

# MUSING ON TWO APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF MALCOLM AND MARTIN: A REVIEW ARTICLE

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In 1991 James H. Cone published *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream or a Nightmare*. This was the first thorough, systematic scholarly study on Martin Luther King, Jr. (the Christian) and Malcolm X (the Muslim). Cone made much of Martin's integrationism and Malcolm's black nationalism,<sup>1</sup> placing these in an either-or relationship, or what Baldwin characterizes in *Between Cross and Crescent* as the "Cartesian model" of comparing, contrasting, and interpreting Malcolm and Martin. Baldwin's co-author, Amiri YaSin Al-Hadid, agrees with Cone's approach (246, Ch. 7).<sup>2</sup> Influenced in part by Sterling Stuckey, Baldwin examines and rejects this approach as too narrow (7, 360n27). He argues for a more open-ended or both-and approach. At any rate, this difference in approach to the study of Martin and Malcolm is one of the major differences between the book by Cone and that of Baldwin and Al-Hadid. Although we learn much about Malcolm and Martin through the dualistic approach of Cone and Al-Hadid, what we learn about these two giants is even more enhanced by Baldwin's wholistic or dialectical approach, which more easily and clearly acknowledges commonalities between them.

The dialectical approach is more consistent with King's method than Malcolm's. As a personalist and one formally trained in philosophical studies, King adopted as his own the method of synopsis and the criterion of coherence as the test of truth. This means that he was generally adamant about the need to look at all sides of an issue, taking into consideration all relevant facts on the way to discerning truth. This approach necessarily means that one has to be willing to critically examine what might otherwise be left out if an either-or method is utilized.

In any event, this review article focuses not only on *Between Cross and Crescent*, but at various places will point to differences and similarities with the aforementioned pioneering study by Cone. Although I have already noted (and will return to)

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one important difference, viz., the methodological approach to the study of Martin and Malcolm, there are others that may be highlighted, which may in some ways be a result of the methodological difference. There are some important similarities to be noted as well. After a brief summary of basic themes in *Between Cross and Crescent*, I note the significance of chapter one, and then discuss a number of early hopes that I had while this book was still in the manuscript stage.

Baldwin comes to this text as an accomplished scholar and writer, having already written three well received books on King, in addition to being the lead writer in the recently published *The Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Boundaries of Law, Politics, and Religion* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2002).<sup>3</sup> Although Al-Hadid has not published as much, he clearly has risen to the occasion, as his chapters are generally well written, despite some irregularities in his writing style, especially when quoting the work of others. By and large the reader will find that the authors have worked well together and have contributed significantly to scholarship on Malcolm and Martin.

The contents of this book are based on more than ten years of collaboration, research, lectures, and debates between Baldwin, a Christian and professor of religious studies at Vanderbilt University, and Al-Hadid, a Muslim and professor and chair of Africana Studies at Tennessee State University. The collaborative effort of these two men of different religious faiths is one of the most outstanding features of this book. It is, among other things, an excellent model for interfaith dialog, especially since September 11, 2001. Although one of the authors, Al-Hadid, favors the either-or approach to interpreting Malcolm and Martin (ch. 7), the other rejects this as too narrow, and favors instead the both-and or dialectical model (ch. 1). Nonetheless, the authors argue that both models have strengths and limitations. "To assume that one or the other approach alone is sufficient is to ignore the different levels of creativity that Malcolm and Martin brought to their tasks as ministers, theologians, and agents of cultural and social change" (2).

