Epigraphs

The Husia teaches that we must emulate the excellence of our ancestors, study their wise teachings, great works and good deeds in everyday life, and struggle to embody and add to the legacy they’ve left. It states that the wisdom of the ancestors are “teachings for life, instructions for well-being and flourishing, for directing one on the path of life and causing one to flourish on earth.” And we are to “love learning, seek after truth,” and constantly bring forth that which is useful for the people and the future.

--[Maulana Karenga, “The Sacred Narrative Of Africans”, Los Angeles Sentinel, 11-14-13, pp.6-7]

Foreword

We need to study the lessons of the Pan-Africanism Movement of the last two centuries, develop its good points and discard its mistakes. One of the most tempting mistakes for sectarian minds is to think that any one person has the solution to the multitude of problems that confront us as a race of people. Certainly not Du Bois, certainly not Nkrumah; and not even Garvey the Great, was able to display that humanly impossible omniscience. This anthology aims to help correct that mistake by showing us a sample of the range of wise thoughts that have emerged from the many different terrains of the Pan-African struggle for liberation from slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism.
As these selections show, much intellectual work has been done by Pan-Africanist thinkers in the two centuries since 1791. However, their work has not been collected and made available for tackling the many tasks of Pan-Africanism.

As these selections show, useful insights have been supplied into such nitty-gritty issues as mental independence; “Independence or death”; criticism and self-criticism; the (Black) Race First principle; racial honor, racial self-reliance, racial unity, racial solidarity, racial privacy; our implacable white enemies—Arab and European; economic decolonization; cultural liberation; Afrocentric education; Black power; leadership and followership; war; charity; propaganda; polygyny; racism/Negrophobia; Marxism and blacks; re-Africanization; Afrocentrism; people’s democracy; Black African weaknesses; the Pan-African Congress; the national army; collective security; cultural renaissance; the lure of Marxism; integrating ancestral African values into contemporary African life; race and class; the one-drop-rule; justified prejudice; the extermination of the Black race; Negrocentricity; scientific socialism; communalism; socialism and racism; ethnofederalism, ethnic autonomy and African unity; Kwanzaa and unity; Diaspora-Homeland relations; and much else.

These are some of the nitty-gritty issues we must grapple with, the engineering details we must think through, if we are to move beyond the affirmation of lofty sentiments and vague ambitions, and actually get down to building the structures for attaining the objectives of Pan-Africanism.

I urge other Black African scholars to contribute to this effort by searching through the Pan-Africanist literature and compiling anthologies of the wisdom they find therein. Then, the next generation of Pan-Africanists will have anthologies to educate them on the tenets and ideas and best practices of Pan-Africanism, and so be spared the misfortune of intellectual orphans who start out in a vacuum of ideas, as if they have no heritage to draw from.

Please Note: This is a work in progress. I shall continue to add to it as I find more words of Pan-Africanist wisdom. So, treat this as a preliminary report.
The dates in the format < 19xy-19xz > are the dates, if known, of the person quoted; the date in the format (19yy) is the date, if known, of the statement just quoted.
Chinweizu’s commentaries are in red bold italics. They are comments or bald statements or summaries of positions that, when the anthology is completed, will be argued and demonstrated in mini essays. Some of these comments elaborate on, and some amend, the quoted statement.
--Chinweizu

Section A
Examples of ideas (principles, doctrines and tasks) formulated by Black thinkers as the lessons from the rich experience of Black struggles against imperialism, slavery, colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism, both in Black Africa and the diaspora.
In the last two centuries of Black peoples’ struggles against imperialism, racism, enslavement, colonialism and neo-colonialism, many doctrines and principles have been formulated and various tasks have been set that capture the lessons of the liberation experience. Since they are derived from the practice of Black African liberation, and are guides to the practice of Black African liberation, these ideas belong among the resources of a Pan-Africanism whose project is the liberation of black Africans, whether or not their articulators were avowed Pan-Africanists. They should be harvested and used to equip the minds of Pan-Africanists. Below are a few:

A1] Boukman’s call:

“Throw away the symbol of the god of the whites who has so often caused us to weep, and listen to the voice of liberty, which speaks in the hearts of us all.”
--[Boukman, <d. 1791>, (1791), quoted in C.L.R. James, Black Jacobins, p. 87]

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A2] “the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.”

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A3] “Black people reject this [Bantustan idea fundamentally because] . . . it is a solution given to us by the same [white] people who have created the problem. . . and [Blacks] are beginning to rid their minds of imprisoning notions which are the legacy of the control of their attitudes by whites.”

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A4] “in order to feature well in this game of power politics, [we Blacks] have to use the concept of group power and build a strong foundation for this”

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A5] On our racial privacy:

a) “We demand complete control of our social institutions without interference by any alien race or races.”
--[UNIA, “Declaration of Rights of the Negro peoples of the world”, 1920, P&O, II: 140]

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b) “. . . give the Negro race of Africa a chance to develop unhindered by other races.”
--[Resolution of the 1st Pan-African Congress, (1919)]

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A6] On practice of racial privacy by firmly excluding all whites from our group:

As Dessalines put it

“What have we in common with that bloody-minded people? Their cruelties compared to our moderation – their color to ours – the extension of the seas which separate us – our avenging climate – all plainly tell us they are not our brethren; that they will never become such. And if they find asylum among us, they will still be the instigators of our troubles and our divisions.”

--[Dessalines, <d.1806>, (1804), quoted in Jacob Carruthers, Irritated Genie, p. 124]

A7] Black/Sub-Saharan Africa as the Africa of Pan-Africanism:

a) Garvey’s United States of Black Africa.

It is for you to decide; it is for the British government to decide; it is for the French government to decide, it is for the governments of Belgium also and of Portugal and of Spain, all in conference with us, to decide what part of Africa they will place at the disposal of the natives so that they can live in peace in their own native land. . . . There are certain parts of Africa in which you cannot live at all; now it is for you to come together and give us a United States of Black Africa.


b) Sub-Saharan/Black Pan-Africanism--Du Bois’ advice to Nkrumah:

“Ghana must on the contrary be the representative of Africa, and not only that, but of Africa below the Sahara desert. . . . Ghana should lead a movement of black men for Pan-Africanism, including periodic conferences and personal contacts of black men from the Sahara to the Indian Ocean. . . . a new series of Pan-African Congresses should be held; . . . The new series of Pan-African Congresses would seek common aims of progress for Black Africa. . . . I pray you, my dear Mr. Nkrumah, to use all your power to put a Pan-Africa along these lines into working order at the earliest possible date”


Du Bois was being historically correct in urging a Black or Sub-Saharan Pan-Africanism. The captives transported from Africa to the Americas were Negroes, and
they had been procured from Sub-Saharan Africa. The Trans-Atlantic slave ships called only at the Sub-Saharan coasts of Africa. They did not call at the Mediterranean coast of North Africa or at the Atlantic coast of Morocco. They did not procure and transport any whites—Arabs or Europeans—only Negros. Hence the ancestors of the African-American Diaspora did not include Arabs, but were only Negros from Sub-Saharan Africa. **Hence the homeland of the diaspora Africans is not the whole continent but only Sub-Saharan Africa. And that is the correct Africa of Pan-Africanism.**

But, for reasons best known to himself, (possibly the strong blancophilia—aspiration to whiteness—that also manifested in his choice of white Arab and very light octoroon-type African mothers for his children, and in his marked preference for close white advisers and white personal assistants when he could have had Ghanaians or other black Africans in those intimate positions) Nkrumah disregarded this historically sound advice from the founder of the Pan-African Congress, and proceeded to inaugurate a multi-racial, Afro-Arab, whole-Continent brand of Pan-Africanism. In fact, but for their refusal to attend his 1958 Conference of Independent African States (CIAS), even the European whites of Apartheid South Africa would have been included in Nkrumah’s strange brand of anti-colonialist Pan-Africanism. Many confusions have been spawned by this multiracial Continentalism: such as Black Diasporans defending our white Arab enemies (such as Gadafi and his Libyan Arabs) who are white settlers occupying North Africa, on the ground that they live in Africa and therefore are Africans and of legitimate concern to Pan-Africanism. Which is like Pan-Africanism defending the Boers—the European settler-colonialists who occupy South Africa.

--Chinweizu

c) Nyerere on **Sub-Saharan Pan-Africanism:**
[emphases, in **bold italics** added by Chinweizu]

And the new leadership of Africa will have to concern itself with the situation in which it finds itself in the world of tomorrow—in the world of the 21st century. **And the Africa I'm going to be talking about, is Africa south of the Sahara, Sub-Saharan Africa.** I'll explain later the reason why I chose to concentrate on Africa south of the Sahara. . . . Europe, Western Europe, is very wealthy. It has two Mexicos. One is Eastern Europe. . . . Europe has a second Mexico. And Europe's Second Mexico is North Africa. North Africa is to Europe what Mexico is to the United States. North Africans who have no jobs will not go to Nigeria, they'll be thinking of Europe or the Middle East, because of the imperatives of geography
and history and religion and language. *North Africa is part of Europe and the Middle East.*

Nasser was a great leader and a great *African* leader. I got on extremely well with him. Once he sent me a Minister, and I had a long discussion with his Minister at State House here [Dar-es-Salaam], and in the course of the discussion, the Minister says to me, "Mr. President this is my first visit to Africa". North Africa, because of the pull of the Mediterranean and I say history and culture, and religion, North Africa is pulled towards the North. When North Africans look for jobs they go to Western Europe and Southern Western Europe, or they go to the Middle East... 

Africa, South of the Sahara is different, *totally different.* 

*Africa South of the Sahara is isolated.* That is the first point I want to make. Africa South of the Sahara is totally isolated in terms of that configuration of developing power in the world of the 21st Century — on its own. There is no centre of power in whose self-interest it's important to develop Africa, *no* centre. Not North America, not Japan, not Western Europe. There's no self-interest to bother about Africa South of the Sahara. Africa South of the Sahara is on its own. *Na sijambo baya.* Those of you who don't know Swahili, I just whispered, “Not necessarily bad”. That's the first thing I wanted to say about Africa South of the Sahara. African leadership, the coming African leadership, will have to bear that in mind. You are on your own...

