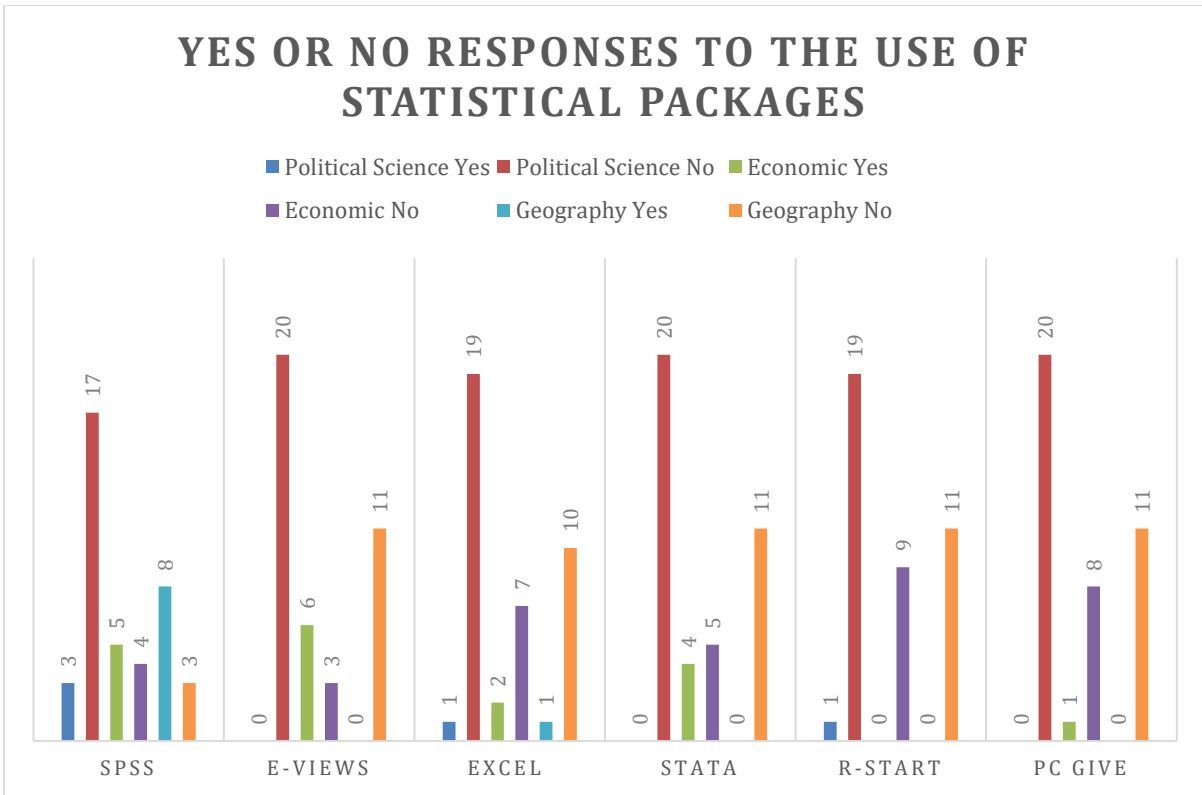


Figure: 4.1: Yes or No responses to the use of statistical packages used by the respondents computed by the researcher.

The difficulty of doing proper analysis and interpretation of data is inevitably responsible for improper generalisation. As a matter of fact, “the real value of research lies in its ability to arrive at certain generalisations.”¹⁵ The entire venture becomes futile if generalisation is not done.

The challenges of quantitative data analysis are acute among political scientists. Figure 4.1 shows those facts. Though, many of the respondents agreed that they have some knowledge in statistical analysis, very insignificant number can actually apply it. These fears are however allayed as all the respondents indicated their willingness to grasp any training opportunity that could boost their capacity in handling data. See table 4.1c for details of the discussion.

¹⁵ Kothari, 2004, P. 19.

Table 4.1c. Field of study * If the opportunity presents itself, will you wish to be trained in the use of the appropriate statistical tools of analysis? Crosstabulation

Count

		If the opportunity presents itself, will you wish to be trained in the use of the appropriate statistical tools of analysis?		Total
		Yes		
Field of study	Political Science	20		20
	Economics	9		9
	Geography	11		11
Total		40		40

Source: Computed from the field work of the researcher

4.2. Challenges of the choice of quantitative or statistical tool(s) to use

Quantitative technique deals with data that are quantifiable, objective, and easy to interpret results. The data, particularly in a survey research can be summarized in a way that allows for generalizations that can be applied to the greater population. When effectively done, the results can be reproduced. So, to ensure that the quantitative technique produces effective results, appropriate tools must be selected and handling skills must be enhanced.

Scholars have asserted that emphasis must be placed on objective measurements and the statistical, mathematical, or numerical analysis of data collected through polls, questionnaires, and surveys, or by manipulating pre-existing statistical data using computational techniques.¹⁶ The challenge with quantitative method is that it can only handle cases of mono-causality which is rare in the social sciences. In political science, it is often difficult for only one factor to be responsible for certain actions or behaviours. This technique of research is often not satisfactory in the handling of multi-causality issues.

¹⁶ Babbie Earl R. *The practice of social research*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage, 2010, and Muijs, Daniel, *Doing quantitative research in education with SPSS*. London: Sage Publications, 2010.

The fact that researchers employing the use of tools, such as questionnaires, computer software or statistical package, to collect and analyze numerical data, makes it a challenge to so many political scientists who probably have limited skills or no knowledge in the handling of those tools.

A good number of respondents from the Department of Political Science argued that results from quantitative tools are limited as they provide numerical descriptions rather than detailed narrative and generally provide less elaborate accounts of human perception. This poses serious limitation to an exclusive use of the quantitative technique among political scientists. This made some of them to advocate methodological pluralism. For instance, it has been argued that “many social researches and analyses usually entail the utilisation of more than one method, thus necessitating a methodological pluralism.”¹⁷

4.3. Violent environment

It is very difficult to collect quantitative data from war zones. War torned areas characterised by insecurity, volatile situations traumatised combatants and frustrated civilians make collection of primary data unsafe.¹⁸ The pervasive confusion and the general uncertainty that is characteristic of the violence prone societies make the use of physical traces, non-participant observation and documentary sources an alternative to questionnaire, interview and participant observation.

The unsafe nature of violent ridden societies further exacerbated the ethical and methodological challenges of conducting quantitative research in the social sciences. The

¹⁷ Igwe Obasi, *Politics and globe dictionary*. Aba: Eagle Publishers, 2005, P. 263.

¹⁸ Osorio Javier, Numbers under fire: The challenges of gathering quantitative data in highly violent settings. *Social Science Research Council | Working Paper*, 2014, September.

risk of physical harm and emotional distress, both to human subjects participating in the research reduces the credibility of researches in the social sciences. As rightly noted, “violence increases methodological problems of bias, measure validity, and causal inference.”¹⁹.

The adoption of unobtrusive method as a preferred method over directly elicited data in conflict situations is the last resort as it helps to reduce the potential physical hazards associated with having to venture into dangerous locales in order to carry out interviews or administer questionnaires²⁰.

4.4. Problem of operationalisation of concepts

Operationalization is a process of defining the measurement of a phenomenon that is not directly measurable, though its existence is indicated by other phenomena. Operationalization is the process of strictly defining variables into measurable factors. It is a very critical aspect of the scientific research process. A well operationalized concept gives direction to the source of data. It relates to the empirical indicators of the concepts in the phenomenon to be investigated. The general argument is that quantitative research technique has a limited ability to probe answers. It becomes difficult to define concepts effectively since everything is reduced to numbers and figures.

5. The opportunities of quantitative technique

The perils of quantitative technique notwithstanding, there are so many opportunities that will not be ignored.

¹⁹ Osorio, 2014, P. 1.

²⁰ Webb Eugene J., Campbell Donald T., Schwartz Richard D., Sechrest Lee, & Grove Belew Janet, *Nonreactive Measures in the Social Sciences*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981.

5.1. bias – free endeavour

The researcher, who is making use of the quantitative technique of research is detached from and independent of the variables being studied. This helps to remove biases that may occur. In researches, biases pose validity threat to conclusion of an investigation, so it is to the credit of quantitative research as those biases are removed as the researcher is not attached to the phenomenon being studied. Owing to the fact that both the researchers and the participants are value – free, the quantitative technique is not value-laden. What that means is that the researchers and the participants are value – free, hence making the work unbiased.

Objectivity becomes the order of the day, as the researcher has no influence over the outcome of the research. This is an indicator of the effectiveness of the quantitative technique of research in doing away with subjectivity that can make the conclusions of a research doubtful.

5.2. Foreknowledge of what the researcher is looking for

The fact that researchers using the quantitative technique know from the onset what he/she is looking for gives confidence and credibility to the quantitative technique of research. The aim of every research is to solve a problem. So, the statement of the research problem is therefore germane to the conduct of a successful research. The implication is that it gives clear direction on how to source the data. A research problem has to give the researcher avenue to gather his/her data. This excludes the researcher from what Kaplan reported as the ‘drunkard search.’²¹ In that analogy, he explained that the drunkard threw away an item to a dark corner and later began to search for it in another

²¹ Kaplan, A. The conduct of inquiry: Methodology for behavioural science. Aylesbury Bucks: International Textbooks Company Limited, 1973.

corner where there is light. No matter how bright the place may be, he will never see the item there. According to him, “the pattern of search ..., should be closely related to the probability of the thing sought being in the place where the seeker is looking.”²² If this is not the case, then the researcher may become a victim of the ‘drunkard search’ analogy. This bestows analytical and methodological superiority on the quantitative technique of research.

5.3. Ease of measurement

The quantitative technique of research specifies measurable variables and relationships. This makes measurement relatively easy. Since the empirical indicators of the variables are clearly and spelt out and the linkages and relationships clearly established, it becomes easier to measure the variables. Empirical indicators that cannot be measured invalidates the entire research endeavour. This is not the case with the qualitative technique of research.

5.4. Opportunity for generalization

It gives room for generalization that can be representative of the population of the study. Generalizability is a critical attribute of quantitative technique of research as it involves the degree to which the results or conclusions of a study can be inferred on a larger population. This particularly evident in a survey research, where the researcher may not be able to handle the entire population of the study but could do so indirectly through a representative sample.

²² Kaplan, 1973, P. 17.

5.5. It is dependent on numbers and the use of statistical tools for analysis

The general slogan that numbers do not lie comes to play. Since data meant for quantitative technique of research are in the form of numbers and statistical tools are used to analyze them, the results tend to be more realistic. Even when questionnaires are used as instrument for gathering data, numbers are allocated to them, hence giving room for unbiased analysis and interpretation. Because it deals with numbers, it is more precise and neat when compared to the qualitative technique of research.

6. Conclusion

As a way of concluding, let me cite Mack, Woodsong, Macqueen, Guest, & Namey (2005:3) who asserted that “the key difference between quantitative and qualitative methods is their flexibility.” The qualitative technique of research according to them is more flexible than the quantitative technique of research. The inflexibility of the quantitative technique of research derives from the kind of instrument used in generating the data and the style of analysis. For instance, the use of a structured questionnaire to gather quantitative data is inflexible as the respondents cannot adjust the questions in such a way that he/she can answer accurately.

However, quantitatively inclined researchers most times accuse their qualitatively inclined counterparts of being vague whereas the qualitatively inclined researchers accuse their quantitatively inclined colleagues of ignoring everything about social reality and/or phenomena that cannot be reduced to ‘mere’ statistics. To emphasize the scientific rigor invokes by research, it is important to embark upon the mixed method in the conduct of political inquiry.

7. Recommendations

1. As a fallout of this study, it is strongly recommended that upcoming political scientists be exposed to training in countries and localities where quantitative technique has taken root on the rudiments of quantitative research. This among others include; internship, exchange programmes between students from qualitatively inclined regions and countries and those from quantitatively inclined areas, scholarships for graduate programmes in places where expertise can be gotten on quantitative technique, and post-doctoral fellowships. These trained political scientists will become the trainers of the upcoming political scientists. Proper understanding of qualitative and quantitative techniques, various sources of data, different orientations, will give room for perpetration of a mixed method approach to the conduct of research, which inevitably leads to validity, credibility and robustness of political inquiry.
2. Efforts must be intensified towards training political scientists who will be able to analyse and interpret data. The idea of using statisticians and computer scientists to analyse data for political scientists may not be appropriate. Most times, these analysts analyse the data without providing adequate interpretation to them.
3. Political scientists are also encouraged to embrace collaborative, multidisciplinary, and interdisciplinary researches that will open them up to trends in the quantitative oriented disciplines such as Economics, Statistics, Computer Science, Mathematics, among others. When this knowledge is integrated with the predominantly normative and descriptive knowledge of the qualitative technique, it will no doubt boost the robustness of political science researches.