The authors identify four themes that frame their interpretations of Martin and Malcolm. One of these is that the men were staunch prophetic critics of their culture, and yet each was also captive to it, e.g., regarding their perspective on women and children (chs. 4-6). Significantly, the authors place Malcolm and Martin in the tradition of eighth century ethical prophecy. Both had deep religious roots and convictions and believed in a Creator-God who expected justice to be done in the world. A second prominent theme is the centrality of interfaith dialog as an important means to the survival-liberation-empowerment of Afrikan Americans in particular, and all people in general. Interfaith dialog is shown to be an excellent means to the establishment of *ummah* or the beloved community (chs. 2-3). A third theme that frames this book is the idea of Malcolm and Martin as international socio-cultural icons and the ethical obligation of Afrikans both on the Continent and throughout diaspora to be internationalists (chs. 7-9). The fourth theme is the ideal of *ummah* or the beloved community as the highest ideal that both Martin and Malcolm sought. Although they differed on the means to achieve this, both men were committed to this goal. Malcolm, of course, came to his commitment only after his pilgrimage to Mecca and his travels in Nigeria and Ghana.

This book is comprised of an Introduction and nine chapters. The Table of Contents informs the reader that the Introduction and chapter nine are co-authored; that Al-Hadid

contributed chapters 2, 4, 7, and Baldwin the remainder. Having agreed to this division of labor the authors avoid the difficult task of achieving consistency in style, approach, and format in the writing. One who is already familiar with Baldwin's writing easily identifies his contributions to the text. One also observes a sharpness of writing style. Al-Hadid's chapters tend to be written in a more conversational style, which, in my judgment adds to the richness of the text.

I consider chapter one to be pivotal inasmuch as it actually frames the entire book. Here Baldwin seeks to situate Malcolm and Martin culturally in the Afrikan American community and the broader society of the United States. Against the regional or non-dialectical approach of his co-author (and James Cone), Baldwin takes great pains to show that Martin and Malcolm came from essentially the same black, southern flavored culture. He is skeptical of the common tendency of scholars to suggest that the northern culture in which Malcolm was reared was substantially different from the southern Georgia culture wherein Martin was reared. Among other things, Baldwin calls attention to the fact that when blacks migrated North they did not leave southern culture behind. Instead, they took much of it with them. It is not that the southern culture blacks carried North was not influenced by that region. It was, even as what they took with them influenced northern culture. There was, then, mutual influence between the two. More specifically, Baldwin reminds us that Malcolm's father was reared in Georgia and that he took much of southern black culture North with him. Malcolm and his siblings would have been exposed to and influenced by this. Baldwin therefore reasons that both Malcolm and Martin were exposed to all major aspects of southern culture, including the cooking, music, religion, folklore, etc. This is why Baldwin, against Al-Hadid (246) and Cone,<sup>4</sup> rejects the regional approach to interpreting the two men. He contends instead that such an approach makes it more difficult to see and understand the two men in all their complexities. A more wholistic cultural approach helps one to avoid some of the simple dichotomies, e.g., that Martin was influenced by the South, Malcolm was not; or that Malcolm was nationalistic/Pan Afrikanist, and Martin was integrationist. The truth is that when we look closely at both men, *the different periods of their lives*, how they reacted to the forces and events of their time, and how they influenced each other, it becomes clear that at different stages in their development each had nationalistic/Pan Afrikanist tendencies, as well as integrationist ones.

This book takes a different path than traditional scholarship on Malcolm and Martin, individually or together. There is some attention to methodological and philosophical issues, but this is not the authors' primary focus. Rather, more attention is given how these two giants actually came to their mature religious, theological, ethical, and philosophical stances through their own development in Afrikan American culture and their actual day to day contributions to the human rights struggle. Their daily activity in the struggle, and their love for their people necessarily made them critics of American culture, even as they developed their own visions of a radically transformed America which would embrace all of its citizens equally, and make possible equal access to a radically different socio-political-economic system that would be based on the principles of sharing and equality.

During the time that Baldwin and Al-Hadid were writing *Between Cross and Crescent* I told an editor who was considering the work for publication that since the appearance

and excellent reception of Cone's book on Martin and Malcolm, nothing like it had been published. Books on King continued to proliferate, while Malcolm continued to receive far too little attention by scholars. No book length comparative study had been done on the two men since 1991.