The second point about Africa *and again I am talking about Africa South of the Sahara*; it is fragmented, fragmented. *...Africa south of the Sahara is isolated. Therefore, to develop, it will have to depend upon its own resources basically. Internal resources, nationally; and Africa will have to depend upon Africa. The leadership of the future will have to devise, try to carry out policies of maximum national self-reliance and maximum collective self-reliance. They have no other choice. ...The small countries in Africa ...should come together. ...If we can’t move*
towards bigger nation-states, at least let’s move towards greater co-operation. This is beginning to happen. And the new leadership in Africa should encourage it.”


As we can see, Garvey and Du Bois were both agreed on Sub-Sahara/Black Africa as the Africa of Pan-Africanism. But Nkrumah, for reasons still undetermined, went his own way and inaugurated his multi-racial, African and Arab, continentalist Pan-Africanism. In fact, had Strijdom and Vorster accepted his invitation to his CIAS in 1958, Nkrumah would have included Apartheid South Africa in his peculiar brand of Pan-Africanism. Nyerere, like the other Black African leaders who founded the OAU in 1963, went along with the multi-racial, continental Pan-Africanism that Nkrumah had already set in motion in 1958. But shortly before he died, Nyerere made a case for Sub-Sahara Pan-Africanism. Thus we have three of the four greatest leaders of 20th century Pan-Africanism in agreement, leaving Nkrumah isolated in his peculiar version which, unfortunately, became institutionalized in the OAU.--Chinweizu

A8] Black is beautiful:

a) When you say “black is beautiful” what in fact you are saying to him is: man, you are okay as you are, begin to look upon yourself as a human being.

--[Steve Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p.104]

b) I am a Negro. I make absolutely no apology for being a Negro because my God created me to be what I am, and as I am so will I return to my God, for He knows just why He created me as He did.

--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1923), P&O, II: 212-213]

A9] On the practice of Black Unity by upholding the “one-drop rule”:

a) I have seen two classes of men, born to cherish, assist, and succour one another—mixed in a world, and blended together . . .Blacks and Yellows [mulattos], whom the refined duplicity of Europe for a long time endeavored to divide: you, who are now consolidated, and make but one family. . . [shall be] known under the general name of Blacks.

--[Dessalines. <d.1806> (1805), quoted in Irritated Genie, pp.79, 100]
b) “The program of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is that of drawing together, into one universal whole, all the Negro peoples of the world, with prejudice toward none. We desire to have every shade of color, even those with one drop of African blood, in our fold; because we believe that none of us, as we are, is responsible for our birth; in a word, we have no prejudice against ourselves in race. We believe that every Negro racially is just alike, and therefore, we have no distinction to make”
--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1923), P&O II, 55]

A10] The Race First (Negro First/Black race first) principle:

a) “In a world of wolves one should go armed, and one of the most powerful defensive weapons within the reach of Negroes is the practice of race first in all parts of the world.”
--[Negro World editorial, July 26, 1919.—most probably penned by W. A. Domingo, the then editorial writer of Negro World. But the idea, in the form “Negro First”, seems to have originated, ca. 1917, with Hubert H. Harrison, a prominent Harlem lecturer and activist who was to become editor of Negro World in 1920 after Domingo’s dismissal from the job. (See Race First p. 317)]

b) you can do no less than being first and always a Negro, and then all else will take care of itself.

c) Be Black, buy black, think black, and all the rest will take care of themselves.

d) We believe in the supreme authority of our race in all things racial.
--[UNIA, “Declaration of Rights of the Negro peoples of the world”, 1920, P&O.II: 137]

e) Any leadership that teaches you to depend on another race is a leadership that will enslave you.
A11] On Black Power:

a) A man, without force, is without the essential dignity of humanity. Human nature is so constituted, that it cannot honor a helpless man, although it can pity him; and even this it cannot do long, if the signs of power do not arise.  

b) A race without authority and power is a race without respect.  
   --[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1923), P&O, I:2]

c) Black Power is a doctrine about black people, for black people, preached by black people. I'm putting it to my black brothers and sisters that the colour of our skins is the most fundamental thing about us.  

A12] On Power as the basis of Freedom

a) He [Toussaint] bought 3,000 guns from America. He armed the laborers. At reviews he would snatch a gun, wave it, and shout, “Here is your liberty!”  
   --[Toussaint L’Ouverture, <d. 1803>, (1801), quoted in Black Jacobins, p.262]

This was Toussaint’s way of teaching his people the maxim later articulated in 1938 by Mao Zedong as “Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”. --Chinweizu

b) “We are free today because we are the stronger. The Consul (Napoleon) maintains slavery in Martinique and in Bourbon; we will be slaves when he becomes the stronger.”  
   --[Toussaint (1799?) explaining why he disobeyed Napoleon’s order that on the flag of the San Domingo army an inscription should be written proclaiming that the Blacks owed their liberty to France. See Irritated Genie, p.60; and The Black Jacobins, p.233, 234]

A13] On putting Power in the hands of the people

We must constantly go forward to put power into the hands of our people, to make a profound change in the life of our people, even to put all the means for defence into the hands of our people, so that it is our people who defend our revolution. This is what revolutionary democracy will be in fact tomorrow in our
Anyone who rules his people but fears the people is in a bad way. We must never fear the people.  

A14] **On the Black Solidarity principle:**

“as long as black people anywhere continue to be oppressed on the grounds of their color, black people everywhere must stand together in opposition to that oppression.”


A15] **On what to respect and honor—service, not acquisitiveness:**

TANU intends to create a society that reserves “its highest respect and its highest prizes for those whose life and work demonstrate the greatest service, not the greatest acquisitiveness.”


A16] **On the ‘African inferiority’ stigma:**

[We have to] clear from [our] minds the stigma that anything African [is] inherently inferior and degraded.

--[CLR James, <1901-1989>, (1963), *Black Jacobins* p.402]

A17] **On the need for cultural liberation to complete the political liberation:**

It is not enough to have expelled from your country the barbarians who have for ages stained it with blood. . . . These generals, who have conducted your struggles against tyranny, have not yet done. The French name still darkens our plains; everything recalls remembrance of the cruelties of that barbarous people . . . Our laws, our customs, our cities, everything bears the characteristics of the French . . . The French still have a footing in our island! and you believe yourselves free and independent of that republic . . .

--[Dessalines, <d.1806>, (1804), in *The Irritated Genie*, p. 123]

**Hence, Black Africa is not free and independent while Europe or Arabia still has a cultural footing in our minds.**--Chinweizu
A18] On the principle of absolute mental independence:

All decisions we take . . . are taken with absolute independence in our way of thinking and acting. This is one of our sacrosanct principles, which we must defend at all costs, . . . our party should be independent in its way of tackling questions and of answering them.


A19] On our duty to struggle against our own weaknesses:

one type of struggle we regard as fundamental is . . . the struggle against our own weaknesses. . . . The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology, on the part of the national liberation movements, . . . constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses, if not the greatest weakness, of our struggle against imperialism.

---[Amilcar Cabral, <1924-1973>, (1966), Unity &Struggle pp. 121,122]

*For a sampling of these weaknesses, see B82 below--Chinweizu*

A20] On “Irreplaceables”

Nobody is indispensable in this struggle; we are all needed but nobody is indispensable. If someone has to go and goes away and then the struggle is paralysed, it is because the struggle was worthless. The only pride we have today, that I myself have, is the certainty that, after the work we have already done, if I were to go away, to be stopped, to die or disappear, there are those here in the Party who can carry on the Party's task. If this were not so, then what a disaster; we would have achieved nothing. For a man who has an achievement that only he can carry on has not yet done anything. An achievement is worth while to the extent that it is an achievement of many, and if there are many who can take it up and carry it on, even if one pair of hands is taken away.

---[Amilcar Cabral, <1924-1973> (1969), Unity &Struggle p. 96]

A21] Two Principles of Afrikan culture

In acting to build [new] institutions [to address the crises in Afrikan communities], and the cultural ideological consensus necessary to their survival, two principles that are fundamental to Afrikan culture come into play. Those principles are (a) the primacy of the family and the collective before the individual, and (b) the primacy of duty before rights.
A22] On the paramount function of culture:

The most essential function which a culture must serve [is] survival!

A23] On the doctrine of racial self reliance:

You will be the guardians of the liberty you cherish
--[Dessalines, <d.1806>, (ca. 1804), quoted in *The Irritated Genie* p.80]

A24] The Danger Point –Extermination of the Negro race:

**SHALL THE NEGRO BE EXTERMINATED?**

When it is considered that the great white race is making a herculean struggle to become the only surviving race of the centuries, and when it is further considered that the great yellow race under the leadership of Japan is making a like struggle, then more than ever the seriousness of the situation can be realized as far as our race is concerned. If we sit supinely by and allow the great white race to lift itself in numbers and in power, it will mean that in another five hundred years this full grown race of white men will in turn exterminate the weaker race of black men for the purpose of finding enough room on this limited mundane sphere to accommodate that race which will have numerically multiplied itself into many billions. This is the danger point. What will become of the Negro in another five hundred years if he does not organize now to develop and to protect himself? The answer is that he will be exterminated for the purpose of making room for the other races that will be strong enough to hold their own against the opposition of all and sundry.

**An appeal to the Intelligentsia**

The leadership of the Negro of to-day must be able to locate the race, and not only for to-day but for all times. It is in the desire to locate the Negro in a position of prosperity and happiness in the future that the *Universal Negro Improvement Association* is making this great fight for the race's emancipation everywhere and the founding of a great African government. Every sober-minded Negro will see immediately the reason why we should support a movement of this kind. If we will survive then it must be done through
our own effort, through our own energy. No race of weaklings can survive in the
days of tomorrow, because they will be hard and strenuous days fraught with
many difficulties.

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THE TRUE SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM—1922

As far as Negroes are concerned, in America we have the problem of lynching,
peonage and dis-franchisement.

In the West Indies, South and Central America we have the problem of
peonage, serfdom, industrial and political governmental inequality.

In Africa we have, not only peonage and serfdom, but outright slavery,
racial exploitation and alien political monopoly.