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Scientific Method as a Tool for Improving the Quality of Value Judgments with Particular Concern for the Black Predicament in the U.S.

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Abstract

[The] sharp distinction between questions of fact and questions of value has led to widespread acceptance of the view that social scientists must choose between being scientific practitioners and passionate advocates. Generally speaking, conservative elements who are comfortable with the status quo have assumed the mantle of the former while the more progressive or radical scholars have accepted the latter role. Thus, we have a simplistic dichotomy of social scientists with one group arguing that they are scientific and value free and the other arguing that to be scientific is to be irrelevant and that the essence of relevant scholarship is commitment and advocacy. The fact of the matter is that the dichotomy itself is the thing which is most irrelevant; and while both sides find succor and comfort in identifying with their particular group and in taking potshots at the perceived adversary; and while progressive and radical scholars who accept the oppressed as their clientele take particular delight in lampooning the “scientism” of status quo apologist mainstream social scientists, it is the cause of the oppressed which suffers the most from this dichotomy.

Keywords: scientific method; value judgments; philosophy of science; social science theories, black social science

I

In our weak moments we may wonder about the merit of Hume’s celebrated contribution to the philosophy of science; for even though Hume was categorically correct in distinguishing between questions of fact and questions of value and in arguing that normative choices cannot be deduced from facts, the sharp distinction between the two kinds of questions has served to obfuscate, in the minds of many, the relationship between facts scientifically gathered, aggregated and analyzed and normative choices. Such obfuscation in turn, has led to a form of anti-intellectual know-nothingism predicated upon the assumption that normative choices are individual preferences not amenable to objective interpersonal assessment. The logical corollary of this assumption

is the notion that everybody's opinion or normative choice is equal to everybody else's and that therefore questions of value are matters of only one's personal taste.

If one accepts such normative anarchism, social scientists qua social scientists and scientific methods of inquiry have no particular role to play in structuring value choices. We are simply faced with a garden of competing value judgments with no basis for distinguishing wheat from chaff or sense from nonsense.

Further, this sharp distinction between questions of fact and questions of value has led to widespread acceptance of the view that social scientists must choose between being scientific practitioners and passionate advocates. Generally speaking, conservative elements who are comfortable with the status quo have assumed the mantle of the former while the more progressive or radical scholars have accepted the latter role. Thus, we have a simplistic dichotomy of social scientists with one group arguing that they are scientific and value free and the other arguing that to be scientific is to be irrelevant and that the essence of relevant scholarship is commitment and advocacy. The fact of the matter is that the dichotomy itself is the thing which is most irrelevant; and while both sides find succor and comfort in identifying with their particular group and in taking potshots at the perceived adversary; and while progressive and radical scholars who accept the oppressed as their clientele take particular delight in lampooning the "scientism" of status quo apologist mainstream social scientists, it is the cause of the oppressed which suffers the most from this dichotomy. For in depreciating the need for, indeed, the possibility of, scientifically arrived at propositions the radical scholar who sees himself solely as an advocate undermines any claim of special competence that he or she might have and corollarily any reason why his or her proclaimed clientele should

listen to him or her any more than to any other pied piper on the loose. More importantly, the acceptance of this facile dichotomy of the role of social scientists and the concomitant acceptance of the depreciation of scientific methods of inquiry often leads radical scholars to rely on assertions as opposed to arguments in their efforts to explain and predict. Qualitative distinctions can be made by analyzing their logical consistency and the extent to which the components of the argument are consistent with the empirical reality with which they purport to deal. Arguments are subject to scientific interpersonal verification. Assertions are a different matter. They are not stated in a form amenable to verification; they are simply ex cathedra. To question them is heresy. When explanations are based upon assertions as opposed to arguments, the quest for knowledge – the claim to know – degenerates into obscurantism. Under such conditions the quality of a claim to know is not assessed in terms of its isomorphism with empirical reality but rather the quality of an individual is assessed in terms of his identification with ex cathedra assertions. Individuals are sorted out among the washed and the unwashed and given the awards appertaining thereunto.

II

At this point it may be judicious to return to the argument with which this essay began lest I impose upon your patience lose your interest. I set out to demonstrate how methods of scientific inquiry can enhance the quality of value judgments with particular reference to the black predicament in the United States. The foregoing brief detour was necessary to set the tone for the argument which follows.

The dichotomizing of the role of social scientists has not been without consequence for the black community and its struggle for liberation. During the last half

decade or so, many young black social scientists, doubtlessly moved by arguments such as the ones found in Cruse's *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*,²³ have become acutely aware of the extent to which their training in white social science departments by "scientifically oriented" white professors has alienated them from the struggle of their people. By reflex action, to atone for their sins and reduce the Crusian crisis, many black intellectuals renounced scientific inquiry while rushing pell-mell to place their academic talents at the disposal of those trying to make qualitative distinctions among competing goals and strategies extant in the black community. However, having dismissed scientific inquiry as either impossible or as a tool of the status quo, their efforts have generally taken the form of assertions as opposed to arguments. Avant garde black social scientists have competed with polemicists for breezy descriptions of complex phenomena, and the roles of the two, polemicist and scholar, have become indistinguishable. This is tragic. The polemicist has a particular role to play in the struggle. It is his responsibility to put together emotionally laden arguments which put the struggle in the foremost favorable light and which can be used to organize and stimulate people for action. Polemicist may be excused for overstating an argument, playing down nuances, or even resorting to card stacking or an occasional half-truth. On the other hand social the scientist qua social scientist, as Vince Harding²⁴ and Ralph Ellison²⁵ have so eloquently stated, must be about the truth with all its complexities and contradictions. It is the social scientist's task to reduce that element of reality with which we are concerned to intellectually manageable proportions without compromising its empirical truth. The only way to do that is by

²³ Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, (New York: William and Morrow Company, 1967).

²⁴ Vincent Harding, "The Vocation of the Black Scholar and the Struggles of the Black Community" (forthcoming)

²⁵ Ralph Ellison, "The World and the Jug," *Shadow and Act*, (New York: Signet, 1966).

following the time honed and time honored canons of scientific inquiry. This is not to say that social scientists should not be advocates or polemicists; but rather it is to argue that there are distinct differences between the two kinds of intellectual activity and that these distinctions must always be kept in mind; and further it is to argue that as social scientists qua social scientists, our role is to present the truth in a scientific manner. After we have presented the truth we should then become advocates and activists in the direction the truth leads. If we do not proceed in such a manner, we do a disservice to our people for we encourage the substitution of mysticism for serious analysis. And we facilitate the development of strategies based upon myths and misleading propaganda. Such policies, are of course, doomed to failure. The bankruptcy of integrationism as a strategy and the decimation of the Black Panther Party are cases in point.

Of course, most normative choices or value judgments are based upon common sense information. Questions of right and wrong, correct or incorrect are usually resolved by referring to such information. However, there are occasions when such information is inadequate for making the decisions which must be made. One good indication that the limits of common sense knowledge have been reached is when the plurality of reasonable, honest, and intelligent people who share a common worldview believe that diametrically opposed paths or strategies will get them to a commonly agreed upon goal. Another indication that the limits of common sense information has been reached would be a situation in which future outcomes predicted by a certain intervention strategy fail repeatedly to materialize. The black predicament in the United States qualifies on both accounts. Presently Amiri Baraka and the Congress of African People oriented nationalists, Roy Wilkins and NAACP integrationists, Roy Innis and CORE

pluralists, the black capitalists, Jesse Jackson, the Panthers, The Nation of Islam and Naama, all claim to have the most promising solution for ameliorating the black condition. These competing strategies cannot be of equal worth. Some of them run counter to each other. Qualitative distinctions among them can and must be made – in terms of logically consistent scientific propositions not as ex cathedra assertions. In short, we can narrow the number of competing alternative solutions by employing the canons of scientific inquiry. Black social scientists should and must take the lead in this indispensable undertaking.

Before attempting to demonstrate how the scientific method may be used to enhance the quality of value judgments, it may be useful to pause and ask why is it that so many serious and committed social scientists have been willing to accept this perverted interpretation of their role as social scientist qua social scientist and the utility of scientific inquiry. The answer, I suspect, is connected in some way with two things: (1) black social scientist's uneasiness over his/her objective class status in American society, and (2) the failure to come to terms with some important questions regarding the philosophy of science.

On the first score, many of the serious socially committed black social scientists are a bit uneasy if not embarrassed by their with their middle class status and the salutary treatment and deference it affords them as compared to the treatment and deference given black rank and file. This feeling often manifests itself in self-effacing posturing by black academics who tend to romanticize the character and contribution of the masses and to raise common sense explanations to the level of scripture. The fact of the matter is, as

Nagel has pointed out,²⁶ systematic scientific inquiry begins where common sense leaves off (or runs out). Common sense knowledge constitutes the base upon which scientific knowledge builds.

Such posturing however is not only not convincing but borders on dishonesty. For if one is convinced of the abundant wisdom of the masses in the form of common sense, one should quickly desert the cloistered corridors of academia and report to the nearest hiring hall, church or neighborhood joint; and one should similarly discontinue advanced study and systematic inquiry inasmuch as common sense explanations are strewn indiscriminately among the ecology and available to all passersby and may be gathered without the sacrifice of paying tuition, submitting to dull lectures, or reading turgid treatises. Since these scholars voluntarily choose to pay such penance, we may be excused for not taking their fawning self-effacing gestures seriously.

The other matter, a failure to come to terms with important questions regarding the philosophy of science is serious and deserves special attention, for it is this failure which has obscured the fact that while the scientific method is only one of several important phases in systematic inquiry it is the crucial phase, for it is the scientific method which facilitates the maximization of certainty in our attempts to deal with problems growing out of our subjective or normative considerations.

Most social scientists are socialized into their particular disciplines without ever raising the important questions to which the philosophy of science speaks, viz., what is the purpose of inquiry? How and why are frames of reference constructed? How and why do academic disciplines develop? How are concepts formed? Propositions derived?

²⁶ Ernest Nagel, *The Structure of Science* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961), especially chapter 1.

Theories developed? To be sure, most students are required to suffer through a “methods” course, but such courses usually serve simply to qualify the recruit for admission to the cathedral.

When these important philosophical questions are addressed, several things become clear. The first is that the purpose of inquiry is to allow people to anticipate future events and to develop strategies to maximize our control over them.²⁷

This means that social science inquiry is idiosyncratic to the people being served. Every significant researchable problem occurs within a web of thought or network growing out of a people’s anticipation and control needs. This web includes first of all, a people’s worldview which, among other things, answers the questions: Who are we? Where did we come from? How did we get here? Where do we wish to go? What alternative strategies have been tried and what results were obtained and why? Who are our friends and enemies? Closely connected with the worldview is the second part of the web, a set of normative assumptions which summarizes a people’s perception of the nature of the good life and the political, economic and cultural forms necessary for its realization. Academic disciplines develop within the context of these two.

The establishment of academic disciplines then is a normative purposeful exercise; the content of which is determined by a people’s worldview and normative assumptions. It is the process by which it is determined what facts from the universe of facts should be selected and aggregated for study. The content of the disciplines is determined by the third dimension of the web, the frame of reference. The latter serves as the lens through which we perceive the experiential world. The frame of reference

²⁷ The argument which follows is generally influenced by that found in Eugene Meehan’s *Value Judgment and Social Science*, (Homewood, Illinois: 1969).

structures the rules for reducing ineffable pure fact to described fact, the rules of concept formation, as it were, and gives rise to the major concepts, propositions, and theories; which in turn prescribe which questions are considered legitimate areas of study.

All of the foregoing processes, it should be noted, are subjective and grow out of the history and culture of the people being served. It is only after these processes have unfolded that the scientific method comes into play. The scientific method is the sum of rules for gathering and presenting interpersonal information in fashion amenable to validation. These rules are objective and applicable to all systematic inquiry, ideology notwithstanding.

I am aware of the argument that the scientific method is irredeemably bound to materialistic Western culture and places undue emphasis on rank empiricism. However, I am in no way inhibited by that admonition for two reasons. First of all, the scientific method, especially in the context of verification, is nothing more than a set of rules for uncovering, organizing and presenting information in a fashion which would be convincing to skeptics. This practice is of course timeless and universal. To be sure, there have always been elements in all societies which would have others accept their assertions simply because "I said so." Religious and other unenlightened cults are based upon such blind acceptance. Intelligent people without regard to culture however, prefer assertions or claims to know be presented in a fashion which allows for disproof. Indeed even when we make common sense arguments the assumption is that the predictions implied by the propositions may be validated by referring to empirical phenomena. The scientific method simply introduces greater precision and minimizes error while strengthening the element of certainty.

My second reason for discounting the argument that the scientific method is unduly deferential toward empiricism is that social scientist's primary concern should be matters empirical. Matters of metaphysical essence should be left to philosophers and preachers. They are much more adept in circumventing the wise words of Stevie Wonder regarding the perils of believing in things which are not understood.