What Baldwin and Al-Hadid have done is quite remarkable and original. Indeed, the very fact that the book is a result of more than ten years of research, discussion, and lectures by a Christian and Muslim scholar who exhibit deep interest in and knowledge of both Malcolm and Martin is in itself original. The research that supports this book is simply exceptional. The work is also informed by the authors' participation in "The Great Debate: The Ideas and Views of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. & Malcolm X," a project developed at Tennessee State University. This means that the book is also informed by the contributions of the authors' students. It is also of interest to note that in all but a few instances the authors place Malcolm's name first whenever his and Martin's name are presented together. The rationale for this seems simple. Martin has gotten the lion's share of scholarly attention since his assassination. Baldwin and Al-Hadid want to highlight Malcolm whenever they can in the text.

The authors take seriously the idea that both Martin and Malcolm were fundamentally religious men. In this sense we may say that all that each did in the human rights struggle was first and foremost for religious or theological reasons. That is, Malcolm and Martin were not politicians as such, although each surely understood the role and significance of politics in the struggle for social justice, and that religious or not, persons are political whether they like it or not. They were both radical-active political, not passive-political. That is, they were intentionally political, not political by default or by failure to be proactive. It is significant that what each man sought to contribute to the struggle was in fact grounded in his deep faith and belief in a God who creates all and loves all equally. Therefore, the sense we get from this book is that any effort toward the achievement of human rights was not for either Malcolm or Martin a political move first and foremost, but a religious one. For to believe in a loving and Creator-God, as both men surely did, necessarily meant for them that they must intentionally fight for the human rights of their people in particular and all people in general, not primarily because of the human rights clause in the Declaration of Independence or because of the Constitution of the United States,<sup>5</sup> but because God imbues in persons inalienable human rights.

My own sense, therefore, is that *Between Cross and Crescent* is primarily a discussion on Martin's and Malcolm's religious faith and how it informed their critique of both American and international cultures, as well as their perspectives on religion and faith, women, marriage, family, children and youth in the struggle, manhood, each other, black nationalism, integration, and the beloved community. The authors show that Malcolm and Martin had strong opinions about most of these issues, each of which is significant both to the Afrikan American community (regardless of religious faith) and the broader United States community. For example, the issues of manhood, sexism, children, and youth continue to be burning issues in both the Afrikan American community and the United States. Although their perspectives on some of these, e.g., women, were fraught with contradictions, Martin and Malcolm contributed something that may challenge our own thinking and practices today.

Baldwin contributed chapter 6, "A New Spirit of Resistance: Malcolm and Martin on Children and Youth." This is a very significant chapter, not least because it is the first extensive discussion of the topic to appear in a book. The author reveals the extent to which Martin and Malcolm had a deep concern and love for Afrikan American children and youth. Each placed great significance on the role of youth and their contributions in the human rights struggle, although we find that Malcolm was quite critical of Martin's inclination to allow children and youth to be on the front line of demonstrations in Birmingham, Selma, and other places. Malcolm clearly expressed a strong sense of appreciation for what youth, especially those in college (whether white or black) could contribute to the struggle. Baldwin makes it clear that both men would be deeply saddened by the phenomenal amount of intra-community violence and murder being perpetrated today by (especially) black youth (321). Neither Malcolm nor Martin would be surprised about such violence today, however, for each was aware of its existence to a frightening degree in northern ghettos. Criticizing Martin's teaching blacks to be nonviolent toward the white man, Malcolm spoke of how easily blacks are provoked to violence against each other.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, reflecting on his experience of living in slumlord housing in Chicago and talking with young black male gang members, Martin lamented their proneness to violence toward each other.<sup>7</sup> Baldwin suggests both what the two men would feel about intra-community violence today and what each would propose as a remedy.