We cannot allow a continuation of these crimes against our race. As four
hundred million men, women and children, worthy of the existence given us by
the Divine Creator, we are determined to solve our own problem, by redeeming
our Motherland Africa from the hands of alien exploiters and found there a gov-
ernment, a nation of our own, strong enough to lend protection to the members of
our race scattered all over the world, and to compel the respect of the nations and
races of the earth.

Do they lynch Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans or Japanese? No. And
Why? Because these people are represented by great governments, mighty nations
and empires, strongly organized. Yes, and ever ready to shed the last drop of
blood and spend the last penny in the national treasury to protect the honor and
integrity of a citizen outraged anywhere.

Until the Negro reaches this point of national independ-
ence, all he does as
a race will count for naught, because the prejudice that will stand out against him
even with his ballot in his hand, with his industrial progress to show, will be of
such an overwhelming nature as to perpetuate mob violence and mob rule, from
which he will suffer, and which he will not be able to stop with his industrial
wealth and with his ballot.

You may argue that he can use his industrial wealth and his ballot to force
the government to recognize him, but he must understand that the government is
the people. That the majority of the people dictate the policy of governments, and
if the majority are against a measure, a thing, or a race, then the government is
impotent to protect that measure, thing or race.

If the Negro were to live in this Western Hemisphere for another five
hundred years he would still be outnumbered by other races who are prejudiced
against him. He cannot resort to the government for protection for government
will be in the hands of the majority of the people who are prejudiced against him,
hence for the Negro to depend on the ballot and his industrial progress alone, will
be hopeless as it does not help him when he is lynched, burned, jim-crowed and
segregated. The future of the Negro therefore, outside of Africa, spells ruin and
disaster. . . .

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At the present time the world is not producing enough food to feed all its inhabitants. The strong are fed and the weak starve. That is why there are famines in certain countries, even though those countries produce certain things for human consumption. The strong go there and take the food and send it home just as how Great Britain and France go into Africa, take out the products and ship them away to feed Europeans and leave Africa to starve. The strong will always live at the expense of the weak.

This rush for territory, this encroachment on lands, is only a desire of the strong races, especially the white race, to get hold of those portions and bits of land necessary for their economic existence, knowing well that in another two hundred years, there will not be enough supplies in the world for all its inhabitants. The weaker peoples must die. At present the Negroes are the weakest people and if we do not get power and strength now we shall be doomed to extermination.


This is the core of Garveyism, the paramount issue that Garvey alone identified, an issue that put him head, shoulder and torso above all the Negro leaders of his time.

Garvey was concerned, not just with the worldwide ending of Negro slavery, peonage, inequality—social, political, economic etc., and Negrophobia (anti-Negro racism). Like the other Negro leaders, he too was concerned with all these problems, but above all, he was concerned with the additional problem of preventing the future extermination of the Negro race, which he estimated could happen in another five hundred years if Negroes did not build the Negro power to forestall it. In that paramount concern, he was unique among the Negro leaders of his time and since. That was a manifestation of genius.

A century ago, alone of all the Negro leaders, Garvey discerned that Negroes were drifting heedlessly towards a much greater problem than any they had ever faced. And he further discerned that, if successful, the integration being sought as the solution for the obvious problems by Negro integrationists of all political sects—conservatives, liberals, socialists, communists—would only result in white mob pressures that would hasten the day of Negro extermination. He pointed out that, with minority black populations in diaspora countries staying in close contact and rivalry with white majorities and demanding “social equality, political equality and industrial equality”, then when a crisis arises where the white man has “a problem to feed his own children, [and] to take care of his own flesh and blood” [P&O, II:106-107],

“It is only a question of time when the entire white race will be inflamed against the Negro and all weaker peoples not sufficiently strong and organized to hold their own in the competition of life.” [P&O, II: 44]

Whereas for Du Bois, “The problem of the 20th century was the problem of the color line,” for Garvey, the paramount problem of the Negro race, in the 20th century
and beyond, was the danger of extermination which he saw lurking in ambush five hundred years up the road.

Whereas the other Negro leaders of his time, for lack of his foresight and penetrating insight, were focused on what were the by-then-obvious but in reality secondary problems, Garvey found the only solution to all the problems put together—extermination, inequality, slavery, peonage, Negrophobia—and that solution was Black power in all its dimensions, in all localities, and backed up globally by a Negro superpower in Africa. [See A 30] As he summarized it in 1922, the solution was “the race’s emancipation everywhere and the founding of a great African government.”

Garvey’s “great African government” was what political science would today call the core state of the Black World. Even his much misunderstood and ridiculed Back-to-Africa project was not just for diaspora Negroes to escape from their sufferings in the Americas but for the main purpose of their initiating the building of that black superpower/core state in Africa—his proposed United States of Black Africa.

Compared to his rivals in Negro leadership and their successors, his penetrating insight into the dangers gathering in the centuries-distant future, the global scope of his activities, the thematic comprehensiveness of his projects, and his genius in focusing on the fundamental remedy for the totality of ills afflicting Negroes, made him a keen-sighted giant among blind dwarves.

Even today, a century later, that danger of extermination has not vanished; it has not even diminished or receded. If anything, it has come much closer than the five centuries Garvey estimated it would take to arrive—what with the AIDSbombing of black Africa in the early 1980s by the USA and the World Health Organization, WHO; and what with the present taking of Black Africa’s land by non-Africans who know its value far better than the current African misleaders and gangsterment. All things considered, the problem of Negro extermination should be the paramount problem in the minds of all blacks today, but it is not. And it should concentrate the minds of all Pan-Africanists and take their focus away from the subsidiary problems that they are exclusively addicted to talking about. Any Pan-Africanism today that is not focused on the problem of Negro extermination, whatever else it concerns itself with, is grossly inadequate.

It must be understood that Garvey was both the Marx and the Lenin of the Black race. Just as Marx, in his Das Kapital, Communist Manifesto and other writings, gave the European working class an ideology for ending their fundamental problem of capitalist exploitation, Garvey, in his Philosophy and Opinions, Message to the People and other writings, gave us Negroes a profound ideology for solving our fundamental problem of race-powerlessness. And where Lenin, with his Bolshevik Party, was the organizer of white working class power in Russia, Garvey, with his UNIA, was the organizer of black race power globally. We forget that to our cost. Garvey’s organizational task was much bigger than Lenin’s, and could not be accomplished in
just one lifetime. Lenin died at 54, Garvey at 53. What might Garvey have done had he lived another 10 years—till 1950? Pan-Africanism would almost certainly have focused on the Black power project after 1945.

The pity is that Garvey’s United States of Black Africa project has not been attempted since 1957 when it finally became possible for Black Africans to start to build it. It is our monumental loss that Garvey had no successors in 1945 to pick up the project and drive it forward. What happened instead in 1945 was that Garvey’s old and defeated adversaries, the Black Marxist-integrationists, led by Padmore and Du Bois, and later by Nkrumah, captured and distorted Pan-Africanism, diverted it from addressing the fundamental problem of Negro powerlessness, and sidelined Garveyism for the rest of the 20th century. Since 1945, Pan-Africanism, in the form of the Pan-African Congress jamborees, has been led by class-struggle-obsessed Marxist-integrationists who are ideologically and emotionally blind to the danger of the extermination of the Black race. That is how come, after six decades of restored autonomy, Black Africa is, in 2013, less powerful, both absolutely and relatively, than it was in the 1920s.

Garvey’s wake up call to the black race has not woken us up for a whole century. If we mean to survive, it should wake us up right now!

If you are black, you are awake or “conscious” only while you recognize what Garvey called “the danger point.”
--Chinweizu

A25] On racial self-fulfillment:

A race of people is like an individual man; until it uses its own talent, takes pride in its own history, expresses its own culture, affirms its own selfhood, it can never fulfill itself.
—[Malcolm X, <1925-1965>, (19cv)]

A26] On the principle of “Independence or death!”:

a) I took up arms for the freedom of my colour, which France alone proclaimed, but which she has no right to nullify. Our liberty is no longer in her hands: it is in our own. We will defend it or perish.
—[Toussaint L’Ouverture, <d. 1803>, (1801), quoted in Black Jacobins, p.281]

b) Swear then to live free and independent and to prefer death to everything that would lead to replace you under the yoke; swear then to pursue for everlasting, the traitors, and enemies of your independence.
—[Dessalines, <d.1806> (ca. 1804), quoted in The Irritated Genie p. 80]
c) It is necessary to live independent, or die. Independence or Death! Let these sacred words serve to rally us, let them be signals of battle, and of our reunion.
---[Dessalines, <d.1806> (1804), in The Irritated Genie p. 123]

d) If you're not ready to die for it, put the word ‘freedom’ out of your vocabulary.

A27] On dishonor and disrespect to our race:

a) How can we as a people go from one day to the next living without honor? I should not have to tell you or anyone how a great people like the Japanese deal with a state of shame. It is not tolerated and that is why Japan and the Japanese people are world leaders and are respected all around the world today. As previously stated they, the Japanese people, do not tolerate a state of shame. And we, as an at least equally great people, should ask ourselves the question, why do we accept anything less?
--[Melvyn Wade, <b.19xx?), a 1960s Black Panther, in email of September 13, 2007]

b) “Our race should in no way tolerate any insults that may be interpreted to mean disrespect to our color.”
--[“UNIA Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World” (1920), P&O, II: 138]

c) “We declare ourselves the sworn protectors of the honor and virtue of our women and children, and pledge our lives for their protection and defense everywhere, and under all circumstances from wrongs and outrages.”
--[“UNIA Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World” (1920), P&O, II: 139]

d) “We shall maintain and contend for the freedom and equality of every man, woman and child of our race, with our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor”
--[“UNIA Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World” (1920), P&O, II: 142]
We must, accordingly, become as militantly protective of our African culture as the Muslims are of their Arab culture, and as Indians are of their Hindu culture; as ready to take offence and punish whoever dishonors us or shows any disrespect to our African culture. --Chinweizu

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A28] On the principle of criticism and self-criticism:

a) It is essential to apply at all echelons of our life and our struggle the principles of organization and work which the Party adopted as basic norms for its action. A case in point is the principle of criticism and self-criticism to solve internal questions and contradictions . . . [and] to help ourselves to improve our thought and our action.