Thus our problem with American social science lies not with the scientific method but rather with the normatively determined "problems" to which the method will be applied. This point may be dramatized by focusing briefly on the process of concept formation. A concept is simply a word to which a meaning has been assigned; the word is meant to stand for, and evoke in the mind of persons being communicated with, some regularity which we perceive to exist empirically. Yet prior to the assignment of concepts the world of pure fact is an unintelligible seamless web of energy expending happenings and phenomena in a state of stasis. One's perspective imposes order and gives meaning to the world of pure fact. As someone said a fact is nothing more than a particular ordering of reality in terms of theoretical interest.²⁸ That is to say that the reduction of the pure fact world to described fact is a highly subjective process governed by a people's anticipation and control needs.

Thus the problem with white social science lies not so much with its lack of objectivity or its unscientific character, though both may be valid criticisms, but the fact that the anticipation and control needs of white society as defined by the ruling elite leads social scientists to organize the world of pure fact around categories which are trivial in light of the anticipation and control needs of the black community. For example, Moynihan, Banfield, et. al serve the interests of their clientele quite well.

²⁸ David Easton, *The Political System*, (New York: Alfred Knopf), 53.

This fundamental point, in spite of its obviousness, has eluded black academics on both the left and the right. On the right persons such as Martin Kilson seem to think that the rules which white academia follows in reducing pure fact to described fact are part of the scientific method and consequently see neither the need for, nor the possibility of, developing a perspective to impose order on the world of pure fact consistent with black anticipation needs.

On the left, progressive black social scientists who clearly understand the inappropriateness of white social science have not shown equal clarity on how we move toward building the new social science. Lerone Bennett's call for a "new frame of reference which transcends the limit of white concepts" and for creating "a new pool of clarifying concepts which will permit us to see and handle our own reality has not been answered.²⁹ Instead of returning to the world of pure fact and using our own anticipation and control needs to decide what regularities from among the infinite number of regularities out there should be extracted out for analysis, we have simply engaged in word games by suggesting new labels for regularities which white scholarship identified as being consequential. We debate the Moynihan's around their reduction of pure fact. For example, Preston Wilcox, Ronald Walters, and Abdul Alkalimat³⁰ all seem to think changing labels, i.e. substituting words neocolonialism for tokenism, freedom for equality, Negro-removal for urban renewal, etc., represents important changes in concept formation.

²⁹ See *Challenge of Blackness*, Black Paper No. 1, Institute of Black World, Atlanta, Georgia, 1970.

³⁰ See Alkalimat's "The Ideology of Black Social Science," and Walter's "Toward a Definition of Black Social Science" in Joyce Ladner's *The Death of White Sociology*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), and Wilcox's "Black Studies as an Academic Discipline" in *Negro Digest*, (March 1970), 75 – 85.

The important question, of course, is to what empirical regularities do the labels refer. Substituting new labels for the same regularities changes nothing. Analysis is still based upon white reduction of the world of pure fact to described fact.

Failure to understand this can lead to a questionable black radical scholarship. My favorite example of this is dramatized by what I call Robert Staples' "Rooster Theory of the Black Male." In trying to forge a response to the notion of the "emasculatation" of the black male Staples argues that:

The difference between black men and white men in sexual response may be explained by realizing that for white men sex has to be fitted into time not devoted to building technological society, whereas for black men it is a natural function, a way of life. An example of this is that white men when confronted with their woman's state of sexual readiness may say business first, pleasure later. The black male when shown the black woman's state of sexual readiness manages to take care of both the business and the pleasure task. If one task is left unfinished, it is unlikely that the black woman is left wanting.³¹

Sure this statement is an absurdity, but such absurdities always result when we take someone else's reduction of pure fact and try to "get a better deal" from the analysis. Had Staples begun with his own reduction of pure fact I doubt he would have found it important to discuss the difference between black men and white men in sexual response.

III

Value judgments, like any other explanation, consists of three essential elements (1) a description of an empirical situation (factual base), (2) a prediction of future developments, and (3) a statement of operations which must occur or be performed

³¹ Robert Staples, "The Myth of the Impotent Black Male," *The Black Scholar*, (June, 1971), 8 – 9.

(intervention strategy) if the future developments are to occur as predicted. An explanation says based upon what we already know, we can expect X to occur providing A,B,C,...N are done. The structure of a value judgment is no different except for the fact that the predicted or desired result is selected first then a determination is made (of the proper intervention strategy) as to what operations must occur or be performed to insure realization the predicted future. The quality of an explanation is determined by the accuracy of the description or factual base and the logical consistency of the argument which connects the intervention strategy with the factual base on the one hand, and with the predicted future on the other. Explanation says given the regularities which have been observed over time (and discussed in the factual base) if we alter the environment (intervention strategy) in a particular way we can expect Y (normative choice) to occur. Once the argument is stated in this way its utility becomes subject to interpersonal assessment. Whether or not the description is accurate becomes an empirical question which can be resolved by scientific inquiry; whether or not the suggested alterations in the environment are likely to yield the predicted future becomes a problem of logical consistency which can also be dealt with through procedures of scientific inquiry. Let us return to the question of the black predicament. Whenever a group or individual give their view of the optimum strategy for liberation, it carries with it a description of the black predicament (factual base) and a definition of liberation along with an argument as to why their proposed liberation strategy will lead logically from the prescribed reality to the desired future. Of course, all of this is usually stated in an unsystematic common sense fashion. Perhaps one should not expect Roy Wilkins, Amiri Baraka, or Huey

Newton to do more. However until their arguments are stated in a fashion that makes them amenable to reasoned criticism, we cannot separate sense from nonsense.

This is where social scientists come in. It is our responsibility to convert the positions of the various factions into propositions which lend themselves to disproof. Let me hasten to point out that this is not an argument for uninvolved social scientists who eschew practice while engaging in antiseptic theorizing. Social scientists if they are to be creative must be immersed in social problem situations, but their contributions as social scientists should be measured in terms of their ability to clarify social reality so that the masses and their leaders can make more intelligent choices among competing alternatives. We would begin by examining the description of reality upon which a particular group bases its analysis. Once that description is examined thoroughly and broken down into relevant propositional statements, the validity of these propositions can be determined by applying them to the empirical reality with which the purport to deal. The description of, say, the NAACP, Panthers, Congress of African People, etc., cannot all be correct or accurate. The extent to which a description is accurate is again, an empirical question amenable to scientific inquiry.

The descriptive or factual base from which competing groups proceed may be clarified by discerning its answers to the following questions:

1. What is its Weltanschauung or worldview?
2. How does it describe the political history of blacks in the U.S.?
 - a. Importance of economic factors.
 - b. Importance of racial factors.
 - c. Importance of cultural factors.
3. What does it say about the nature of political power in the U.S.?
 - a. Relationship between formal and informal political structures and its implications for black life.
 - b. Relationship between government and business and its implications for black life.

- c. Locus of political decisionmaking.
- 4. What does it say about the nature of economic power in the U.S.?
 - a. How are economic decisions made and in whose interests?
 - b. What are the most crucial economic decisions?
 - c. Who makes crucial economic decisions and under what conditions?
- 5. What is the pattern of wealth distribution in the U.S.?
 - a. What is the percentage of national wealth going to various social classes?
 - b. What percentage of national income takes the form of transfer payments?
 - c. What is the distribution of transfer payments by social class and race?
 - d. What would be the systematic implications of altering these patterns?
- 6. What is the present level and scope of black political power in the U.S.?

Once the group's position on the above and other related questions, (which are meant to be suggestive and not exhaustive) is clarified, we can move to evaluate its intervention strategy in terms of its internal consistency and its logical consistency with its descriptive base. We would need to assess both the long run and the short run strategies of the group in terms of the following, *inter alia*:

- 1. Political Strategies
 - a. What is its position on the role of, and recruiting and maintaining mass support?
 - b. What is its position on of, recruitment, accountability, and circulation of leadership?
 - c. What is its position on coalitions? With whom?
 - d. What is its position and practice regarding participation in electoral politics?
- 2. Economic Strategy
 - a. What is to be done regarding unemployment and underemployment of black workers?
 - b. What is its position on the role of the state in providing social welfare services?
 - c. What is its long run perception of the good economic life?
- 3. Cultural Strategies
 - a. What is the nature of its propaganda?
 - b. To whom is it addressed?
 - c. Does it have a cultural apparatus? By whom is it supported?

When we have clarified the descriptive base and the strategies of a particular faction we can juxtapose them with the faction's stated goals and make at least a tentative determination of the probability that a given intervention strategy will yield the predicted results. For example, Bayard Rustin's argument that a black labor coalition will yield

certain payoffs toward the realization of black goals is a probability statement subject to empirical clarification. The same can be said regarding intervention strategies of the Panthers, Nation of Islam, and other groups.

Of course the paramount question – the question of the good life or the ideal future we would like to see, be it integration into the American capitalist order, an independent black nation here or elsewhere, revolution and an ecumenical socialist state or whatever cannot be determined by scientific analysis. One simply has to make a choice; however scientific analysis can shed light on the question by indicating the likelihood that a particular intervention strategy is or is not likely to get one there.

IV

Finally, before we can begin to use scientific analysis to make qualitative distinctions among the various factions and individuals competing for public support, considerable preparatory work in the area of concept formation will be necessary. Presently there are no commonly agreed upon definitions, not even common sense ones, of the major concepts which are used in describing the black predicament and offering solutions. It is an elementary point that useful dialogue/debate can occur only if there is a common vocabulary. Nonetheless, heated debate about the nature and direction of the struggle has been and continues to be waged with vague and ambiguous concepts. Such debates, more often than not, tend to be circular as opposed to cumulative, primarily because the antagonists never know if they have real disagreements or when evidence presented by one party or the other is sufficient to disprove or validate a particular argument.

Just to make that point at issue here, what are the accepted definitions of the following concepts: integration, nationalism, cultural nationalist, black middle class, petty bourgeois, revolutionary nationalist, or Pan-Africanism? None of these concepts has been defined with sufficient clarity to facilitate serious dialogue among contending forces. Instead they are all used as in house condensation symbols provoking uncritical obeisance among true believers and equally uncritical negative responses among adversaries.

Adherents to deterministic (which is to say tautological?) explanations, particularly Marxists, may take exception to my call for the use of scientific analysis beginning with serious attention to concept formation. They might argue with some justification that their analysis is based upon a set of concepts which have been honed across time and cultures and are acknowledged to have universal validity. Moreover, Marxists are fond of debunking social science concepts as non-contentian petty bourgeois abstractions with little or no empirical utility. Anticipating such a response, let me say here and now that in spite of their pretensions toward scientific analysis, black Marxists have done little to introduce clarity to the debate about, or to the struggle itself.

Rather than taking the traditional Marxist concepts and giving them the particular content which would surface from a natural historical description of black life in the United States and then using concepts so constructed in propositions about political existence in the United States, Marxists have resorted to foreign analogies in their efforts to explain.³² In the process, scientifically developed Marxian concepts are reduced to

³² Arguing by analogy is probably the most serious intellectual error for it allows one to use both the logical consistency and the raw data of one situation to validate a proposition which may be not at all isomorphic to the matter being discussed. How many factual errors have we made by relying on analogies from the U.S.S.R., Cuba, Algeria, or China?

non-contentian slogans which may arouse or induce acquiescence – depending upon the disposition of the listener – but which do little to facilitate enlightened discussion. For example, to what extent have concepts such as class, proletariat, petty bourgeois, surplus-value, alienation, exploitation, profits, colonialism, neo-colonialism, etc. been used to develop insightful propositions about contemporary black existence. Very little I am afraid.³³ The seminal works of the late Oliver Cox remain a lonely crowd.

To summarize, until we begin to define terms clearly and precisely and include operational definitions to link our concepts to the empirical phenomena which they purport to represent, we are doomed to wander in the well beaten circular, non-cumulative path of civil rights frustration with our peregrination marked only by instant yet unrewarding conversion to the newest ideology.

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³³ Stanley Arnowitz in his recent work *False Promises, The Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973) uses contemporaneous development to give body to traditional Marxian concepts. His work is worthy of emulation and stimulation.

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From Malcolm Little to Malcolm X to El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz-Al-Sabann to Omowale: 7 Degrees of Separation

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Abstract

The truths of our beloved ancestor, Malcolm X, are of extraordinary worth and value to black and African people throughout the world—the people whom he loved. Not only are these truths available from which to gain wisdom, but these truths can have significant impact on the lives and experiences of those black and African people who choose to listen and believe them.

Introduction

...Whoever steals a man and sells him, and anyone found in possession of him, shall be put to death. (Holy Bible ESV, 21:15-17)

Understanding that the work of Malcolm was unfinished, leaving a restless world filled with unsettled claims; it is critical that black and African people throughout the world seek the truths of the Egun (ancestors).³⁴ In laying a foundation for the particular research that speaks from Malcolm to his *7 Degrees of Separation*, the truths from the Egun will reveal solutions that can be interpreted and considered in implementation of relief of black and African people from oppression in all of its forms, all over the world.