Al-Hadid contributed chapter seven, "The Great Debate: Multiethnic Democracy or National Liberation." As observed earlier, although Cone presented an excellent discussion on black nationalism and integrationism in his book, he basically framed the discussion as a dualism, with Malcolm representing the black nationalist tradition of David Walker and W.E.B. DuBois, and King the integration tradition of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. Al-Hadid essentially frames his discussion similarly, i.e., as an integrationist-nationalist dualism. Acknowledging the importance of integrationism and nationalism/Pan-Afrikanism for Martin and Malcolm, Baldwin prefers not to frame the two as a dichotomy, maintaining that this is too simplistic when discussing the contributions of two men of such complexity. Al-Hadid, as well as Cone, makes it clear that near the end of their lives Malcolm and Martin were moving closer together in terms of ideology. In like regard, they each make a sound case for the view that increasingly one cannot study Martin and hope to adequately understand him without also paying serious attention to the life, thought, and work of Malcolm, and vice versa (241). However, Baldwin makes the important point that to frame the discussion as Al-Hadid, Cone, and other like-minded scholars do is too narrow and fails to take seriously enough the fact that Malcolm's and Martin's views on Africans and Afrikan Americans actually overlap at many points. Consequently, he maintains that the integration/Pan-Afrikan dichotomy is a false one. Baldwin makes the point.

Because Malcolm's and Martin's views on Africans and blacks in the diaspora overlapped at many points, the words *nationalist* and *integrationist*, when perceived as mutually exclusive, are simply inadequate for understanding them. To say that Malcolm was a Pan-Africanist and Martin was not is equally inadequate and misleading, especially in view of their emphasis on the common cultural characteristics and

problems shared by all people of African ancestry. Unlike Malcolm, Martin was never a full-blown black nationalist or a Pan-Africanist, but his perspective clearly contained elements of Pan-Africanism and black nationalism. Perhaps more important is the fact that both he and Malcolm ultimately transcended the limits of black nationalism and Pan-Africanism to embrace the idea of the essential oneness of humanity (349-350).

Baldwin clearly prefers a more dialectical model for discussing these categories (integrationism and Pan-Africanism) in relation to Malcolm and Martin.

In *Martin & Malcolm & America*, Cone devoted considerable attention to Islamic ideas and practices in the Nation of Islam. However, he did not focus on the ideas and practices of the orthodox or Sunni Islam that Malcolm adopted after his trip to Mecca.<sup>8</sup> In *Between Cross and Crescent*, however, we find an extensive discussion on basic ideas and practices in both the Nation of Islam and Sunni Islam. Here we see Al-Hadid at his best. He is well acquainted with the basic ideas and practices of the Black Muslims as well as Sunni Islam. Al-Hadid provides much helpful information for the novice. Although very critical of the Nation of Islam's interpretation and practice of Islamic ideas, he does not allow himself to be critical of orthodox Islamic views and practices. This is especially interesting in light of the emphasis this book places on the need to be critical in discussions on Malcolm and Martin. In any case, to paraphrase Aristotle the scholar is bound to honor and care for truth more than for uncriticized ideas and theories.<sup>9</sup> Nor does Al-Hadid challenge Malcolm's lack of criticism regarding various Sunni Islamic ideas and practices. For example, writing from Mecca, Malcolm said that Islam "is the one religion that erases the race problem from its society" (264). Al-Hadid cites this, but does not offer a criticism of what was clearly evidence of Malcolm's apparent naiveté. Malcolm seemed to imply that a religious idea itself is capable of eradicating racism. Baldwin, on the other hand, rightly considers this to be an "amazingly naïve" stance. He maintains further that Malcolm "seemed unaware that Muslims, like Christians, were guilty of promoting prejudice and oppression based on skin color and religious and cultural differences" (103). Martin, according to Baldwin, was much more realistic regarding the matter of what religion is capable of. "Malcolm's essentially uncritical attitude toward orthodox Islam blinded him to a problem that became increasingly obvious to Martin, namely, that no religion can transform a people as long as they benefit from and are truly determined to maintain structures of evil and injustice" (103).