--[Amilcar Cabral, <1924-1973>, (1965), Unity & Struggle, pp. 245-246, 247]

b) Self-criticism has been much talked about of late, but few people realize that it is an African institution. . . . in the meetings of western Africa, tradition demands that the quarrels which occur in a village should be settled in public. It is communal self-criticism, of course, and with a note of humor, because everybody is relaxed, and because in the last resort we all want the same things. But the more the intellectual imbibes the atmosphere of the people, the more completely he abandons the habits of calculation, of unwonted silence, of mental reservations, and shakes off the spirit of concealment. And it is true that already at that level we can say that the community triumphs, and that it spreads its own light and its own reason.

—[Fanon, <1925-1961>, (1961), Wretched pp. 47-48]

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A29] On the principle of Africa for Africans in the economic sphere:

Never again shall a colonist, or a European, set his foot upon this territory [Haiti] with the title of master or proprietor.

--[Dessalines, <d. 1806> (1804), in Irritated Genie p. 130]

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A30] On the paramount task of Pan-Africanism:

a) we are determined to solve our own problem, by redeeming our Motherland Africa from the hands of alien exploiters and found there a government, a nation of our own, strong enough to lend protection to the members of our race scattered all over the world, and to compel the respect of the nations and races of the earth.
b) The Negro peoples of the world should concentrate upon the object of building up for themselves a great nation in Africa. . . creating for ourselves [there] a political superstate wherein we will find the representation and protection that will make us secure in the selfish adjustment of a material world.

--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (192?), P&O, I:68; II:16]

This statement of the paramount task is simple and unequivocal: to end anti-Black racism (Negrophobia) on planet earth by building in Africa a great Black superpower. Any Pan-Africanism which is not focused on that task, whatever else it may be doing, is not helping to solve the fundamental problem of the black race, namely, the powerlessness that gave to our white enemies the opportunity to enslave, conquer, colonize and neo-colonize black people and to inflict the indignities of racism on us; a powerlessness that invites them to exterminate us and take over Africa and its enormous resources.

In particular, the sect of ‘revolutionary’ Pan-Africanism which says it does not recognize race, cannot be solving the problems of a group it doesn’t even recognize. For black people, that sect is not part of the solution but a very deadly part of the problem.

--Chinweizu

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A31] On the principle of racial tit-for-tat:

Dessalines not only preached, but also demonstrated this just principle. He said:

You have done nothing if you do not give to the nations a terrible, though just example of the Vengeance that ought to be exercised by a people proud of . . . its liberty and zealous of maintaining it . . . let us begin with the French; let them shudder at approaching our shores . . .

--[Dessalines, <d.1806>, (ca. 1803), quoted in The Irritated Genie, p. 84]

And he carried it out magnificently.

Dessalines returned tit for tat. One morning after Rochambeau had brutally and savagely butchered 500 Black prisoners-of-war in frustration over losing a battle, Dessalines hung 500 French officers in plain sight of the French Army. [Irritated Genie, p.82]
Furthermore, in February 1804, after independence was won, he ordered that those Frenchmen who “had committed high crimes against the Blacks of Haiti”—assorted atrocities they had committed against their slaves when they were slave-owners,—be duly tried and, if proved guilty, executed. It was done.

Blacks hanging whites, even white criminals, murderers and genociders, (even white brutes like Leclerc and white savages like Rochambeau that Napoleon sent to re-enslave or, failing in that, to exterminate the Haitians!) is something whites consider inexcusable, and never forgive, and will massively avenge, however long it takes them.
Haiti has never been forgiven for defeating the best white armies of that day (Spanish, British and even Napoleon’s army of seasoned veterans of his victorious campaigns in Europe) and for punishing white criminals. On this, all whites of all moral and political persuasions—from humanitarians, do-good liberals, socialists of all stripes, and Communists all the way across the spectrum to the most rabid Nazi fascists—are agreed.

But just as it is a crime, routinely punished by white power, for blacks to kill whites, it must be made equally a crime, routinely punished by Black Power, for whites to murder Blacks. Hence whites must be taught that they can no longer murder blacks with impunity: using blacks for target practice, working and flogging and otherwise wantonly torturing blacks to death as they have done for centuries, as most recently in the killing of Trayvon Martin which demonstrated for the zillionth time that any white man can kill any black man and still get away with it.—Chinweizu

A32] On Non-violence:

Concerning nonviolence, it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks.
——[Malcolm X, <1925-1965>, (19vv?)]

A33] On the sankofa principle:

“Se wo were fin a wo sankofa a yenkyi”— “It is not taboo to go back to fetch what you forgot.”
<very literally, if you forget, then you go back to retrieve>

This is Sankofa, returning from the chaos and perversity of white domination to the womb of our history in order to birth a new reality of Afrikan freedom, independence and prosperity.

We must make a habit of doing sankofa (going back to our ancestral sources/legacies to retrieve the knowledge, wisdom, and values we have lost). For a demonstration of the benefit of doing so, let’s consider the case of retrieving the cautionary wisdom encoded in the literal meaning of Abrofo:

In Twi, Ewe and Ga languages of Ghana, the word for "white people" or Europeans was not based on their appearance, but on what we know of them. For example, in TWI: "Abrofo" (Europeans / White people) [plural]. "Abro" in Twi/Akan language means (Wicked/Wickedness/Evil/Shrewdly destructive). "fo" as usual is for (people); so "Abrofo" in the Twi or Akan Language means (Wicked People/Evil people/Shrewdly destructive
"Obroni" [singular] means (a wicked person, etc.).
---[Sedem Ofori, presenter, Great FM, Accra, (2008)]

The movie title “Agya Koo Aware Obroni” means literally my white child, so loosely connotes civilized, educated, well mannered, well dressed, does not eat or do ‘native’ things.
--[Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill, Accra, (2012)]

This new meaning uses “obroni’ in a commendatory way. It reflects current amnesia about the original meaning. It makes people endorse/commend/ approve and emulate what, by the teaching of their ancestors, they should abhor. We have forgotten to be wary of whites, to be always on guard in our dealings with them; we have come to trust them unreservedly--to trust our shrewdly destructive enemy!

The word Abrofo accurately codifies the ancient Akan experience of white folks. But today, people simply use it as a label for “white people” without an awareness of its original and strategic meaning which would help them know the enemy. You have to break it down and ask them the meaning of Abro for them to grope back to the lost and cautionary knowledge that Abrofo encodes.--Chinweizu

A34] On history as a compass/pathfinder:

a) History is the land-mark by which we are directed into the true course of life. The history of a movement, the history of a nation, the history of a race is the guide-post of that movement's destiny, that nation's destiny, that race's destiny.
--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1923), P&O, I:1 (1923)]

b) Always try to look beyond the present by calling upon your past experience when you are looking at the future.
--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1937), Message to the People p. 156]

c) We must study history to learn its lessons, absorb its spirit of possibility, extract and emulate its models of excellence and possibility and honor the moral obligation to remember. Indeed, we must measure ourselves in the mirror of the best of our history and constantly ask ourselves how can we use the past as a foundation to inform, improve and enrich our present and expand the horizons and promise of our future.
d) It is the role of history to tell a people where they have been, what they have been, where they are and what they are, but most importantly it is the role of history to tell a people where they still must go and what they still must be.


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e) To be ignorant of history is to be ignorant of what you are trying to do now. History will show you where we have been, how we arrived where we are, whether we have traveled the best routes, and it will indicate — if we pause to reflect long enough — the best route to travel on from this point in time.


We must, therefore, seek to constantly learn from our past experiences (failures as well as successes); and make case studies of past situations so as to extract guidance for future action, in keeping with Pharaoh Amenemhet’s dictum:

If one fights in the arena forgetful of the past,
Success will elude him who ignores what he should know.

--- Pharaoh Amenemhet I<Dyn XII, ca 2013 BC>

“*The Instruction of Amenemhet I,*” in Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. 1.*

For starters, we need a critical post mortem of Nkrumah’s Continental Unity Pan-Africanism. For half a century we, the Black African intelligentsia, failed in our duty to critically examine the Pan-Africanism of our time and to assess its errors and its dangers for Black Africa. All of us failed. Now is the time to acknowledge our failure and begin to make amends.---Chinweizu

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A35] On a sober recognition of our present backwardness and our contemptible realities

a) [We are] at present the scientifically weaker race.


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b) No one should think that the culture of Africa, what is really African and so must be preserved for all time, for us to be Africans, is our weakness in the face of nature. . . We should not persuade ourselves that to be African is believing that lightning is the fury of the deity (God is feeling angry). We cannot believe that to be African is to think that man has no mastery over the flooding of rivers. Anyone who leads a struggle like ours, who bears responsibility in a struggle like ours, has to understand gradually what concrete reality is. Our struggle is based on our culture, because culture is the fruit of history and it is a strength. But our culture is filled with weaknesses in the face of nature. It is essential to know this.


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c) Aime Césaire explicated by CLR James

“Hoorah for those who have never invented anything
for those who never explored anything
for those who never mastered anything

. . .

but the work of man is only just beginning
and it remains to man to conquer all
the violence entrenched in the recesses
of his passion
and no race possesses the monopoly of beauty,
of intelligence, of force, and there
is a place for all at the rendezvous
of victory . . .”

Here is the centre of Césaire’s [1939] poem. By neglecting it, Africans and the sympathetic of other races utter loud hurrahs that drown out common sense and reason. The work of man is not finished. Therefore the future of the African is not to continue not discovering anything.

--[CLR James, <1901-1989>, (1963), Black Jacobins, pp. 400-401]

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d) The fact of the matter was, and remains, that the objective conditions of Africans in the modern world . . . invited contempt everywhere in the minds of non-Africans. . . . And so Chou En-Lai, surveying a great tropical river during his tour of Africa in 1965, could unflatteringly and bluntly state: “With 100,000 Chinese peasants we could make this land a garden; with three million Africans, it will remain a desert.” It [remains] the essential task of Pan-Africanists to acknowledge this objective reality.