In most scholarly research, studies often are categorized with each category focusing on a particular component of the major theory being investigated. In this present work, as categorization is integral to colonization, the valuable information being communicated refuses to be filtered or distilled as Malcolm X was known for

³⁴ Egun / The ancestors. *The Yoruba Religious Concepts: Understanding the belief Concepts of the Lucumi faith.* <https://sites.google.com/site/theyorubareligiousconcepts/egungun-the-ancestors> (accessed May 15, 2018).

making it plain. However, the work of Malcolm is organic. It still lives and breathes to this day assuming many forms and speaking to multiple audiences and issues simultaneously. The student standing on the corner of 125th Street in Harlem may hear Malcolm speaking of the need for Black Nationalism while the professor at Berkeley, from the same message, might hear Malcolm speak of organizing for the sake of all humanity. Who was this man? Who did he aspire to be? Before there can be any effective explanation of the teachings of the man, it is critical that these names for the man be examined.

The Significance of the Names

... first things first, we look upon the so-called negro in America as a sick man. You may say well what do I mean *sick*? If a man has forgotten his name he's a sick man – they call that amnesia and if you go to the so-called negro here in America and ask him his name – he doesn't know it! If a Chinese person came through that door and I asked him his name and he said his name was Patrick Murphy you'd know he'd forgot his own name and has picked up an alias somewhere! So we who follow the Honorable Elijah Muhammad when we see so-called negroes named Murphy, and O'Toole and Johnson and Smith and Powell and Wright and Wilkins which are all English and Irish names we think that they look just as much out of place as a group of Chinese would look wearing those same names and they wear these names because they don't know their own names. They have lost their identity – their own identity – so this is amnesia – and by not knowing themselves – when a man doesn't know himself – he doesn't know what belongs to him – he could be the richest man on this earth but by having lost his identity he'll walk around like a pauper – so here we have 20 million black people in America who are wearing the names of their former slave master and by suffering a form of amnesia they don't have a name of their own so they've taken your name – they don't know their own language so they've taken your language – they don't have a history of their own so they let you tell them their history...³⁵

As Malcolm beckons, we must follow. In a most extraordinary exposé, Dr. Daniel Omotosho Black follows Malcolm's instruction and examines the history of the

³⁵ Youtube.com. *We have Slave Names by Malcolm X.*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SldZ-r5pHfA> (accessed May 15, 2018).

Africans who were to be brought to America. However, few of *HIStories* dare reveal the living and the dead as they transitioned from one to the other during what is known as *The Middle Passage*.

More of us died. Diseases, melancholy, and big fish all took their portion. But more of us lived, too. Each day after the sixty-third, we began to speak our names aloud. It became a collective ritual, a daily roll call, an announcement of the yet living. Someone would beat his planks like a drum and say his own name three times. That was the sign. Then the rest of us would join in, beating our planks with our fists and speaking our names in succession: Amadi, Kayode, Yafeu, Kwesi, Abubakar, Dumi, Enyinnaya, Atiba, Ogbonna, Bekitembe, Shamba, Oluremi, Ayzize, Chitope, Najja, Damani, Oifie, Ato, Giuneur, Ousman, Horo, Chukwudi, Akintunde, Akinyele, Akinfola, Ajani, Bem, Bosedu, Wole, Oshundwaqueke, Alatanga, Tafataona, Tamba, Tefase, Mensah, Ansa, Olufemi, Bataraishe, Adika, Muomaife, Ogunwale, and more. When there was silence, we knew a warrior had fallen. We didn't always remember his name, but we ceased drumming long enough to honor his memory. Then fists pounded again until every living soul made his presence known. Above deck, our women did the same once our calling subsided. They shouted their names that we might hear: Citalala, Ama, Tegbe, Naki, Mabasi, Pepukaiye, Ifetayo, Chisanganda, Omolara, Akili, Camara, Jaha, Anela, Kariammu, Zinzele, Oluyassa, Osizwe, Makata, Efuru, Binta, Nilaja, Olutobi, Titilayo, Enomwoyi, Anoa, Iyabode, Aminata, Ayodele, Yewande, Nsombi, Buseje, Dofi, Nakpangi, Folasade, Ijeoma, Dzigbodi, Nazapa, Adenike, Monji, Kwansimah, Lebene, Ngozi, Wahde, and more. We struck planks once between each name. There were other names, too. Far too many to recall now. Yet with each name we nodded and knew someone had survived....³⁶

Each day our numbers declined until, one day, Atiba, the last man standing, discovered the secret of prosperity in the land of bondage. He was the last of our womb. He would plant the seeds of our return. In our souls, we remembered him. In our hearts, we praised him. In our spirits, we thanked him. This was not the end. There would be another day. This was *The Coming*.³⁷

African names are energy. There are a wealth of studies that address the importance of a name in appropriately confirming identity. When the individual is consumed by a name that is peculiar to one's self, there is a disruption in the soul.

³⁶ Black, Daniel. *The Coming*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2013, 78-79.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 216.

The entire essence of that individual is at a continuous state of unrest searching for that place where his/her true identity is stored. Malcolm X experienced such an “internal schism” as did millions who survived the Middle Passage.³⁸

Perhaps, as important as it was to the slave to never lose his name—to never forget it—it was more important to the slave owner that the slave relinquish both name and identity and assume an identity provided by the slave master. Upon arrival and disembarkation, another horrifying process known as *selling and seasoning* was painfully and violently imposed upon the Africans:

... the Africans were forced, often under torture, to accept identities suited to lifelong servitude. Having already been branded once in Africa, they would be branded a second time by their legal owners, who would also give them a Christian name. African practices and customs of all kinds were discouraged. Some captives already weakened by the horrors of the voyage committed suicide. Others died under the pressure of the ‘seasoning’.³⁹

In view of Malcolm’s goal of *making it plain*, this term *branding* requires further clarification especially in acknowledging the branding process that still continues to this day in various forms. Today’s branding can be found in the latest *Jordans* or in endorsements by renowned black athletes of particular brands of a variety of products. Today’s branding could be found in the marketing of clothing specifically targeted to the black community where name brands provide identity filling the void where there is that internal schism previously referred to. However, as the Africans were viewed as savages, chattel, belonging to the slave masters, they

³⁸ Harrison, Paul. *The Drama of Nommo: Black Theater in the African Continuum*. New York, NY: Grove Press, Inc., 1972, 31.

³⁹ Understandingslavery.com. *Atlantic Crossing*.

http://www.understandingslavery.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=308_atlantic-crossing&catid=125_themes&Itemid=153.html (accessed May 15, 2018).

were branded with either extremely hot or extremely cold branding irons that seared the skin creating permanent scars identifying them as the property of that particular slave owner. There is far more to this naming issue that must be argued before attempting to understand the significance of the names of Malcolm X:

... European colonizers attacked and defiled African names and naming systems to suppress and erase African identity – since names not only aid in the construction of identity, but also concretize a people’s collective memory by recording the circumstances of their experiences. Thus, to obliterate African collective memories and identities, the colonizers assigned new names to the Africans or even left them nameless, as a way of subjugating and committing them to perpetual servitude.⁴⁰

The entire gamut of lived experiences, from domestic violence to the racism and hatred based on existence in a white dominated racist society, the absence of collective memory as well as genuine identity fueled the soul and character of young, Malcolm Little.

Malcolm Little

After Louise Little, Malcolm’s mother, was diagnosed as having what some researchers believe to have been paranoia, Malcolm and his seven siblings were divided and dispersed to separate foster homes. Many experts believe that Malcolm’s father was murdered by the Black Legion, a hate group in Lansing, Michigan. It is critical to understand that the oppressed can never assume to know who the oppressor appears to be. On a Monday, the oppressor may appear in white hooded robes, while unsuspectingly, on a Tuesday night, the oppressor may adorn themselves in black robes—they are still the oppressor.

⁴⁰ Fitzpatrick, Liseli A. 2012. Liseli Fitzpatrick *African Names and Naming Practices: The Impact Slavery and European Domination had on the African Psyche, Identity and Protest*. Graduate Thesis, Ohio State University, 2012, ii.

Just as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was enjoying a revitalization in the 1920s, another white hate group, the Black Legion, began to take shape in nearby Detroit. Substituting the iconic white garb of the KKK with black robes, the Black Legion operated in a more clandestine manner, harassing blacks, Catholics, and alleged socialist sympathizers through nighttime raids and beatings.⁴¹

Although much has been said about Reverend Earl Little beating his wife, Malcolm seems to fondly remember the times his father would take him to the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) meetings. Malcolm speaks often about both of his parents' conviction to Garveyism and how they would travel from city to city spreading the message of Marcus Garvey. Malcolm also traces his relationship to scholarly pursuit being completely denigrated by crushing his dream of becoming an attorney. It was during his eight grade year as class president at Mason Junior High School that one of his teachers claimed that becoming an attorney "was an unrealistic goal for 'niggers.'"⁴² The incident changed Malcolm's life forever and "finally sealed Malcolm's early fate as an academic failure."⁴³

In examining the family history of Malcolm Little, the road to a violent death seems to have always been a looming possibility—even a death wish. In Malcolm's *Autobiography*, he explains that his father was a huge, one-eyed black man who:

"had seen four of his six brothers die by violence, three of them killed by white men, including one by lynching... 'Northern white police were later to shoot my Uncle Oscar. And my father was finally himself to die by the white man's hands. It has always been my belief that I, too, will die by violence. I have done all that I can to be prepared.'"⁴⁴

⁴¹Marable, Manning and Felber, Garrett, eds. *The Portable Malcolm X Reader*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2013.

⁴² Dyson, Michael. *Making Malcolm: The Myth & Meaning of Malcolm X*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, 5.

⁴³ Ibid, 5.

⁴⁴ Haley, Alex. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 2015, 2.

Malcolm Little's story is not too different from many blacks who are doomed to experience even "the slightest contact with the white world."⁴⁵ Harrison exhorts and challenges black therapists to explore psychological platforms that invite the assessment of the strengths of black youth and the unique black solidity that is birthed in the midst of survival.

They know how to deal with the credit man; they know how to deal with the cat at the corner market; they know how to deal with hypes and pimps. They know how to jive the school principal, and they show a lot of psychological cleverness and originality in the particular style they emerge with. But most institutions have not yet learned how to appreciate and capitalize upon this particular kind of style."⁴⁶

Malcolm Little's innocence fleeting, having dropped out of school, he found a desperate, bleak life with his half-sister Ella in Boston. He began to hone the craft of thievery and creatively developed a "hustling repertoire [that] ranged from drug dealing and numbers running to burglary, the last activity landing him in a penitentiary for a six- to ten-year sentence."⁴⁷ The man was now *Detroit Red*.

Detroit Red

In the hustler world, self-identification was and is of utmost importance. Whether it was the Cadillac you drove or the zoot suits you wore, it was identity that spoke long before any words were uttered. Back then, in the 1940s, Detroit Red's red-conked hair helped to distinguish him from at least two other well-known Reds, *St. Louis Red* and *Chicago Red*, the latter being the late comedian, Redd Foxx. Since Lansing was somewhat unheard of by most urban blacks, Detroit Red chose to identify with Detroit—and so, the nickname. In his *Autobiography*, Malcolm admits

⁴⁵ Harrison, 124.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 125.

⁴⁷ Dyson, 6.

to turning over huge profits as a drug dealer selling “reefers like a wild man.”⁴⁸ Some experts criticize the *Autobiography* and Spike Lee’s *Malcolm X*, for spending far too much time elucidating the illustrious career of *Detroit Red*. However, understanding the black experience, there is some legitimacy in such a focus. Much of the problem in identifying as black in a white dominant society is that black men similar to *Detroit Red* are terribly stereotyped and misinterpreted. It is in understanding *Detroit Red* that we can more completely unpack the life of Malcolm X. Unfortunately, an insufficient amount of black men who are or have been incarcerated for lives comparable to that of *Detroit Red*, end up damaged for the rest of their lives. Today, due to an epidemic of police shootings, even fewer are allowed the opportunity to live at all. Harrison’s *Drama of Nommo*, although published in 1972, is timely and relevant for understanding *Detroit Red* and so many other black men and boys like him:

Today black boys are admonished not to be a “bad nigger.” No description need be offered; every black child knows what is meant. They are angry and hostile. They strike fear into everyone with their uncompromising rejection of restraint or inhibition. They may seem at one moment meek and compromised—and in the next a terrifying killer. Because of his experience in this country, every black man harbours a potential bad nigger inside him. He must ignore this inner man. The bad nigger is bad because he has been required to renounce his manhood to save his life. The more one approaches the American ideal of respectability, the more this hostility must be repressed. The bad nigger is a defiant nigger, a reminder of what manhood could be.⁴⁹

It is the *Detroit Reds*, not the Malcolm X’s, that are most prevalent in the black community that are forced to co-exist (at least for now) within a white dominant and racist society. However, the existence of these *Detroit Reds* allow some form of

⁴⁸ Haley, 102.