But just how naïve was Malcolm? It is true that he wrote passionately about what appeared to him as color-blindness in Mecca. But what of the fact that up until that time Malcolm had been a very observant and incisive social critic? I wonder with Richard Brent Turner whether Malcolm's initial reaction holds up only at a superficial level. Turner wonders "how such an astute observer of human affairs could have missed the patterns of racial separatism that had such deep roots in the Islamic world."<sup>10</sup> Turner is convinced that on a deeper level Malcolm must have been aware of the racism among Arab Muslims of the northern Afrikan region. Commenting further on Malcolm's conversion from being a Black Muslim to a Muslim and how this affected his perception of race in Sunni Islam, Turner writes: "Perhaps the euphoria of conversion to the former interpretation of the religion and the solidarity created by the hajj had temporarily blinded him to the racial and ethnic realities of the lands where orthodox Islam was predominant."<sup>11</sup> Turner goes on to say that dur-



ing a radio call in show not many months after his return to the United States, Malcolm, when challenged on the point, exhibited an awareness of racism in the Arab Islamic world.

*Between Cross and Crescent* gives us a good sense of why Malcolm and Martin needed each other, despite the fact that powerful forces in this country combined to keep them apart; worked against their getting the opportunity to do what both knew privately he must do, namely, get together with the other and to find ways of combining their efforts in common cause. The book does an excellent job of showing how the oldest daughters of Martin and Malcolm, Yolanda and Attalah, respectively, have joined as partners to continue to spread their fathers' message, as well as to remind all that to be pro-Martin or pro-Malcolm does not preclude being pro- the other. Cone actually refers to the work of Yolanda and Attallah, but does not discuss their effort<sup>12</sup> as Baldwin does (236, 422n82).

Regrettably, Al-Hadid does not think that either Malcolm or Martin was sexist, but rather contends that each simply espoused views about women that were based primarily on their respective religious traditions (137, 141). Baldwin, having grown beyond an earlier reluctance to do so, concludes unequivocally that both were in fact sexists (168, 170, 182, 403n48). He then presents substantial evidence to support this conclusion. Martin and Malcolm were sexists, even as they persistently fought for the survival, liberation, and empowerment of the Afrikan American community as a whole. In *Martin & Malcolm & America* James Cone unequivocally named both Malcolm and Martin as sexists.<sup>13</sup>

Prior to reading *Between Cross and Crescent* I had hoped that Al-Hadid, the Muslim, would identify Malcolm and Martin's sexism and whether he thought either or both would have responded positively to the women's movement had they lived longer. I had also hoped that rather than devote separate chapters to women the authors would have co-authored the discussion. I think this would have been instructive in a different way, for the reader would have gotten a real good sense of how a male Christian and Muslim scholar responded to each other's understanding of Malcolm and Martin's perspective on women. The critical exchanges between the two authors would have been most instructive. In any case, I wish Al-Hadid had been critical in his discussion on the two men's perspectives on women, rather than simply appeal (uncritically) to their religious traditions for an explanation. The problem Al-Hadid is not willing to acknowledge at present is that sexism is embedded in the religious and cultural ideas, values and practices of both orthodox Islam and Christianity (as well as other religious faiths).

Although Cone provides an excellent discussion on and evidence of Malcolm and Martin's sexism, one cannot help noticing that he did not include feminist and womanist reactions and challenges to it. *Between Cross and Crescent* does not merely present Martin and Malcolm's perspectives on the public and private roles of women, but an instructive discussion on how feminists and womanists have responded to Malcolm and Martin. Mary Daly is identified as the first white feminist to point to the moral limitations of both men, a challenge that other white feminists have been reluctant to take up in light of their recognition of their own precarious moral position relative to race and class issues. However, black feminists and womanists charted their own path in this regard. Baldwin names and discusses the perspectives—some critical, some not—of a number of black feminists and first and second generation religionist womanists, e.g., Pauli Murray, Flora Wilson Bridges, Jacquelyn Grant, Katie Cannon, Delores Williams, Cheryl J. Sanders, Kelly