--[Opoku Agyeman, <1942- >, (2003), The Failure of Grassroots Pan-Africanism, p.167]

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We must not only acknowledge this reality, we must figure out how to change it and how to make ourselves a people highly productive for our people.--Chinweizu

A36] Develop a race of scientists par excellence:

Being at present, the scientifically weaker race, you must teach the higher development of science to your children, and be sure to develop a race of scientists par excellence, for in science and religion lie our only hope to withstand the evil designs of modern materialism.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=kwYZLQ-ExUw]

A37] On reciprocity of brotherhood:

I believe in the brotherhood of man, all men, but I don't believe in brotherhood with anybody who doesn't want brotherhood with me. I believe in treating people right, but I'm not going to waste my time trying to treat somebody right who doesn't know how to return the treatment.


A38] On unpreparedness

a) Unpreparedness [is] a crime. The Negro is guilty. . . . In showing up the Negro's unpreparedness we cannot eliminate Abyssinia from the fold of Negrodom. Just as the individual Negro kept himself unprepared for cooperative action in the preservation of his race, so Abyssinia unfortunately kept herself unprepared to meet an ancient foe. . . . They could not understand that the future, which is part of today, calls for the preparation of the race to meet scientific competition whether on the battlefield, in the laboratory or other active walks of life. All of a sudden, therefore, when the Italo-Abyssinian war broke out, the Negro thought he could, by some miracle, match the forces of a prepared country like Italy. . . . the Negro, as usual, dreamt his dream and went about laughing and skylarking as if the world owed him nothing. This is a crime, a crime that penalizes the Negro today. It is hoped that this will open his eyes for tomorrow. . . . The God of Africa, the God of the black man is the eternal God, but that God moves only in a mysterious way, and that way is first initiated when the subject has given good reason or cause to deserve a blessing. The man, the race, the nation, that helps itself is helped by God. The individual, the race or nation that leaves its destiny to forces
completely exterior is doomed, and in the destruction there is no remorse, there is no shedding of tears by anyone but the sufferer himself. Let the Negro cut loose from the fantasy of exterior help and fall back on his own initiative. Let us, therefore, prepare with the vision of a people capable of seeing down the ages.


What exterior help are we Negroes expecting to save us?

The Arabs will not save Black Africa—it is not in their interest to do so; the Europeans will not save Blacks—it is not in their interest to do so; Hugo Chavez and his ALBA will not save Blacks—it is not in their interest to do so; the Chinese will not save Blacks—it is not in their interest to do so; nor will the Indians or any other people. Those ‘Revolutionary’ Pan-Africanists who are desperately reaching out to their supposed allies from other parts of the world, who are addicted to dependence on “revolutionary internationalism” to come to Africa’s rescue, should wean themselves from their infantile fantasy of exterior help. If any of them wants to see who will save the Blacks—whether from oppression, exploitation, humiliation, extermination or whatever—let him look in his mirror!—Chinweizu

Our defense depends not on the enemy not coming, but on our being ready to receive him when he does.


On morality and lawfulness among rulers

a) Open immorality in high places [has] an evil effect on public morals

--[Toussaint (1801), <d.1803>, [quoted in Black Jacobins, p.259]

b) To place myself above the law . . . has never entered my mind nor my principles.

--[Toussaint <d.1803>, (1801), quoted in Black Jacobins, p 253]

On the Glory of a ruler

The glory of a Ruler is the welfare of every one of his people.

--[Obafemi Awolowo <1909-1987>, ( 1978), Path to Nigerian Greatness, p.43]
This is a principle that the black compradors who have been ruling African countries since the 1950s don’t seem to have heard of, or have been willfully opposed to adopting. One of the few exceptions was Nkrumah:

In his 1962 broadcast introducing Ghana’s 7-year development Plan, Nkrumah said he wanted “a healthier, happier and more prosperous life for us all” [Revolutionary Path: 186] Note that he wanted it, not for a few, but for all. He wanted, he later wrote from exile in Conakry, “to raise the living standards for the people as a whole.” [Revolutionary Path: 183] Though his 7-year Plan did not succeed (principally because, as a dictator, he wanted to be the only person deciding everything, even though, as Basil Davidson pointed out, “one person cannot make a revolution, . . . deciding everything himself”) he expressed the ambition. But this ambition has been rare among our leaders.

As an example of the anti-people norm among our misrulers, here is a statement made in 2013 by a state governor in Nigeria, Sule Lamido:

As Jigawa state Gov. Sule Lamido candidly boasted, Nigeria’ elite of vampires “will never allow Nigeria to break because once it breaks, we will lose”; Here he is in full flow on ‘Why Nigeria can't break’:

Lamido also said he was in agreement with President Goodluck Jonathan that Nigeria cannot break as he said that members of the elite class in the country were united in preserving their advantages over the masses irrespective of tribe and religion.

“Who will break it? The ordinary person in Jigawa or the ordinary person in Sokoto or the ordinary person in Bayelsa?”

“Is it the Ibo vulcaniser or the Yoruba woman that is selling kerosene by the roadside or the Okada man in Delta?

“They don’t have the capacity to unite because they are burdened by poverty. We have taken away from them their dignity, their self esteem, their pride and self worth so that they cannot even organise."

“Up there, we (elite) unite, we sing and so we will never allow Nigeria to break because once it breaks, we will lose."

“But the common man loses nothing. What is he losing? He is already living in hell; he cannot lose anything more than this hell.”

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That’s the mentality of the Mobutus, Abachas, Omar Bongos and Obasanjos that have been a curse to Africa.--Chinweizu

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A41] On our languages and history as foundations for cultural renaissance:

a) “The cultural renaissance of our people is inconceivable outside of the restoration of both our historical past and our languages to a privileged position as the vehicles of modern education, technology, science and the creative sensibility of our people. . . . To this end, the retrieval of our national languages is foremost. A systematic policy in favour of their growth, the inclusion of a modern technological and scientific lexicon, can no longer be eluded.”


Please compare this with Du Bois [B51]. These two great Pan-Africanist thinkers, who shared a Prize at the Black World Festival of the Arts in Dakar in 1966, as the writers who had exerted the greatest influence on Negro thought in the 20th century, have taken opposite stands on what to do with African languages. Please compare them and decide which stand is wiser. --Chinweizu

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b) It is fine to learn the history of others but you must learn your own history first. A people who lose their historical memory becomes a very fragile people. They regress. It is historical memory that permits them to be a strong people!


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A42] On healthy cultural borrowing:

I don’t believe we can extirpate and reject everything which came from Europe. Nor do I believe that we can re-establish everything from our pre-colonial structures. Neither probability would be realistic. . . .Rather, we should [undertake] a process in which African identity is being reinforced through an adaptive selection of foreign elements.


That was precisely what the Japanese deliberately did, in their Meiji Era, to turn Japan into a world power within half a century. We must do its equivalent for the 21st century. --Chinweizu

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A43] On ethnic monopoly of power:
Under no circumstances should an ethnic group be allowed to monopolize power in a country. . . . It’s a catastrophe to have selfish group interests—whether the group be ethnic or social—masked by a façade of pseudo-nationalism. That’s a dangerous phenomenon.


A44] On ethnic autonomy and African unity:

Each ethnic group should have ample latitude to organize on an autonomous basis. Internal autonomy must be allowed each ethnic group. Each ethnic community should enjoy the freedom to . . . organize itself on a cultural basis. There should be no attempts to stifle an ethnic community under the guise of promoting national union and harmony. African unity should not be a monolithic unity based on a draconian centralism. . . . We must aim at a form of federal structures flexible enough to preserve fundamental freedoms and cultural autonomy, and strong enough to safeguard the interest of the African continent. This notion applies to federal associations at any level, whether local federations (Nigeria), regional federations or a continental federation. . . . A greater stability would emerge in Africa if administrative delimitations were made to correspond everywhere with large linguistically homogeneous ethnic groupings. . . . It is the narrow, straight jacketed framework of our present individualistic states which is at the base of all such [ethnic and national] conflicts—from border disputes and clashes, ethnic and linguistic rivalries to attempts at secession. . . . Hence, the important factor to consider is that any federal arrangement must be flexible and democratic enough to allow the greatest amount of freedom to all the constituent communities.


This principle of ethnic autonomy is of cardinal importance for the correct fostering of African unity and peace: its disregard has been responsible for such recurring rebellions as that from which the DR Congo has suffered since 1960. Ethnic autonomy has been a heresy in the OAU version of Pan-Africanism. In their hunger for maximum personal power through a unitarist state, some inheritors of the colonial states in Africa have sought to suppress the pre-colonial nations trapped within their estates—the only authentic nations bequeathed by African history. Nkrumah, who hated federalism with a passion because it threatened to interfere with his craving for absolute personal power in Ghana, even went so far as to proclaim the absurdity that “Any person who talks of a federal type of constitution for the Congo is a supporter of the imperialist cause.” That was the exemplar of such hostility to ethnic autonomy. The successful imposition of that absurd dogma on the Congo has been costing the Congolese people very dearly for more than 50 years now. That dogma against ethnic autonomy needs to be replaced by Diop’s principle of ethnic autonomy, I think.
Diop’s ethnic autonomy principle challenges the anti-‘tribe’ and anti-‘federalism’ dogma that was promoted by Nkrumah, Fanon, Gizenga etc. in the early 1960s: Nkrumah denounced federalism as pro-imperialism; Fanon wrote disapprovingly of “the resurgence of tribal parties and federalism.” And Gizenga claimed that a confederal constitution agreed in Tananarive in 1961 by other Congolese leaders would have “balkanized” the Congo. Now, is federalism tantamount to balkanization? Are we expected to believe that the USA, Switzerland, India, the USSR were each balkanized by having a federal constitution? If they are exemplars of what can be achieved under the evil of so-called “balkanization”, wouldn’t many Congolese today ask for balkanization—after enduring half a century of mayhem, misery and insecurity under a unitarist state?

OAU dogma is quite inconsistent. On the one hand, the Berlin Conference territories were damned for “balkanizing” Africa; and on the other hand they were held sacrosanct and inviolable by the same leaders who denounced them. Does that make sense? You can’t have it both ways.