⁴⁹ Harrison, 148.

identity where there is state of amnesia. In her pioneering research on Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS) and her observation of black teenagers, Dr. Joy DeGruy explains one of the major issues that support the formulation of today's *Detroit Reds* who have the potential of becoming Malcolm X's:

Being disrespected was as responsible for violent behavior as being the victim of, or witnessing violent acts. Being disrespected was more responsible than being the effect of the daily stressors that go with living in urban settings. I also found issues of respect to be the most significant antecedent in the expression of violence. One more time: The antecedent most likely to produce anger and violence in African American male youths is disrespect.... So an African American man who has a strong sense of himself and his history is likely to be more resilient when he is disrespected and less likely to respond with anger and violence."⁵⁰

Some may consider the transition from *Malcolm Little* to *Detroit Red*, a unique and tragic cataclysm of life that created a monster. Some would justify the disparate incarceration of black men based on the examination of *Detroit Red's* transitioning to Malcolm X. Unfortunately, it is clear that the transition to Malcolm X was a rare event, undoubtedly apocalyptic in nature. However, before finding the man called *Malcolm X*, there is more truth to reveal in understanding *Detroit Red*.

The Black-on-Black criminal's imagination is heroic. His heroism is cut whole-cloth from the white heroes he imitated as a child and adolescent man: the ones he saw in the comics, cartoons, movies and read about in the newspapers... who were always White. He uses their lingo, their cars, exaggerates their dress, spends their kind of money, kills with their weapons and with their heartlessness. He is a cartoon playing itself out in real time---a man acting like 'the man' (White man). When he acts, he acts with a White man's image in his head as a model: copying boyhood heroes and villains. Now, as then, he and the white hero he imagines himself to be are one."⁵¹

⁵⁰ DeGruy, Joy. *Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome: America's Legacy of Enduring Injury and Healing*. Portland, OR: Uptone Press, 2005, 164.

⁵¹ Porter, Michael. *Kill Them Before They Grow: The Misdiagnosis of African American Boys in America's Classrooms*. Chicago, IL: African American Images, 1997, 58.

It is at this point that we have returned to the importance of identity for not only Malcolm, but all black people. This is not an attempt to offer an excuse for anything that can be attributed to blackness or who black people are perceived to be in this white dominant and racist society. However, as Malcolm X has made indelibly clear, the Africans did not ask to come to this country. The Africans did not ask to be slaughtered while being pirated to a land not their own. The Africans did not ask to be branded like animals, sold into slavery and seasoned, forced to relinquish any attempt at connecting to the memory of Africa. The white slave master raped African men, women, and children, tortured and coerced them to, in every way conceivable, become like the white master – the white hero; and that is the volatile state of existence today. It was through divine intervention that *Detroit Red* finally succumbed to *Malcolm X*.

Malcolm X

Far more than an emblem on T-shirts and baseball caps, although some might consider it another form of branding, Sales argues that “... the X stood for the original African name that every African American lost in the middle passage and slavery, but it is rapidly coming to represent a new identity, unity, and pride in this generation of Black youth.”⁵² Another interpretation of how the “X” has become symbolic in the black community considers:

It is no longer necessary to include the “Malcolm” in Malcolm X, for the sign is the X and that X is invested with an abstract affirmation of Black identity, Black dignity, Black resistance, Black rage. I wonder whether young people feel that by wearing the X, they are participating in the experience of

⁵² Sales, William, Jr. *From Civil Rights to Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1994, 13.

something that cannot be defined and fixed once and for all: freedom—the freedom of African Americans and, thus, human freedom.⁵³

Detroit Red's hustler life came to an end in a prison cell while he served an eight-year “prison sentence for petty thievery. He was twenty years old.”⁵⁴ In the transition to becoming Malcolm X, after complete rejection of religion and God, Malcolm was known as “Satan” in prison. He spent much of his time in solitary confinement because he cursed God so much. It was Malcolm’s brother, Reginald, who visited him in prison and discussed the Nation of Islam and Elijah Muhammad. After exhaustive reading and consistent communication with Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm converted to the Nation of Islam. Sales credits “writer and activist Abdul Alkalimat” who characterized these transitions as “four periods under the rubric of Malcolm Little: the Exploited; Detroit Red: the Exploiter; Malcolm X: the Self-Emancipator; and El Hajj Malik El Shabazz: the Social Liberator.”⁵⁵ As most of this present work addresses the Malcolm known as *Malcolm X*, the transition to El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz-Al-Sabann, the formal Sunni Muslim name for Malcolm is elucidated next.

El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz-Al-Sabann

In a 1964 news conference, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz explained “Hajj is a title given to any Muslim who makes the pilgrimage to Mecca during the official hajj

⁵³ Wood, Joe, ed. *Malcolm X In Our Own Image*. New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1992, 43.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 10.

⁵⁵ Sales, 28.

season.”⁵⁶ Some experts question the meaning of *Shabazz* and many leave off *Al-Sabann* altogether. However, there is a verifiable definition:

... sha’b’azz clearly means in Arabic “a people mighty and glorious,” which carries exactly the meaning the W.D. Fard and Elijah Muhammad wanted to convey since the intended meaning, the form of the name, and its Arabic derivation all fit well together, we may conclude that the origin of the name “Shabazz” is now known.”⁵⁷

Further clarification is provided as the *Amsterdam News* reported Malcolm’s own words:

The name can be broken down into three different meanings. El Hajj translates as 'the pilgrim' and Malik means 'King'. The significance of Shabazz is not as clear; however, if you break it down further to shaab aazz, then it can be translated as 'mighty people'.

After announcing his exodus from the NOI on March 8, 1964, Malcolm traveled to Saudi Arabia and Africa, and while delivering a lecture in Ghana on May 13, he revealed how he had been bestowed with another attribute by his continental comrades. “When I was in Ibadan at the University of Ibadan last Friday night, the students there gave me a new name, which I go for—meaning I like it. ‘Omowale,’ which they say means in Yoruba—if I am pronouncing that correctly, and if I am not pronouncing it correctly it’s because I haven’t had a chance to pronounce it for 400 years—which means in that dialect, ‘The child has returned.’ It was an honor for me to be referred to as a child who had sense enough to return to the land of his forefathers—to his fatherland and to his motherland. Not sent back here by the State Department, but come back here of my own free will. He continued, ‘I’ve always had the name Malik El Shabazz on my passport, [However,] I only used it in the Muslim world. I’ll probably continue to use [the name] Malcolm X as long as the situation that produced it continues to exist ... so I remain Malcolm X as long as there is a need to struggle, protest and fight against the injustices our people are involved in, in this country.’⁵⁸

Many agree that Malcolm X never died on that floor of the Audubon Ballroom. Others believe that every person that the soul of the man occupied speaks

⁵⁶ Amsterdamnews.com. *Malcolm X: What’s in a name?*
<http://amsterdamnews.com/news/2017/may/18/malcolm-x-whats-name/> (accessed May 15, 2018).

⁵⁷ Monastra, Yahya. *The name “Shabazz”: Where did it come from?*
http://theamericanmuslim.org/tam.php/features/articles/the_name_shabazz/ (accessed May 15, 2018).

⁵⁸ Amsterdamnews.com.

to black and African people all over the world today. Malcolm Little speaks to the Malcolm Littles of the world. Detroit Red speaks to the Detroit Reds of the world. Malcolm X speaks to the Malcolm X's of the world and el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz-Al-Sabann speaks to the el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz-Al-Sabanns of the world. In fact, "El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz had already split, left Malcolm X behind, was on his way somewhere else. A new story beginning..."⁵⁹ There is an entire world of believers who still receive from Malcolm X, whether through the wealth of readings and research available on the man or through a spiritual awareness of his ongoing legacy; some still receive.

Had he lived, we can only hope that vexing contemporary problems from gender oppression to homophobia might have exercised his considerable skills of social rage and incisive, passionate oratory in giving voice to fears and resentments that most people can speak only in private.⁶⁰

African people always have access to those who have lived before. It is simply a matter of thriving within that African consciousness or existing without it. Malcolm does live today. Yes, this life may be in another dimension, but it is accessible. Having investigated the names, although he personally admitted his preference being referred to as *Omowale* (the child has returned); he chose to remain *Malcolm X* for "as long as there is a need to struggle, protest and fight against the injustices our people are involved in, in this country."⁶¹ A man of many names *From Malcolm Little to Detroit Red to Malcolm X to el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz-Al-Sabann to Omowale*, this is the multi-faceted Malcolm X that will speak to the world from his transitioned state as Egun (ancestor).

⁵⁹ Wood, 116.

⁶⁰ Dyson, 14.

⁶¹ Amsterdamnews.com.

Statement of the Problem

The problem is the inability to state the problem in a concise paragraph or page or two. The problems that exist for black and African people throughout the world are legion. Whether in a state of colonized, post-colonized, post-slavery or post-revolution, it is critical that solutions to the problems be found. A snapshot of the global issues can somewhat be descriptive of international issues. For that reason, this present work will focus on the African-American community. First, the current state of the black economy includes several aspects of concern:

African Americans today own little if any of America's land, produce little if any of the country's resources, and possess negligible amounts of this nation's immense wealth.... The National Association of Real Estate Brokers 2016 report, *The State of Housing in Black America*, put the current home ownership rate for blacks at a 20-year low of 41.7 percent, a lower home ownership rate than during the Great Depression of the 1930s.... A recent study by the Institute for Policy Studies and the Corporation for Economic Development notes that it would take 228 years for the average black family to amass the same level of wealth the average white family holds today. This gap will never close if America stays on its current economic path⁶².

In addition to the economic issues, many scholars agree that a far-reaching and overarching root issue that serves many of the other issues is a disease known as Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS):

If the mental health issues of a generation can affect the likelihood of mental health issues in future generations, what may have been the effects of slavery on current generations of slave descendants? Some scholars believe that the legacy of trauma from slavery can create Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS). This syndrome is a result of multi-generation trauma experienced by African Americans, due to slavery and experiences of racism and discrimination, which produces distinct psychosocial outcomes in later generations of descendants, irrespective to direct experience with slavery.⁶³

⁶² Iban, Eme. "The Current State of the Black Union: The Facts, the Stats, and the Solutions. *Information Brief Series, Cornell Youth Risk and Opportunity Lab*. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, 2017.

⁶³ Ibid.

An expert on the concept, Dr. Joy DeGruy defines PTSS as “... a condition that exists when a population has experienced multigenerational trauma resulting from centuries of slavery and continues to experience oppression and institutionalized racism today.”⁶⁴ Dr. DeGruy argues that there are three distinct behaviors or patterns of behavior that are the direct result of PTSS: Vacant Esteem, Ever Present Anger, and Racist Socialization.⁶⁵

The mental and emotional state of black people in America is catastrophic to say the least. In addition to the PTSS and the plethora of related issues affecting the black community, the trauma experienced on a daily basis as a result of police violence, murdering of innocent blacks, brutality and racism, the conditions in America are volatile, even more, explosive. Tabias Olajuawon expresses this unique state of being:

... we do not have the words or faculty to articulate the fire that emanates within our bones; gifting us with a source capable of birthing both revolutionary rage and cancerous infernos. We become combustible—living burning articulations of rage, feeling, and truth beyond language.”⁶⁶

It is important to carefully and strategically consider where the hope of Black people should be focused. Although it is not the responsibility of politicians to save Blacks in America, the systemic murder of Blacks and other related issues must be legally addressed and the white supremacist behaviors and racism corrected. However, as Malcolm declared “... once we are successful in unifying ourselves with our people all over the world, it puts us in a position where we no longer are a

⁶⁴ DeGruy, Joy. *Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome: America’s Legacy of Enduring Injury and Healing*. Portland, OR: Joy DeGruy Publications Inc., 121

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 121.

⁶⁶ Olajuawon, Tabias. “*Thinking Blackly*”: *State Violence, U.S. Law, and Legal Death Dealing*. <https://blackyouthproject.com/thinking-blackly-state-violence-u-s-law-and-legal-death-dealing/> (accessed May 15, 2018).

minority who can be abused and walked upon. We become a part of the majority".⁶⁷

The following statistics reflect the recent conditions that must be brought to the attention of the United Nations or some other international policing force, especially based on the inactivity of current President Donald Trump, his constituency, and politicians throughout the United States.

The current state is: One of out of three Black men will be captured and held in some type of state bondage in their lifetime. Black people make up 32 percent of all people killed by police, despite being only 13 percent of the population. We also make up 39 percent of those killed by police, where the victim is *not* accused of attacking the officer. Half of all people who died at the hands of police are surviving some type of mental disability. Racial minorities make up 62 percent of all unarmed people killed by the police, and this does not include those who are killed for exercising their right to bear arms⁶⁸.