Brown Douglas, Emilie Townes, Gloria Joseph, Angela Y. Davis, and Patricia Hill Collins (193-199). The discussion in *Between Cross and Crescent* goes well beyond what we find in Cone's book. In the first place we see not only the much more extensive discussion of Baldwin in chapter five, but there is also Al-Hadid's discussion in chapter four, although he denies that Malcolm and Martin were sexists. But even this discussion by a Muslim scholar, framed as it is in denial, is instructive, albeit negative, on the issue of black sexism. It is a reminder of how difficult it is to be self-critical when one's group benefits from the oppression of others. Moreover, by the time Cone published *Martin & Malcolm & America*, black feminists and womanists had already begun voicing and writing (all too briefly) about their perspectives on Martin and Malcolm. This notwithstanding, Cone does not, like Baldwin, include a discussion of some of these perspectives. A hope is that by including these voices Baldwin's effort will trigger an ongoing inter-gender discussion among Afrikan Americans on Malcolm and Martin's perspectives on women and what ought to be happening around this issue and actual private and public relationships.

Cone was also interested to show how Malcolm and Martin were moving toward each other near the end of their lives. At one place he writes that because of his disappointment with most white moderates, Martin was "moving toward Malcolm X's separatism...."<sup>14</sup> According to Cone this disappointment reached its peak during the planning for the Poor People's Campaign. King had by this time experienced a face of racism in Chicago's Marquette Park area that he said could not even be likened unto the most blatant racism in Alabama and Mississippi.<sup>15</sup> He was now convinced that racism is embedded in the structures of this nation. In this regard King was much more realistic than he had been prior to Chicago and ensuing events.

Cone maintained that King was rethinking his attitude toward separation and integration. He rightly held that King continued to be adamant about rejecting separation of the races as a goal because of his conviction of the fundamental social and interdependent nature of persons. By now King understood more clearly the need for blacks to have a solid power base, and he concluded that from a strategic standpoint the best means of accomplishing this might be through temporary separation of the races. This would allow blacks the opportunity to unite and organize among themselves. This, King held, is a viable means for blacks to be integrated into power. He saw temporary separation not as an ethic, but as a political strategy.<sup>16</sup>

Baldwin, influenced by Lawrence Mamiya, wrote that Cone made more of this notion of the temporary separation of the races than he should have; that it was essentially a statement that King made in passing (306, 308-9, 326, 423n85). While there is no question that Cone's was too strong a claim that near the end King was moving closer to Malcolm's separatism, Baldwin downplays its significance too much. It is simply misleading to say, as Cone did, that King was moving toward Malcolm's separatism. Although Cone did clarify this somewhat by quoting King's statement to Jewish Rabbis that from a strategic standpoint it might be politically feasible for blacks to temporarily separate from whites in order to form a significant power base (e.g. in black caucuses), the reader is left with the impression that after Mecca Malcolm continued to advocate unequivocally for absolute separation of the races. This was not the case, since the post-Mecca Malcolm moved much closer to King's concept of the thoroughly integrated society. In addition, Cone did not make clear enough that as



one who was absolutely adamant that the universe hinges on a moral foundation and is fundamentally good and communal in nature, King could never have advocated anything other than the briefest strategic separation of the races. Both this fundamental sense of the goodness and sociality of the universe, as well as the nature of United States society and the history of black-white relations, convinced King of the unreasonableness of any permanent or absolute separation of the races. Baldwin rightly challenged Cone's claim, but in doing so he implied that Cone read more into King's statements about the possible need for the temporary separation of the races than King actually intended. My own sense is that Cone was mistaken only to the extent that he failed to clarify more fully what King meant.