The question of the place of our ethno-nations and federalism in the process of African unification needs to be re-opened and thoroughly debated. Is African unity to be achieved by making sacrosanct these Berlin Conference entities (the 50-odd prisoners-of-war-camps into which the European conquerors herded the conquered ethno-nations of Africa) that are accused of ‘balkanizing’ Africa? Is there anything inherently evil about our pre-colonial ethno-nations—the only genuine nations that we have? Why should they be prohibited as building blocks for African federations and unification? Why should they be disregarded, denounced, and even suppressed? Isn’t that simply a holdover from the colonialist lie that everything African is primitive, barbarous, and inferior?

If ethnic conflicts and rebellions are to be minimized in these Berlin conference countries of Africa, their people and leaders need to study and follow the example of the ethno-federalism of the 1995 Ethiopian constitution. Sudan, DR Congo, Nigeria, South Sudan and other multi-ethnic countries that are beset with ethnic conflicts and civil wars, should please take note.—Chinweizu

A45] On one-party systems and people’s democracy:

Experience has overwhelmingly shown that the one-party system has failed to build the type of Africa we desire. . . . New methods of government must be studied which are designed to increase the participation of the people.
--[Cheikh Anta Diop, <1923-1986>, (1977), in Great African Thinkers, p. 278]

A46] Socialism and racism

There is no automatic power in socialism to override and suppress race prejudice....
—[Du Bois, <1868-1963>, (1936), Journal of Negro Education (5,
January 1936) See Dusk of Dawn, p.xxi]

A47] American Communists and the Negro:

a) One of the worst things that Negroes could do today [1936] would be to join the American Communist Party or any of its many branches.

b) I am against the brand of communism that is taught in America, because it is even more vicious than all the other ism's put together. In America it constitutes a group of liars, plotters and artful deceivers who twist—a one third truth to a whole big lie, and give it out to the unthinking clientele for consumption. Communism among Negroes in 1920-21 was represented in New York by such Negroes as Cyril Briggs and W. A. Domingo, and my contact with, and experience of them, and their methods are enough to keep me shy of that kind of communism for the balance of my natural life.
. . . The American Negro is warned to keep away from communism, as it is taught in this country; he should work, watch and wait for his own opportunity, which is largely to his own making. . . . I pray the day will never come for the Negro and America when the Government falls into the hands of such representatives of Communism.
—[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1925?), P&O, II: 333, 334]

A48] On scientific thinking and “scientific socialism”:

a) scientific thinking means finding out all the facts in a particular situation, regardless of whether you like them or not, or whether they fit in with preconceived ideas. It means analyzing these facts, and then working out solutions to the problems you are concerned with in the light of these facts, and of the objectives you are trying to achieve. . . . if ‘scientific socialism’ means anything, it can only mean that the objectives are socialist and you apply scientific methods of study in working out the appropriate policies.

b) It is necessary that those who call themselves scientific socialists should be scientific!

A49] Power concedes nothing without a demand:
“Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress. . . . Men may not get all they pay for in this world; but they must certainly pay for all they get. If we ever get free from the oppressions and wrongs heaped upon us, we must pay for their removal. We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice, and if needs be, by our lives and the lives of others.


A50] On a self-denying universalism:

We cannot be for the whole world, if we do not include ourselves.


This is an important admonition to those Pan-Africanists who are obsessed with the universal struggle of the oppressed, and who focus on liberating every other oppressed people, especially the Arabs of Palestine, Western Sahara and Gadaffi’s Libya, but ignore the crying need to liberate those Black Africans who are still enslaved or colonized by Arabs—such as the enslaved Haratines and other Black Mauritanians and the Arab-colonized African peoples of Sudan----such as the Darfuri, the Nuba, etc.--Chinweizu

Some observations:

We should note from the above items that some of the core principles of Black liberation, and some key Afrocentric doctrines, were enunciated as long ago as 1791-1806, during the Haitian struggle for independence.

As the liberation of Blacks is the paramount interest of Pan-Africanism, anything articulated by blacks that is necessary for Black liberation must have a place within Pan-Africanism—including the Frederick Douglass statements quoted above [A11, A49]—even though Douglass was not a Pan-Africanist but an American amalgamationist who insisted that “The native land of the American Negro is America.” He was a promoter of amalgamation, and believed that blacks and whites should intermarry so that a new third race, an American race, would emerge in America. And he insisted that American Negroes should confine their efforts to amalgamating into America and seeking full equality with white Americans and not
allow themselves to be lured into emigrating to an Africa which he did not recognize as their homeland.

But despite such decidedly un-Pan-Africanist views, in his role as an abolitionist, Frederick Douglass was fighting for black liberation in his country. Accordingly, whatever he said in that struggle that is useful for other theatres of the black liberation struggle, rightly belongs in Pan-Africanism.

These 50 principles, doctrines and projects, which are key ingredients for Black liberation, are missing from the OAU/AU Pan-Africanism of the last 50 years. That is a measure of its stark poverty and inadequacy. Therefore, these 50 doctrines and projects must be brought in to enrich Pan-Africanism if it is to become relevant and robust in the 21st century. The sauce of Black liberation cannot be made from just the one ingredient of integrating the Berlin conference states in the African continent.—Chinweizu

Section B

B1] Cultural imperialism obscures awareness:

“What are the black peoples doing and what will they do with their newly-found liberty? For it is a fact that liberty without awareness is worse than slavery. At least the slave knows his slavery. Cultural imperialism, as we too often forget, is the most dangerous form of colonialism. It obscures awareness.”


B2] Choosing between socialism and capitalism:

“It might have been generally thought that the time had come for the world, and particularly for the Third World, to choose between the capitalist and socialist systems. The under-developed countries, which have used the fierce competition which exists between the two systems in order to assure the triumph of their struggle for national liberation, should however refuse to become a factor in that competition. The Third World ought not to be content to define itself in the terms of values which have preceded it. On the contrary, the under-developed countries ought to do their utmost to find their own particular values and methods and a style which shall be peculiar to them. The concrete problem we find ourselves
up against is not that of a choice, cost what it may, between socialism and capitalism as they have been defined by men of other continents and of other ages.

—[Frantz Fanon, <1925-1961>, (1961), Wretched, pp. 98-99]

B3]

Two barriers and two alone hem us in and hurl us back today: one, the persistent relic of ancient barbarism—war: organized murder, maiming, destruction and insanity. The other, the world-old habit of refusing to think ourselves, or to listen to those who do think. Against this ignorance and intolerance we protest forever.


War is not a relic of “ancient barbarism”.

This Du Bois’ characterization of it is biologically incorrect, and is a piece of liberal sentimental wishful thinking. Despite the extreme brutality and horrors of modern warfare, war has a vital biological function and, like aggression, cannot be eliminated. War is basically a manifestation of group hierarchy competition: the struggle for a place in the social dominance hierarchy, a trait that is deeply programmed by evolution into animals, including chickens and primates—as in chicken with their “pecking order”. War decides the question of their relative places in the dominance hierarchy by persuading the vanquished that they are subordinate to the victor, thus eliminating fruitless wrangling and recurrent disputes between them and making possible stable cooperation between them.

Furthermore, war plays an important role in keeping elites responsible for their society. As George Orwell made clear in his book 1984: “war was one of the main instruments by which human societies were kept in touch with physical reality” and “while wars could be won or lost, no ruling class could be completely irresponsible”.

Perhaps one of the reasons why Black African governments are irresponsible is that in a world where the big powers, with their UN Peace Keeping missions etc., quickly intervene to prevent or stop wars between or within weak African states, the elites of African states are relieved of the total responsibility for the survival of their country. Thus ‘freed’ from waging wars and winning or losing them and enjoying the fruits of victory or enduring the pains of defeat, they have lost what Orwell described as “the sobering influence of external danger”. (See George Orwell, 1984, Penguin Books, 1954, pp. 159-160)--Chinweizu

B4]

“It comes to the individual, the race, the nation, once in a life time to decide upon the course to be pursued as a career. The hour has now struck for the individual Negro as well as the entire race to decide the course that will be pursued in the interest of our own liberty. We who make up the Universal Negro Improvement Association have decided that we shall go
forward, upward and onward toward the great goal of human liberty. We have determined among ourselves that all barriers placed in the way of our progress must be removed, must be cleared away, for we desire to see the light of a brighter day.”

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**B5] Objectives of national independence:**

“From all that has just been said, it can be concluded that in the framework of the conquest of national independence and in the perspective of developing the economic and social progress of the people, the objectives must be at least the following: development of a popular culture and of all positive indigenous cultural values; development of a national culture based upon the history and the achievements of the struggle itself; constant promotion of the political and moral awareness of the people (of all social groups) as well as patriotism, of the spirit of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of independence, of justice, and of progress; development of a technical, technological, and scientific culture, compatible with the requirements for progress; development, on the basis of a critical assimilation of man's achievements in the domains of art, science, literature, etc., of a universal culture for perfect integration into the contemporary world, in the perspectives of its evolution; constant and generalized promotion of feelings of humanism, of solidarity, of respect and disinterested devotion to human beings.”

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**B6] Internal movement is the motive force of development:**

“All development takes place by means of self-movement, not organisation or direction by external forces. It is within the organisation itself, that is, within the society, that there must be realised new motives, new possibilities. The citizen is alive when he feels that he himself in his own national community is overcoming difficulties.”
—C. L. R. James, <1901-1989> [find source and year]

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**B7] What is worth conserving in the present situation?**

“We have warned that the centuries old malformations in our economies must be re-shaped. We have been labelled. 'Marxists’, ‘radicals’, but of course such labels do not matter. I would, very much like to be a conservative if I am shown something worth conserving. What should I
conserve in the present situation? Jiggers, intestinal worms, malnutrition, a high infant mortality rate, a low average life-expectancy, a low calorie and protein intake, etc. in the population? Or the complete denial of basic human rights by the present regimes, including the security of human life? What should we conserve of these things?"