There were riots in the 1960s but no revolution. James Baldwin's title *The Fire Next Time* is apropos for describing the coming revolution that has the potential of becoming America's second Civil War.⁶⁹ Whether literal revolution or ideological, the world must listen and learn from the Egun.

Theoretical/Conceptual Framework

Malcolm X was one of the most celebrated leaders in the black community. It is the work of this present research that seeks to extract the most applicable viewpoints of Malcolm for the purpose of considering how his historical analysis would apply to the problems facing the black community today. This research

⁶⁷ Perry, Bruce, ed. *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*. New York, NY: Pathfinder Press, 1989, 133.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Baldwin, James. *The Fire Next Time*. New York, NY: Vintage International, 1992.

argues that Malcolm X, when allowed to speak as an Egun (beloved ancestor) to those who are listening, there is extraordinary knowledge and wisdom that can be gained by the black community. Such teaching would provide a much-needed guide, a roadmap if you will, to lead the black community out of bondage once again.

The Yoruba people of West Africa believe that the ancestors, those departed spirits, “are the foundation of all things.”⁷⁰ To further understand the role of Malcolm X specifically as a voice speaking to those in the struggle today, more must be clarified in regard to the Egun:

They are the link between what is seen and not seen on the earth plane. You can talk to them and ask for their help and guidance when you need it. Because they were once alive as humans, they have a good understanding of our needs, desires, and wants even from the other side.... While the soul is here, it gathers wisdom and knowledge through its experiences on this plane. Africans believe that those who go before us make us what we are. When we walk on the Earth, we literally stand on the shoulders of those whose bodies have been committed to the soil, the water, and the wind. Our Ancestors influence our lives through heredity and human culture. However, there is an even deeper connection to the Ancestors as active spirits who continue to influence our lives.⁷¹

Similarly, possibly equally as important as the need for guidance from the Egun, there is a need to reconnect to the Elders of the community. Rare are the works, if any, which so intricately and passionately expose how that African life was as it is depicted in *The Coming*:

And after dancing, we sat at the feet of our elders and absorbed wisdom like tilled earth absorbs rain. We were taught the values of honesty and integrity, hard work and discipline. We heard stories of lazy farmers who planted crops but failed to weed them and consequently harvested very little. We heard stories of children who lied so often that, soon, no one believed anything they said. We heard stories of pretty women who became self-absorbed and ended up alone. We heard stories of ants that, in their

⁷⁰ Egun / The Ancestors, 1.

⁷¹ Ibid., 2.

diligence, never let others deflect them from their mission. We were told to beware of people who boasted about themselves. We were told never, ever, to eat without first giving thanks. We were told to respect life and all life forms. Day and night, our heads were filled with insight enough to last a lifetime. Every child heard it. We had no choice. In this way, they gave us the tools of wisdom. Yet, at times, we didn't use it."⁷²

In their unsuccessful attempts to destroy our connection to African consciousness and culture, the Europeans chose to separate the future slaves from their Elders. The Elders were left behind in preparation for the Middle Passage. The European hatemongers had no idea that even without the Elders, the power of the Egun would also serve to sustain the African people—their consciousness and their culture.

7 Degrees of Separation

Separation is a curious term. In a loving marriage there may come a time when two lovers decide that they must separate from one another. In a religious system there often comes a time when the Second Baptist must break off and separate from the First Baptist or the African Methodist Episcopal from the Methodist Episcopal, the sick from the healed – so many examples. However, what must be addressed today is the tearing asunder of a man – sometimes from his own consciousness. Sometimes that consciousness is separated from the soul of that man. Sometimes a man must separate from what he knows is wrong--no matter how many times he acted out the same wrongness on others. It is possible that this man finds that he must now separate himself from what he previously had no awareness was wrong at all. Malcolm X, that man who used to stand on the corner in

⁷² Black, 16, 17.

Detroit – in Harlem – carouse in the gutters as well as the clubs -- that man, having evolved into a leader of men, stood in the pulpit teaching other men.

Malcolm X confronted his angels and demons daily. When politics beckoned him to speak on the chickens coming home to roost, the Honorable Prophet Elijah Muhammad censored Malcolm X and challenged him to not speak a word on the political issues surrounding the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Malcolm X believed “that the violence that Kennedy had failed to stop had come back to him.”⁷³ Malcolm was torn. The need to address this most significant political issue pulled him on his left. On his right, the Honorable Prophet Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm’s loyalty to the Nation of Islam pulled. This was separation. Near the transition of his life, Malcolm found that in order to become el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz, he would stand in the midst of international leaders. In all of these degrees of separation and evolution Malcolm X found himself vomiting up the evil from within – drunken and oozing with poisons and humbly running to a new revelation of himself and his relationship to his people, his family and his God.

It is at this point in this writing that a supernatural phenomenon will occur. For those who choose to listen and believe, you will hear Malcolm sharing his truths with you from the ancestral realm as a beloved ancestor (Egun). Malcolm will speak in the first person voice. He will open his heart to you from the ancestral realm and share many of the missing pieces of his scattered, jigsaw puzzled life. Through these degrees of separation, we learn from the Egun that in times of war there will be betrayal; decisions for or against family; the decision to choose a particular strategic

⁷³ Karim, Imam Benjamin. *God’s Judgement of White America (The Chickens Come Home to Roost) Malcolm X*. https://www.malcolm-x.org/speeches/spc_120463.htm (accessed May 15, 2018).

ideology - *Black Nationalism or Pan-Africanism*; and evolving from one stage of life to another.

To hear and learn from the Egun, the following is an account that speaks to *now* from Malcolm, the departed - truths from the Egun.

I have journeyed a great distance to be with you today to commission you through my recognition of seven degrees of separation. Yes, seven degrees of separation.

Some would have thought that in my autobiography, shared with my dear brother Alex Haley, there would be nothing left to say. However, both Alex and myself may have been befuddled or, should I say, conned, by the commercialism of society at the time of the Grove Press publishing in 1965. Others would have imagined that the Oscar-nominated performance by another dear brother, Denzel Washington, served to answer any remaining questions about my brief life. However, I am here, with you, today to explicate my quondam life.

My journey began on May 19, 1925 and ended 40 years later. In the Holy Scriptures we are told "The Israelites had moved about in the wilderness forty years until all the men who were of military age when they left Egypt had died, since they had not obeyed the LORD." (The Holy Bible, Joshua 5:6). One might say, that I was cursed, and my life was spent wandering in a wilderness of sorts especially in view of my assassination. Others might say that I never got to see the Promised Land-- *that might be true*. However, too much is still unclear about who I was and who I became. It is through these *7 Degrees of Separation* that I hope to elucidate my journey from Malcolm Little to Detroit Red to Malcolm X to el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz.

Before I am allowed to share the 7 degrees – I must galvanize one of the critical reasons for this presentation. First, my political philosophy is rooted in what is now an ideology of human rights. This is in direct opposition to my previous radical, revolutionary stance on civil rights and the rights of the “so-called negro” as espoused under the teachings of the Honorable Prophet Elijah Muhammad. I find myself still appealing to the international world to actively and violently oppose the oppression of black people in the United States. The shooting and killing of innocent black people was prevalent during my time of physically walking the earth as it is now, as I walk the earth in my spiritual body – if that can be interpreted as such a thing. It is only through the change in law and policy that this horrific violence – the killing of the “so-called negro” can be completely nullified. It is only through the focusing of the eyes of the rest of the world on these injustices in America that the murders can stop. The policing system of this America must *be* policed by the righteous nations all over the world who view the current and consistent police brutality as an atrocity against African peoples in America!

Critique: a dangerous word. Critic: that much more dangerous. Both derived from the Greek (Kritike tekhnē) which means critical art (from the lauded Oxford Dictionary). Yes, yes, yes, I still find that in order to effectively articulate the white man’s language you must delve strategically into the linguistic history and European trappings to conclusively decipher the code found in their communication. So, we find the European-rooted word *critique* means to analyze in detail and to assess a thing. In doing so, one becomes a critic. In *Making Malcolm*, my beloved brother, Michael Eric Dyson, whose works on my life have been challenged and who has

challenged many of the works on my life, recorded the following from one of my last speeches:

I think all of us should be critics of each other. Whenever you can't stand criticism you can never grow. I don't think that it serves any purpose for the leaders of our people to waste their time fighting each other needlessly. I think that we accomplish more when we sit down in private and iron out whatever differences that may exist and try and then do something constructive for the benefit of our people but on the other hand, I don't think that we should be above criticism. I don't think that anyone should be above criticism.⁷⁴

I will speak to this issue of criticism later. For now, within the framework and context of academia and the related hallowed institutions, scholarly endeavors are rooted in critique and analysis. I do not apologize for being neither – that is – scholarly nor an academic, but if I allow the critique of me – I ask that you simply allow me to critique you. I mean fair is fair! Based on the assumption of approval, we will move forward in the critique and analysis of myself and of you – not only the black folks reading this work, but black folk throughout this nation, a nation that is still dominated by white supremacist oppressive racism. No, that has not changed! Not only did I not reach the promised land – but you didn't either!!!!!!! Who will take us there? Who will take us there?

Influences

I must admit that probably those who influenced my life more than any other were those white devils who cloaked themselves in hoods of fear – the KKK and the Black Legion – who not only burned down our home in Omaha, Nebraska, but burned down our home in Lansing, Michigan and killed my beloved father, the

⁷⁴ Dyson, 21.

Reverend Earl Little when he refused to stand down and become who they tried to force him to be. Earl Little was an uppity nigger and so was my mother! I know they were! These two Garveyites were crusaders in the name of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA and they raised eight black intellectual warriors. When they murdered my father, they murdered my mother, although she died many years later after being declared paranoid and confined to a mental institution. Paranoid! Yes, Paranoid! The same thing they tried to label me as: crazy and paranoid. I ask you this question: wouldn't you be paranoid if they burned down your house in Omaha and soon as you moved away to the supposed safety of Lansing, Michigan, they burned down your house there too – then they split your husband's body in half by crushing him under a rail car – wouldn't you be paranoid – wouldn't you?

**Separation One – From Malcolm Little to Detroit Red to Malcolm X to
Becoming el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz**

I was influenced by W.E.B. DuBois as equally as I was influenced by the streets of Detroit and New York City. I learned to read while I was in prison for robbery. This was the first degree of separation. I believe it was in Charlestown State Prison that I met *Bimbi*, Big John Bembry. The whole place respected Big John and I did too. He commanded respect with his words – with his wisdom. Prisoner #22843 – at the age of twenty years – they called me “Satan” but I read so much they gave me these glasses. I read W.E.B. DuBois, Shakespeare, Socrates, Fables of Aesop – and studied the lives of Gandhi and Nat Turner – but most importantly, I studied the teachings of the Honorable Prophet Elijah Muhammad. I had the audacity and

tenacity to write a letter to the President of the United States, Harry Truman, declaring my commitment to communism and opposing the U.S. involvement in Korea. That was probably my first involvement with the FBI as they opened a file on me back then and never closed it – to my recollection. In this first degree of separation was the birthplace of my journey to becoming el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz.

Separation Two – From *White Devils* to Black Nationalism to Pan-Africanism

Separation two refutes the popular opinion that I hated those whom I referred to as white devils. However, as I attempted to unify civil rights organizations, and negroes in all kinds of religions to come together to fight against police brutality – the same police brutality that just killed a young boy in Sacramento, California – I made my stance clear on the hatred of white people. Black people don't hate anybody, we are too busy trying to love ourselves. We love black people so much I am accused of hating the very white people who continually brutalize and oppress us – but black people don't have time to hate – we are too busy trying to survive.

I was a Black Nationalist then and I am a Black Nationalist now. Here we find another overlapping. For after my hajj – after my pilgrimage to Mecca and my travels to 14 different African nations and meeting with 11 African heads of state, I became a Pan-Africanist. I found that the restricted view of Malcolm X had to be expanded. In fact, I found that the 1955 Bandung Conference could have been and still could be a model for unifying black, brown and yellow people all over the world. It was my goal, through the OAAU that we would develop that model. So here is

where I take the opportunity to critique you – what are you? Who are you? Are you a Pan-Africanist or a Black Nationalist – or can you be both – a Pan-Africanist *and* a Black Nationalist?

Separation Three – From Dr. Martin Luther King to the

Idealism of Dr. Martin Luther King

There is a certain irony in my addressing the various positions I took with my brother Martin, as it was April 4, fifty years ago that he was murdered. I dare say that I have never met a man with the abundance of courage that Martin possessed. No one else dared to speak up against the criminal, nefarious United States, as they preyed upon the Vietnamese in the so-called Vietnam War. Perhaps, in his 1967 speech at Riverside Church, his reminding the world that the white and black soldiers fighting beside each other in that horrible theatre of war upon returning to the United States would not be able to sit beside each other at the same lunch counter was the final straw that resulted in his murder!