*Between Cross and Crescent* does not devote much attention to Martin's moral behavior, or more specifically, his extramarital relationships. Baldwin introduces the subject, but does not linger on it. Instead, he goes on to cite the concerns raised by a number of womanists and other black feminists. All in all, however, not more than one full page is devoted to it. I do not get the sense that Baldwin's aim is to minimize the significance of this matter, but rather to suggest that although a limitation, it should not detract from the importance of the contributions that King made nationally and internationally, and the fact that all things considered he remained faithful to what he believed to be God's call and expectation that he stand up for justice and righteousness for the least. A number of King scholars, e.g., David Garrow,<sup>17</sup> Taylor Branch,<sup>18</sup> and Michael Eric Dyson,<sup>19</sup> have already focused very heavily on King's personal moral behavior. This notwithstanding, at the end of the day it was Martin Luther King, Jr. who stayed the course and tragically fell victim to a 30.06 slug.

In his discussion on four early Church Fathers, Bertrand Russell marveled at the fact that at a time when the empire was crumbling as a result of poor administration, the presence of large numbers of barbarians, and the unjust treatment of the masses, these men were more concerned about the personal moral behavior of consenting adults than actually saving the nation and insisting that justice be done. By and large they were more concerned about encouraging virginity in women than ridding the empire of unjust political practices and large numbers of barbarians. Russell put it this way.

It is strange that the last men of intellectual eminence before the dark ages were concerned, not with saving civilization or expelling the barbarians or reforming the abuses of the administration, but with preaching the merit of virginity and the damnation of unbaptized infants.<sup>20</sup>

Martin chose to save the nation, indeed the world, although with other consenting adults he dropped his guard in the area of personal morality. Suffice it to say that I find the criticisms by black feminists and womanists of Martin's sexual behavior more credible than those made by white males who have benefited (and continue to benefit) materially from such criticisms, even as they refuse to acknowledge their own unearned white male privilege at the expense of Afrikan Americans.

One expects that there will be both agreements and differences of opinion between Baldwin and Al-Hadid. This is as it should be, especially considering their different religious backgrounds and mental and social grids. What is significant, I think, is that an Afrikan American Christian and an Afrikan American Muslim were able to effectively col-

laborate in the production of *Between Cross and Crescent*. This book opens the door to considerable expanded conversation, discussion, research, and writing. Anybody who takes either Martin or Malcolm seriously must see *Between Cross and Crescent* as required reading. Clearly influenced by Cone's earlier text on Malcolm and Martin, the book by Baldwin and Al-Hadid stands very tall on its shoulder.

#### NOTES

1. James H. Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream or a Nightmare* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991), 1-17, 57, 246-271.
2. Page numbers in parentheses are to *Between Cross and Crescent* only.
3. The other three authors include the writer of this review article, Barbara A. Holmes, and Susan Holmes Winfield.
4. Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America*, 57.
5. Indeed, I have argued in a number of places that historically the human rights clause in those documents did not include persons of black Afrikan descent. Moreover, even today one is hard pressed to prove that the clause includes Afrikan Americans and people native to this country. Lewis V. Baldwin acknowledges my influence on his own work in this regard. See his *The Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr: The Boundaries of Law, Politics, and Religion* with Rufus Burrow, Jr., Barbara A. Holmes, and Susan Holmes Winfield (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), ix, Chapters 1-3, 6.
6. Steven Clark, ed., *Malcolm X Talks to Young People: Speeches in the U.S., Britain & Africa* (New York: Pathfinder, 1991), 50-51.
7. See Stephen B. Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1982), 392.
8. Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America*, 160-180.
9. Aristotle said: "But in the interest of truth, one should perhaps think a man, especially if he is a philosopher, had better give up even <theories that once were> his own and in fact must do so. Both are dear to us, but it is our sacred duty to honor truth more highly <than friends>." See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* Translated, with an introduction and notes, by Martin Ostwald (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1962), 10.
10. Richard Brent Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 213.
11. Ibid., 216.
12. Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America*, 259.
13. Ibid., Chapter 10.
14. Ibid., 232.
15. See Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 413.
16. See Cone's discussion in *Martin & Malcolm & America*, 234-235.
17. See David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1986), Chapter 7, especially 361-362, 374-377.
18. See Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 239, 242, 860-862.
19. See Michael Eric Dyson, *I May Not Get There With You: The True Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: The Free Press, 2000), Chapter 8.
20. Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945), 366.