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**B8] African identity:**

Don’t care where you come from
As long as you’re a black man, you’re an African
No min’ your nationality
You have got the identity of an African
--[Peter Tosh, from the song "Africa"]

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**B9] The path to the extermination of the black race:**

Africans are capable of achieving their place in the sun, provided that they discard the spirit of individualism which has so far prevented social cohesion. It cannot be doubted that one reason why Africans seem destined to serve other races for ever is because they have no sense of oneness . . . Are Africans not doomed to extermination from the face of the earth because they are self-centred and self-satisfied and selfish? Do Africans not deserve extirpation because they have proved their incapacity to carry on and to disseminate the torch of civilization which their ancestors handed to them in the dim past? . . . Black men and women, when will you cease to drift along the way which leads to the extermination of the black race?

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**B10] We are not sovereign states:**

“We are not prime movers in our own destiny. We are ashamed to admit it. But economically we are dependencies--semi-colonies at best—not sovereign states.”
--[Julius K. Nyerere, <1922-1999> (1979), (At the Fourth ministerial meeting of the Group of 77, in Arusha, Tanzania, 1979)]

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**B11] Africa’s apemanship:**
“Africa must re-examine herself critically. She must discover her true self, and rid herself of 'apemanship'. For only then can she begin to develop a culture of her own. Africa must redefine all cultural terms according to her own interests. As she has broken the political bondage of colonialism, she must continue the economic and cultural revolution until she refuses to be led by the nose by foreigners. We must also reject the erroneous attempts of foreign students to interpret and present her. We must interpret and present Africa in our own way, in our own interests.

--[Okot p’Bitek, <1931-1982> find source and year]

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B12] Subjugation through the colony of the mind:

“Imperialism creates, on the African, an economic colony; a political colony; and a cultural colony--the colony of the mind. Although the aim of imperialism is ultimately economic, and the means to it is political (military), the colony of the mind is of the greatest help as a means of effective subjugation. The worst result of the colony of the mind is making a people lose belief in their environment, in their heritage, in their country, in their people, in short, in themselves. They want to look to the outside for inspiration, and to the inside for little or nothing. Hence the importance of the decolonisation of the African mind.

—[Ngugi wa Thiong’o, <b.1938> find source and year]

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B13] After “independence day”, everything needs to be reformed and thought out anew.

“These young countries have agreed to take up the challenge after the unconditional withdrawal of the ex-colonial countries. The country finds itself in the hands of new managers, but the fact is that everything needs to be reformed and everything thought out anew. In reality the colonial system was concerned with certain forms of wealth and certain resources only--precisely those which provisioned her own industries. Up to the present no serious effort had been made to estimate the riches of the soil or of mineral resources. Thus the young independent nation sees itself obliged to use the economic channels created by the colonial regime. It can, obviously, export to other countries and other currency areas, but the basis of its exports is not fundamentally modified. The colonial regime has carved out certain channels and they must be maintained or catastrophe will threaten. Perhaps it is necessary to begin everything all over again: to change the nature of the country’s exports, and not only simply their destination, to re-examine the soil and mineral resources, the rivers, and why not?--the sun's productivity.
Reparation for colonialism—the Nazi German precedent:

Colonialism and imperialism have not paid their score when they withdraw their flags and their police forces from our territories. For centuries the capitalists have behaved in the underdeveloped world like nothing more than war criminals. Deportations, massacres, forced labor, and slavery have been the main methods used by capitalism to increase its wealth, its gold or diamond reserves, and to establish its power. Not long ago Nazism transformed the whole of Europe into a veritable colony. The governments of the various European nations called for reparations and demanded the restitution in kind and money of the wealth which had been stolen from them: cultural treasures, pictures, sculptures, and stained glass have been given back to their owners. There was only one slogan in the mouths of Europeans on the morrow of the 1945 V-Day: "Germany must pay." Herr Adenauer, it must be said, at the opening of the Eichmann trial, and in the name of the German people, asked once more for forgiveness from the Jewish people. Herr Adenauer has renewed the promise of his people to go on paying to the state of Israel the enormous sums which are supposed to be compensation for the crimes of the Nazis.

In the same way we may say that the imperialist states would make a great mistake and commit an unspeakable injustice if they contented themselves with withdrawing from our soil the military cohorts, and the administrative and managerial services whose function it was to discover the wealth of the country, to extract it and to send it off to the mother countries. We are not blinded by the moral reparation of national independence; nor are we fed by it. The wealth of the imperial countries is our wealth too. On the universal plane this affirmation, you may be sure, should on no account be taken to signify that we feel ourselves affected by the creations of Western arts or techniques. For in a very concrete way Europe has stuffed herself inordinately with the gold and raw materials of the colonial countries: Latin America, China, and Africa. From all these continents, under whose eyes Europe today raises up her tower of opulence, there has flowed out for centuries toward that same Europe diamonds and oil, silk and cotton, wood and exotic products. Europe is literally the creation of the Third World. The wealth which smothers her is that which was stolen from the underdeveloped peoples. The ports of Holland, the docks of Bordeaux and Liverpool were specialized in the Negro slave trade, and owe their renown to millions of deported slaves. So when we hear the head of a European state declare with his hand on his heart that he must come to the aid of the poor underdeveloped peoples, we do not tremble with gratitude. Quite the contrary; we say to ourselves: "It's a just reparation which will be paid to us." Nor will we acquiesce in the
help for underdeveloped countries being a program of "sisters of charity." This help should be the ratification of a double realization: the realization by the colonized peoples that it is their due, and the realization by the capitalist powers that in fact they must pay
--[Frantz Fanon, <1925-1961>, (1961), Wretched, pp.101-103]

B15] No leader can substitute himself for the popular will:
If we want to increase the national revenue, and decrease the importing of certain products which are useless, or even harmful, if we want to increase agricultural production and overcome illiteracy, we must explain what we are about. The people must understand what is at stake. Public business ought to be the business of the public. . . .The national government, if it wants to be national, ought to govern by the people and for the people. . . . No leader, however valuable he may be, can substitute himself for the popular will; and the national government, before concerning itself about international prestige, ought first to give back their dignity to all citizens, fill their minds and feast their eyes with human things, and create a prospect that is human because conscious and sovereign men dwell therein.
--Frantz Fanon, <1925-1961>, (1961) [The Wretched of the Earth, pp.194, 205]

This is a principle vital for democracy, transparency and accountability. Leaders and those they lead ignore it to their group peril.--Chinweizu

B16] Never allow your children to play with white dolls:
Never divide or create confusion between the different colors in the Negro race. Always try to prove that the standard Negro is the African and that all Negroes should be proud of their black blood, without insulting any color within the race. This is very, very important.

The idea of the U.N.I.A. is to unite into one race all the shades of color and build up a standard race. You should discourage intermarriage between white and Black and Blacks and other races. You should tell the people that it is an honor to be Black and that nothing is wrong with the black skin but bad conditions. Tell them that a well-kept Black woman or Black man is as good as a well-kept white man or woman. Never allow your followers to have their children play with white dolls because they will grow up to like white children and they will have them. Discourage the Negroes from having white pictures in their homes because those
pictures will inspire them to become white in their ideas. Inspire them to have pictures of Negroes who have achieved greatness in their homes. Tell Negro parents that they must teach their children Negro history, Negro pride and self-respect in their homes to counteract the elementary and high school education they get that holds up the superiority of the white race. Let the people know that God is not white nor is he Black; but God is a spirit and universal intelligence, of which each and every one is a part. All of us are a part of that intelligence.


B17] Polygyny:

One of our closest friends in the country has three wives. This was indeed strange for us from the Western world, because while we had never condemned the custom, we had never lived with it before. There was a feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty that pointed up the difference between rationalization from afar and actually living in the situation.

However, the longer we lived in the country the more normal and right the family system seemed. In West Africa the institution generally is replete with so many moral restrictions and regulations that it is in fact the very opposite of the sexual promiscuity that it is thought to be in the West. It is, above all, an honest institution, freed from the hypocrisy of pretending to be satisfied with one woman while in fact having two or more secretly—the prevailing Western "cultural" pattern.

We think therefore—and we think this very seriously—that Christianity in Ghana should cease in its efforts to force monogamy on the people. Nor should the Government, under Christian influence, attempt to interfere with this institution. As the country progresses, the same operating laws of economic necessity that gave birth to the marriage system in the first place will very likely change it again in the opposite direction. It will be an economic change, not moral, for there is clearly nothing immoral about it.

---Chancellor Williams, <1893-1992>, (1961), "The Rebirth of African Civilization", p.113

B18] Colonization and civilization:

``In dealing with this subject (colonization and civilization), the commonest curse is to be the dupe in good faith of a collective hypocrisy
that cleverly misrepresents problems, the better to legitimize the hateful solutions provided for them”
--Aime Césaire, <1913-2008>, (1955), Discourse on Colonialism, p. 10

B19] Negro Renaissance movements:

R.D.: Do you see a relationship among the movements between the two world wars connected to L'Étudiant noir, the Negro Renaissance Movement in the United States, La Revue indigène in Haiti, and Negrismo in Cuba?
Aime Césaire: I was not influenced by those other movements because I did not know of them. But I'm sure they are parallel movements.
R.D.: How do you explain the emergence, in the years between the two world wars, of these parallel Movements—in Haiti, the United States, Cuba, Brazil, Martinique, etc.—that recognized the cultural particularities of Africa?
Aime Césaire: I believe that at that time in the history of the world there was a coming to consciousness among Negroes, and this manifested itself in movements that had no relationship to each other.
—[Aime Césaire, <1913-2008>, (1955), Discourse... p. 70]


46. Intellectual orphans of the non-western world, those ideationally bereaved souls who have, after anguished searching, finally found in Marx and Engels their long-missed mental ancestor-figures, tend to get sharply upset when it is pointed out that Marx and Engels believed in the supremacy of Europeans over other peoples; that they were, to put it accurately, white racists. It is a crime to hurt orphans of any kind, and it would be a kindness to the intellectual orphans of the non-Western world to be able to report a lack of textual support for the charge of racism against Marx and Engels. But, in this case, the textual evidence is unkind to orphans.

47. At the top of the racist pecking order erected or adopted by Marx and Engels sit the Anglo-Saxons: « We Germans », mentally superior to the rest of the world, and closely connected with their British kith and kin.