He and I enjoy each other's presence now more than ever. Martin admits he was wrong about many things. He realizes now that there is a time for violence. Violence took his life and it took mine! A few weeks ago, it took the life of that young boy in Sacramento! Didn't it? Didn't it? These daily killings have become quite quotidian in their occurrence and how they are viewed. One of the regrets that I touched on earlier was the fact that I was forced to publicly criticize my brother Martin. The irony in that early criticism is that we both ended up captured in the

web of the same ideology – the love for all humankind and fighting for the human rights of all people all over the world.

Separation Four – From My Spiritual Father

This leads me to probably the most regrettable separation – second to only one. Believe me I tried. Once I learned of my spiritual father’s misgivings – his transgressions – which I observed with my own eyes – I did the right thing. I confronted my own spiritual father – not with the rumors of others – not with judgment – but out of love. Not only did he provide me with some religious excuse for his behavior, never denying it, but he continued these behaviors even after I confronted him. His own son, Brother Wallace, admitted to his knowledge of his father’s behaviors with at least 3 young women who were his former secretaries. I would never have spoken publicly about my beloved spiritual father, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad’s sins, but I was tricked by those who I believed to be white devils back then and I criticized and ripped open the heart of the man I loved more than any other. This love was so great that this may be where Manning Marable found cause to imply some form of homosexual relationship.⁷⁵ The depth of my love for the man who gave me life is something that no one can understand unless they have felt such a love in their own heart for a spiritual father. I dare anyone to lower such an intense spiritual love to the levels of some sort of perverted sexual incestuous relationship.

⁷⁵ Marable, Manning. *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*. New York, NY: Penguin Group, 2011.

Separation Five – From the Nation of Islam to the MMI to the OAAU

Once again we have the protrusion of one degree of separation over another. Separation five was not only my own separation but the tearing asunder of the Nation – the NOI. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad propelled me to the forefront – he, the same one who gave me a voice – the same one who shut that voice down and censored me, forbidding me to speak about the *chickens who came home to roost*. It was through no fault of my own that thousands upon thousands followed me and the NOI struggled to get a few hundred to attend their meetings.

Knowing that there were so many true Muslims that believed in me and would die for me, I began the Muslim Mosque Inc. in Harlem. In doing so, I knew that this would draw the ire of the Prophet and his followers, and would create a definitive demarcation between myself and the NOI. After my change of heart and mind based on my pilgrimage and visitations in Africa, I returned to America and began the Organization of African American Unity based on the original Organization of African Unity, the international organization fighting for the human rights of Africans.

Separation Six – From My Beloved Family Betty Shabazz, Attallah, Qubilah, Ilyasah, Gamilah, Malukah & Malaak

This sixth separation is the degree that brings me the most regret of all. To the six of you, Attalah, Qubilah, Ilyasah, Gamilah, and the twins I never got a chance to see, I regret being torn between the calling on my life and the call of being a father. Just know this, as much as the world called me - as much as Africa called me

to her bosom, I never stopped being your father. In every step I took whether on 113th Street in Harlem to Nairobi, Kenya or Accra, Ghana, I took each step for you that you would never have to fear what you still fear – the brutality and violence -- the hatred – racism – oppression and all of the evils of white supremacy that you struggle with still – to this day. I regret more than anything that in all I did – it was all in vain. Nothing has changed! It never stopped! This is why I know that you listen to me speak to your hearts. You still shed tears of missing your father. I am so proud of all of you.

Attallah Shabazz, in the preface of my Autobiography you articulated so perfectly the love I had and still have for your mother, my beloved Betty. You poured your heart out in these words – shutting down the Marables and others who dared to lie on me – to lie on my beloved Betty – to try to separate with suspicion and condemnation what Allah had joined. I loved your mother with all my heart as I do each of you but as you stated so profoundly:

When people ask how my mother managed to keep my father's memory alive, all I can say is for my mother, he never left. He never left her. He never left us. My father's spiritual presence is what sustained my mother. And we, their children, were the beneficiaries of their timeless love for one another.⁷⁶

There is irony in the hell that I perpetrated, packaged and served not only as Detroit Red but also as Malcolm X. The irony being that as I shackled so many women in the chains of a fallacious Islam, I shackled my own beloved Betty and my six precious daughters. Patricia Hill Collins was not the only black feminist to call me out on my sexism. It was two extraordinary black feminists, Ransby and Matthews, who brought my own words into the midst of a very controversial discussion:

⁷⁶ Haley, Alex. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 2015, xi

I taught brothers not only to deal unintelligently with the devil or the white woman, but I also taught many brothers to spit acid at the sisters. They were kept in their places – you probably didn't notice this in action, but it is a fact. I taught these brothers to spit acid at the sisters. If the sisters decided a thing was wrong, they had to suffer it out. If the sister wanted to have her husband at home with her for the evening, I taught the brothers that the sisters were standing in their way; in the way of the Messenger, in the way of progress, in the way of God Himself. I did these things brother. I must undo them.⁷⁷

So not only do I say this to my beloved daughters; but I say this to every black woman all over the world: you are not a ragdoll. You are what every woman on the planet desires to be. There is no life without you. You are the most powerful source of energy and love on the face of the earth and all I can do now is ask forgiveness for things I said and did. Do you forgive me? Will you?

So, I understand that we have what is the so-called #METOO movement. Yes, the #METOO movement. White women are finally waking up to the perversion of their lovers, their husbands, their fathers, their uncles, their brothers, their co-workers, their coaches, their teachers, their sons, their supervisors, their politicians, their preachers, their President of the United States. White women are finally waking up and declaring they have had enough. It is remarkable that there is little mention of the black woman who started the movement.

There is little information on Tarana Burke, but this activist from Harlem began the movement over 10 years ago. After listening to the story of a young girl who was the victim of a rape by her mother's boyfriend, Burke decided to "take action by helping the communities where rape crisis centers and sexual assault

⁷⁷ Ransby, Barbara and Matthews, Tracye. "Black Popular Culture and the Transcendence of Patriarchal Illusions" In Guy-Sheftall, B. *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*. New York: The New Press, 1996, p. 530.

workers were not present, and “Me Too” was born.”⁷⁸ So, this too will go down in history as the #METOO movement started by a bunch of white women named Sally or Becky or Susan, but you won’t hear Tarana’s name – no you won’t! And you definitely won’t hear Anita Hill’s name mentioned – no – never! Now, listen carefully to what I have to say to you—listen carefully. I want to share with you two very dynamic issues related to the so-called #METOO movement. For you reporters, you might want to call this “A Tale of Two Hashtags”.

Back in the day—now, I’m not taking us back to the days of slavery when the white man used to rape black women all day long. That ole massah would see that black woman, black skin glistening, working hard in the field. He’d get his boy to bring that beautiful black woman to the cabin and he would rape her. Then the dirty dog would send her back out in the hot sun, in the field, probably pregnant with his child, to finish working. He’d eat the breakfast the black house slave prepared for her massah. That breakfast was so good massah want some more so he’d wink his eye and give that black woman the signal to meet him down at the cabin where he would rape her. But I’m not taking us back that far – no sir!

Let’s just go back in the ‘60s, and talk about how we dealt with sexual abuse in the black community. If a young girl had any kind of problem from a young boy, a man, her teacher, preacher, anybody in the community. First, let’s get this straight, black women know how to fight back, so there was very little raping going on in the

⁷⁸ Parker, Najja. *Who is Tarana Burke? Meet the woman who started the Me Too movement a decade ago.* <https://www.ajc.com/news/world/who-tarana-burke-meet-the-woman-who-started-the-too-movement-decade-ago/i8NEiuFHKalvBh9ucukidK/> (accessed May 15, 2018).

black community. However, if someone tried to sneak a kiss or get it wrong, first that black girl would run home and tell her daddy. 'Fore she got home she might run into Big Blue, or Domino, or SlapJack on the corner. Big Blue would ask that little black girl, "what you doin' out of school? Why you crying? Yo' daddy know you out here?" Before she could finish telling her story, Big Blue is up at the school house and grabbed the boy out of the classroom – beat him up real bad and made him apologize to the little girl and promise to never ever say another word to her. As a matter-of-fact, Big Blue grabbed the little boy up around the collar and took him home to his daddy and threatened the daddy and made him promise to leave town in 24 hours or Big Blue would be back to handle the daddy too! You see we didn't have time in the black community for that sick, perverted ideology.

Now keep in mind, this all took place before she could even get home to tell her daddy what happened! Once she got home to daddy, that little boy, if he hadn't moved out of town by then, he got another whippin' – the mother mighta whipped him too! The black family didn't play back then! No, they didn't!

My *Autobiography* records my words at my early stages as a leader in the Nation:

Beautiful black woman! The Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches us that the black man is going around saying he wants respect; well, the black man never will get anybody's respect until he first learns to respect his own women! The black man needs today to stand up and throw off the weaknesses imposed upon him by the slave master whiteman! The black man needs to start today to shelter and protect and respect his black women!⁷⁹

So, let's try to understand why these white women have taken over the #METOO movement for their soapbox. What do they have to gain? What is in it for

⁷⁹ Haley, Alex. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 2015, 225

the white woman? You see, the white woman has been putting up with this sexual deviance throughout their history. Look at the history of the European – the Greeks – the Romans – even their gods were perverted! So, if their gods were perverted how could those white people be anything more! I said if their gods were perverted how could those white people be anything more! So, if their President is perverted how could those white people be anything more! This man is recorded on tape! The news reporters all over the world reported that he gropes women. I can't even repeat the words he used! Let me explain something to you today – if a white man dare try to grope one of my daughters – he'd be dead, and I'd probably be dead too – the entire NOI would have to pull me off him!!!!!! But the white men allow this evil to exist in the so-called WHITE house! They support him! They the new slaves to the massah – yes massah this – yes massah that! What bothers me even more is that you, my own people allow this sickness to poison our own community! Some of you even voted for the nasty liar! Alright! Alright! Let me calm down.

Now I must say, before going any further, many of you have fallen asleep in this country. Many of you, now, have your colonial-style house in the suburbs with the 2-car garage. If you are fortunate to be together still, the husband is a doctor and the wife is a lawyer and your two black children go to the best schools. I understand, that lifestyle feels good to the so-called Negro, I understand. It is in this state of slumber that you find comfort in the U.S. Constitution. That is your comforter. At night, it keeps you warm, you wrap yourself and your family up in that old comforter. But I never was one to let my people sleep. As I did back then, I must do today – wake up! Wake-up! Wake-up!

... the laws here in America were made by white people for the benefit of white people. the Constitution was written by whites for the benefit of whites. It was never written for the benefit of blacks and when you read the Constitution I think in article 1 section 2 article 2 section 2 or section 1 one of the two -- it's in the Constitution it says that it classifies black people as three-fifths of a man three-fifths of a man subhuman -- less than a human being. It relegates us to the level of cattle, hogs, chickens, cows -- a commodity that could be bought and sold at the will of the master no it was written by whites for the benefit of whites and to the detriment of blacks and when our black man stands up talking about his constitutional rights he's out of his mind....⁸⁰⁸¹

It is specifically the 13th Amendment that “both banned and justified slavery in one fell swoop.”⁸² This is another diabolical plan to continue the legacy of slavery. I was there I know what prison is – it’s modern day slavery! Not only that, it is a system designed specifically to destroy the black race. Not only that, it is a system completely supported by the United States Constitution.

Now, let’s look at the 4th Amendment of this Constitution. You know, that’s the one that allows police officers in Georgia to curse out and violently drag a 65-year old black grandmother from her car in the dark of night.⁸³ You know, that’s the Amendment that allows ordinary traffic stops to end up with black men and women lying dead on the pavement. You know, the Walter Scotts and the Sandra Blands – look it up – what do you call it today? Back in my day it was a dictionary. Today

⁸⁰ Youtube.com. *Malcolm X Speaking about the Constitution*. <https://youtu.be/KMgObQcbh00> (accessed May 15, 2018).

⁸¹ usconstitution.net. *Constitutional Topic: Slavery*. https://www.usconstitution.net/consttop_slav.html (accessed May 15, 2018).

⁸² King, Shaun. *King: How the 13th Amendment didn’t really abolish slavery, but let it live on in U.S. prisons*. <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/king-13th-amendment-didn-abolish-slavery-article-1.2801218> (accessed May 15, 2018).

⁸³ Bratek, Rebecca. *Georgia officer resigns after dragging black woman, 65, from car*. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/georgia-officer-suspended-after-dragging-65-year-old-woman-from-car/> (accessed May 15, 2018).

you've got Google – Google it!⁸⁴ I couldn't stand on the street corner back in the day! Not that I wanted to, but I couldn't sit at the lunch counter with white folks back then. You can't use the bathroom at Starbucks today! That ridiculous U.S. Constitution – and you call it your comforter?

Now to hashtag number two. I understand that the police brutality in the United States has gotten to a point of no return. I understand they're killing and incarcerating black men wholesale. I also understand that some of you refuse to affiliate and protest these killings with the #Black Lives Matter movement because the women leaders of the movement are lesbians. Now, of course, when I was in the Nation, and during that time, homosexuality of any kind was spoken against. But I am here today to declare to you that there can be no such hypocrisy within the black community. What difference is the sin of the black preacher who steps down from the pulpit on Sunday morning and has sex with the choir director in his study? The next Sunday he hollers from the pulpit that homosexuality is a sin! Is that not hypocrisy?

It's time for revolution! We don't have time to sit back and count—who likes men—who likes women—or who likes both? The revolution is not about your sexual preference! The revolution is about fighting for the freedom of oppressed peoples all over the world! If I could, I would physically be at the forefront of the fight standing tall and strong with the sisters of the #Black Lives Matter movement! However, I am spiritually! You'd better join the revolution! Every chance you get you'd better stand

⁸⁴ Carbado, Devon. *From Stopping Black People to Killing Black People: The Fourth Amendment Pathways to Police Violence*, 105 Cal. L. Rev. 125, 2017, <http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/californialawreview/vol105/iss1/3> (accessed May 15, 2018).

and let the white man know that they must stop murdering our people! Take this fight to the United Nations and every other nation where there are black people and Africans and enlist their power to fight this threat to all humanity that is rooted in hate and racist ideology! It is time for revolution!

Now while addressing this #Black Lives Matter movement, little has been said, not even published, regarding the content of my last speech until *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*. On the very last pages of the book you will find this last

speech I ever gave. *Not just an American problem, but a world problem* was shared in Rochester, New York at the Corn Hill Methodist Church on February 16, 1965, and nothing was exceptional or remarkable about the text except I left you some clear, concise, strategic instructions. For those unaware, I share them with you today for this generation of revolutionaries. Please, listen carefully:

All the nations that signed the charter of the UN came up with the Declaration of Human Rights and anyone who classifies his grievances under the label of “human rights” violations, those grievances can then be brought into the United Nations and be discussed by people all over the world. For as long as you call it ‘civil rights’ your only allies can be the people in the next community, many of whom are responsible for your grievance. But when you call it ‘human rights’ it becomes international. And then you can take your troubles to the World Court. You can take them before the world. And anybody anywhere on this earth can become your ally.⁸⁵

You need to study guerrilla warfare. Get every book you can find on guerrilla warfare. There’s nothing wrong with saying that. Yes, it’s good to know everything. There’s nothing wrong with knowing that. Why, the government teaches you that.... Show you how to protect yourself. Not so that you can go out and attack someone. You should never attack anybody. But at the same time whenever you, yourself, are attacked you are not supposed to turn the other cheek. Never turn the other cheek until you see the white man turn his cheek.... If I’m going to be nonviolent, then let them be nonviolent. But as long

⁸⁵ Perry, Bruce, ed. *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*. New York, NY: Pathfinder Press, 1989, p. 183.

as they're not nonviolent, don't you let anybody tell you anything about nonviolence. No. Be intelligent.⁸⁶

This is the gift that Allah had waiting for me across the ocean. This was the answer to the problems facing black people, not only in America, but all over the world. This truth is what I had fought my whole life for—a way to liberate our people from the oppression of white supremacist racism. I found this truth and I pass it on to you. What will you do with it?

Separation Seven – Non-Separation

(if that can be considered a separation at all)

Finally, out of the seven, this final number seven is actually a non-separation if that can be considered a separation at all. Out of all the separations, I was never separated from my love for you, my people. Perhaps that was my downfall and the basis for all other separations – my love for you. It is because of my love for you, my people, that I am alive through you today. I am alive in you as you revolt against the hypocrisy! I am alive in you in your fight against police brutality! My love for you cannot let me die. My love for you forces me to speak through you to the masses. I am alive in you! I still fight with you and through you for freedom from the injustices – the hate – the violence that poisons the lives of black people still. But I promise you righteousness will prevail – by any means necessary – righteousness will prevail!

⁸⁶ Ibid, 151.

Conclusion

One of the most aggressive leaders throughout history, Malcolm X, based on evidence in scholarly research, would never have stood by silently while neo-Nazi's marched through the streets of America with their white supremacist leader, President Donald Trump, basically daring anyone to confront his racist and sexist policies and ideals (i.e., groping women and referring to nations such as Haiti and other countries as "shithole" countries). However, undoubtedly it would be Malcolm X who would dare challenge the Fruit of Islam (Nation of Islam security forces) and ask where is the Nation of Islam today? Evidence of Malcolm's bridled power and leadership is described in the account of the brutal beating of Johnson X. Hinton by the police in Harlem:

... Harlem was teetering on the brink of a serious race riot Tuesday as a member of the Moslem faith [Hinton] battled for his life in Sydenham Hospital after having his skull crushed by a policeman in what appeared to be a flagrant case of police brutality.⁸⁷

After Minister Malcolm and several others persuaded the police to let them speak to Hinton at the hospital, word of the incident began to spread throughout Harlem.

The Moslems followed. They formed a solid line a half block long in front of the 123rd St. station house and waited orders from their leaders. Their discipline amazed police and more than one high ranking officer expressed growing concern.⁸⁸

It was not until Malcolm had spoken with police and verified Hinton's condition that "he gave one brief command to his followers and they disappeared as

⁸⁷ Marable, Manning and Felber, Garrett, eds. *The Portable Malcolm X Reader*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2013, 84.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 86.

if in thin air. One amazed policeman on seeing this said ‘no one man should have that much power.’”⁸⁹ Michael Eric Dyson challenged Malcolm’s absence in comparison to Martin’s presence at times of actual confrontation against all forms of white supremacy. However, it is Dyson that offers additional explanation of how Malcolm’s ties to Islam prevented more confrontational and possibly violent involvement:

Officially, the Nation of Islam was forbidden by Elijah Muhammad to become involved in acts of civil disobedience or social protest, ironically containing the forces of anger and rage that Malcolm’s fiery rhetoric helped unleash. This ideological constraint stifled Malcolm’s natural inclination to action, and increasingly caused him great discomfort as he sought to explain publicly the glaring disparity between the Nation’s aggressive rhetoric and its refusal to become politically engaged.⁹⁰

Based on these accounts of the extraordinary leadership power in Malcolm, it is probable that Malcolm would have done all within his power to prevent such a thing as a *President Trump* and were neo-Nazis to attempt to march in Newton, Georgia or Charlottesville, Virginia, or anywhere else in the United States there would have been violent confrontation, to say the least. It is evident that, based on scholarly research of the history of Malcolm X, his teachings and viewpoints have powerfully and positively impacted today’s African American community and black and African people throughout the world. There is no doubt that additional research would greatly build upon what has been found in this present work. Hopefully, those who prepare for any form of revolution, whether literal or ideological, will

⁸⁹ Ibid, 87.

⁹⁰ Dyson, Michael. *Making Malcolm: The Myth & Meaning of Malcolm X*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

seek the wisdom of the Egun and make strategic decisions based on that African consciousness and connection.

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NOTE: Additional evidence can be found in links to articles and video footage in Appendix A.

APPENDIX A

Links to Video Footage and Articles: Blacks Being Victimized: Police Shootings, Calling the Police on Innocent Black People, and More

Why the Waffle House shooting should get us talking about white privilege - Chicago Tribune -

<http://www.chicagotribune.com/lifestyles/stevens/ct-life-stevens-tuesday-white-privilege-0424-story.html>

To understand America's race issue, look at its fast-food chains – Quartz

<https://qz.com/1276175/waffle-house-lawsuits-have-alleged-racism-against-black-customers-for-decades/>

Black Customer's Violent Arrest Causes Waffle House Boycott

<http://www.grubstreet.com/2018/05/black-customers-violent-arrest-causes-waffle-house-boycott.html>

Georgia officer resigns after dragging black woman, 65, from car - CBS News

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/georgia-officer-suspended-after-dragging-65-year-old-woman-from-car/>

Professor: It's not what black people do, it's who we are

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zUbJxyBEhbQ>

Commentator: You can't be black and comfortable
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8nO2Y-gpM7A>

Second black Yale student says same white student called police on him too

<https://youtu.be/GL9u1CgzlWg>

Buck Sexton: If police can execute an innocent man on video, none of us are safe |

TheHill

<http://thehill.com/opinion/civil-rights/364218-buck-sexton-if-police-can-execute-an-innocent-man-on-video-none-of-us>

Police violently arrest innocent black man while white suspect they were supposed to catch escapes

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/police-racial-bias-black-man-arrested-white-suspect-escapes-london-metropolitan-investigation-bike-a8156586.html>

Who Was Killed by Police in 2017? More People Died From Officer Shootings

Despite Black Lives Matter Movement

<http://www.newsweek.com/who-killed-police-2017-760870>

Police killed more than 100 unarmed black people in 2015 — Mapping Police

Violence

<https://mappingpoliceviolence.org/unarmed/>

The Privilege of 911

<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/05/in-america-calling-911-is-still-a-privilege-of-being-white.html>

Stop Calling the Police on Black People Just Because You're Annoyed; You're

Gonna Get Someone Killed

<https://www.theroot.com/stop-calling-the-police-on-black-people-just-because-you-1825486062>

The cases where US police have faced killing charges - BBC News

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-30339943>

Calling the police on black people isn't a Starbucks problem. It's an America problem.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/calling-the-police-on-black-people-isnt-a-starbucks-problem-its-an-america-problem/2018/04/18/e871d504-4330-11e8-ad8f-27a8c409298b_story.html

Calling the Police on Black People Can Put Them in Danger

<https://www.teenvogue.com/story/calling-the-police-on-black-people-can-put-them-in-danger>

A Pennsylvania golf club called the cops on black members for taking too long - Chicago Tribune

<http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-pennsylvania-golf-club-calls-police-black-women-20180423-story.html>

At Yale, Starbucks and everywhere else, being black in America really is this hard (opinion)

<https://www.cnn.com/2018/05/10/opinions/while-black-at-yale-and-starbucks-owens-opinion/index.html>

#VintageShoppingWhileBlack: New York Lawyer and Daughter Handcuffed After Being Accused of Stealing

<https://www.theroot.com/vintageshoppingwhileblack-new-york-lawyer-and-daughte-1825979700>

Video Released After Teen Tased and Killed by Michigan State Troopers

Underscores Law Enforcement's Utter Contempt for Black Americans

<https://www.theroot.com/evidence-released-after-detroit-teen-tasered-and-killed-1825979824>

[White Woman Calls Security on 'Suspicious Man With a Baby' at Park in Washington, DC](https://www.theroot.com/black-father-stopped-by-security-after-white-woman-call-1826082634)
<https://www.theroot.com/black-father-stopped-by-security-after-white-woman-call-1826082634>

How Far Have We Come Since Mike Brown's Death Two Years Ago? | Hip-Hop and Politics

<http://hiphopandpolitics.com/2016/08/09/far-come-since-mike-brown-death-two-years-ago/>

From Ferguson to Baton Rouge: Deaths of black men and women at the hands of police

<http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-police-deaths-20160707-snap-htmlstory.html>

Video Shows Sacramento Police Shooting Unarmed Black Man In Grandparents' Backyard : The Two-Way : NPR

<https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/03/22/596051907/video-shows-sacramento-police-shoot-unarmed-black-man-in-grandparents-backyard>

Arrest Of 2 Black Men At Starbucks Sparks Protests | On Point

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wusa9.com | DC Police: Stopping, frisking innocent people necessary to fight crime

<https://www.wusa9.com/mobile/article/news/local/dc-police-stopping-frisking-innocent-people-necessary-to-fight-crime/65-518657856>

A Black Yale Student Was Napping, and a White Student Called the Police - The New York Times

<https://mobile.nytimes.com/2018/05/09/nyregion/yale-black-student-nap.html>

From Stopping Black People to Killing Black People

<https://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4348&context=californialawreview>

Endarch: Journal of Black Political Research

Call for Papers

Endarch: Journal of Black Political Research is a peer-reviewed journal published by Clark Atlanta University Department of Political Science in partnership with Atlanta University Center Robert Woodruff Library. The journal is an online publication.

Endarch seeks to reflect, analyze, and generate activity, which will lead toward the expansion, clarification, and edification of black political thought. We seek to publish high quality works regarding the experiences of African peoples relative to political activities which are investigated, critiqued and evaluated in a manner supportive of greater understanding and constructive developments, and we thereby contribute original scholarship to the field of political science.

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Book reviews should be between 3 to 5 pages. Essays should be limited to approximately 10 pages plus references. Article length should be between 20-30 pages plus references. All manuscripts should be accompanied with a short biography of the author, a cover sheet with the title of the article, author's affiliation, mailing address, phone and fax numbers. Submission of manuscripts implies a commitment to publish in *Endarch*. Accepted manuscripts are subject to editorial modifications.

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