48. Below the superior Anglo-Saxons come the « sentimental » French and Italians. There are also the Celtic breed of Europeans; as workers they possess « revolutionary fire » but as thinkers they are handicapped by a quality called « Celtic credulity » (ibid., 265.1.2.).

49. Outside Europe, the Indians are said to have a natural languor about them, while the Chinese are born with a timid nature. As for Africans, we are « Niggers » to Marx and Engels, fit to be classed, when journalistic sarcasm demands, with the plague (ibid., 86.0., 115.1.5., 323.1.2., 154.1.9).

50. The relationship between the superior races and the inferior races, in Marx's arrangement, is not as a rule one in which both poles interact with and affect each other. Perhaps that would be carrying dialectical reasoning too far. The superior races affect and influence the inferior races but the inferior races cannot affect and influence the superior races. The superiority of the superior races renders them inaccessible to influence from below (ibid., 82.2.2).

51. What Marx and Engels looked forward to was therefore not the emancipation or development of non-Western civilizations but the destruction of the supposedly non-civilized systems of the non-Western world. In place of the latter, the triumphant European conquerors were destined to introduce something new—European society and civilization. It was this Manichaean non-dialectic that would eventually create the kind of revolution Marx and Engels thought would be reached by the inferior peoples of the world—a process controlled by « the most advanced peoples » (ibid., 87.0.2). The destruction of non-Western civilizations was seen as not just inevitable but also ultimately desirable because such a destruction would be the precondition for the Europeanization of the world (ibid., 314.1.7).


52. There is nothing scientific, nothing revolutionary, nothing communist about all this. This is Eurocentric assimilationism, the liberal cant of the Western world according to which the human universe, civilization, industrialization, science, etc., are made coterminous with the West, the only path towards positive values for the non-Western people being the path of Westernization.
53. In all justice, it must be pointed out that Marx was sincere in thinking of assimilation as the destiny of mankind. He saw assimilation into European culture not only as the fate of the world's peoples, but also as his own personal destiny. Marx was Jewish but, in the fashion of true assimilationists, his attitude toward his Jewish identity was negative. He was convinced that the one sensible path to humanity for Jews was that of «abandoning Judaism completely» and integrating into the German mainstream.\(^6\)


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54. Given such high regard for Anglo-Saxon culture and values, coupled with ignorance of the world's civilizations, Marx and Engels assumed the Anglo-Saxons were destined to lead the world in practically all important areas and certainly in humanity’s progress into the new age of socialism and communism: «on the continent, the revolution is imminent and will immediately assume a socialist character» (ibid., 320,1.4).

55. Perception of the foolishness of this kind of prediction is not merely the product of facile hindsight. There was intriguing evidence, available to Marx, that communist and revolutionary ideas were not only known outside Europe but were actually widespread among ordinary people. . . .


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**B21] The supposed solidarity of the European workers and the colonized peoples:**

a) “But to come back to the supposed solidarity of the European workers and the colonized peoples. This is a romantic notion put about by Europe but it does not stand up to examination. In fact European conquest and colonization benefited not only the capitalist middle class but also the lower middle and working classes of Europe. It gave opportunity for the emigration of 'poor whites' overseas into colonial countries and for the conquest of distant markets which were ready sources of raw materials. Thus it favoured industrial development in Europe and so the raising of the standard of living of the European masses.”


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b) [The American worker] has high wages and many comforts. Rather than lose these, he keeps in office by his vote the servants of industrial exploitation so long as they maintain his wage. His labor leaders represent exploitation and not the fight against the exploitation of labor by private capital. These two sets of exploiters fall out only when one demands too large a share of the loot.

---Du Bois, <1868-1963> (1959); in Foner ed, p. 318

Like their counterpart in Europe, the white American workers share with their white capitalist employers the loot from the toil of the “internal colony” of blacks. They are part of our burden and the alleged solidarity is that between the black horse and the second white rider on the black horse. --Chinweizu

B22] Contempt for African Values

As it happens, what is striking about the African peoples who have come to self-government and independence is the lack of awareness shown by their leaders and their contempt for African cultural values. They are proud of the political freedom of their people, but they do not see that real freedom is not freedom of bodies but freedom of minds. And they import without selection, the social and even the cultural institutions of Europe.

Of course parliamentary democracy and socialism have their virtues and so do trade unions, co-operatives, the police, compulsory secular education. The problem is not to stop them at the customs posts, but to analyse their forms and their spirit and then to see what should be retained and how this can be made to take root in the realities of Africa... It is true that parliamentary democracy has existed and worked in Africa in an original form for many thousands of years. It is true a community collectivism, which is the genuine form of socialism, actuated society and its constituent groups. It is therefore astonishing that the new States in Africa have made the police and the one-party system the main instruments of their actions... I know that an underdeveloped people who come to self-government and independence need a party with a broad majority and have to establish a strong discipline. But all this must be done along the lines of the African genius. It is not by importing European institutions from the East or the West that we shall reach the desired goal which is real independence, independence not only for peoples but also for persons.


Only peoples can be independent. Independence of persons is a recipe for anarchy and the dissolution of society. In a viable society, persons aim, not for “independence” but
to occupy appropriate places in the productive structure of their society, and strive to become fully functional, loyal and honored members of their society.--Chinweizu

B23] Need to integrate African values into the contemporary world:

The problem which we, Africans in 1959, are set is how to integrate African values into the world of 1959. It is not a case of reviving the past so as to live on in an African museum. It is a case of animating their world, here and now, with the values that come from our past.


This vital task is what Maulana Karenga has shown us how to do by “dialoging with African culture” (See B134 below)-- Chinweizu

B24] The revolutionary and the people

93. Concerning revolution itself, what Fanon and Cabral (in Revolution... 37.3) have had to say about it suggests that it is not a very talkative activity: it is not even all that demonstrative but it is active. The revolutionary, according to Fanon, inserts himself quietly among his people. This is a pivotal formulation but, because it is so understated, its myriad implications escape casual readers. Cabral adds that, in the revolutionary process, the desire for visibility is a teething disease and that massive crowds, gathered together to make demonstrations of insurrectionary yearning before the enemy, make no sense. Quiet, selective, effective, efficient initiatives do. Cabral is on ancestral ground here: the meliorative secret society is nothing new in Africa.

---[Ayi Kwei Armah, <b. 1939>, (1984), “Masks and Marx” pp.63-64]

B25] On Negrocentricity

In your reading and searching for truth always try to get that which is particularly helpful to the Negro. Every thought that strikes you, see how it fits in with the Negro, and to what extent you can use it to his benefit or in his behalf. Your entire obsession must be to see things from the Negro’s point of view. . . . [The Negro] is beautiful in himself and why not so? The Anglo-Saxon sees beauty through himself, the Teuton sees beauty through himself. The Mongol sees beauty through himself and so naturally and logically the Negro ought to see beauty through himself. . . . Beauty must be reflected out of your own eyes. A Negro must be beautiful to a Negro, as an Anglo-Saxon is to an Anglo-Saxon. The highest standard of beauty therefore for a Negro, is the Negro. Never allow any race to say that your race is not beautiful. If there is ugliness in a race, it is in the other race, not
in yours, because the other race looks different to you. To the Anglo-Saxon the Mongol is ugly; to the Mongol, the Anglo-Saxon is ugly. Compare the Anglo-Saxon and the Negro; it is the Anglo-Saxon who is ugly, not the Negro. . . . These are the ways self-respecting people see themselves.

--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1939), Message to the People, pp. 12, 158, 159]

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B26]  Charity:

Bestow charity upon your race first. . . Not until you have served every Negro in the world should you seek to be kind to others. Charity begins at home.

--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1937), Message to the People, pp. 148, 27]

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B27]  Honor:

Teach Negroes to look for honor in their own race and from their own nation and to serve their own race and nation to get such honors.

--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1937), Message to the People, p. 35]

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B28]  Leadership and followership:

[Teach] the Negro to follow only Negro leadership; [teach] the Negro that the cats don’t lead the rats, nor the lions the sheep, nor the wolves the foxes, and so Negroes should lead Negroes; [teach] the Negro to support his own church, . . . to have his own labor organizations and not to expect other laborers who are competing with him for the same employment, to give honest leadership for him to compete with them for the same job.

--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1937), Message to the People, pp. 175, 174]

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B29]  Democratic Discussion

Youth, however, must be warned about impatience and the expectation of quick, overnight results. For right here is why so many noble efforts fail. You have to learn what things can be rushed through quickly and what things require long study and careful preparation before even attempting operation. This failure to study, plan and develop understanding among the people is what creates so many Utopias, mere dreams that never come true.

You will need more patience and tolerance with opposing views in discussions than Africans generally display. You still tend to regard differences of opinion in purely personal terms and, accordingly, find it difficult to see how a
friend can oppose your opinion and still love you. Hence, you tend to break friendship with those who think differently. Issues are confused with personalities. This is what makes African politics so bitter and warlike. You generally attack the individual more than the issues.

It is your generation that must make the marked advance in political maturity and the democratic process of solving problems through give-and-take in discussions. The object of democratic discussion is, like science, to arrive at truth, to discover through the exchange of ideas what is the best thing to do in a given situation. What ideas are best, not whose ideas are they, is the important thing. It does not matter how "big" or important any one individual may be in a meeting. His ideas should not prevail just because he is a "big man," for his ideas are not always either big or the best. Stated another way, you must not suppose that because you are educated your judgment is necessarily superior to the collective judgment of an "uneducated" group. We think both Aristotle and John Stuart Mill were right in their view that the collective wisdom of the people is generally superior to that of any one of them, no matter how wise that one may be.

This matter of democracy through the exchange of ideas in discussions and the proper attitude of the leader in such discussions is highly important if there is to be real democracy, and not merely its shadow. You can have all saints in the central government, while scores of little dictators may be running things in local communities, not by any fiat of law, but because they are "bosses" in one category or another — store manager, head clerk, shop supervisor, schoolmaster, Education officer, labor gang boss, and supervisor of this or supervisor of that — all expecting special deference and even fear on the part of the people under them. Other dictators are the better educated who in meetings expect everyone to yield to their opinions as though they were newly given on Mount Sinai.

Your role as a leader then is to fearlessly propose to the people what you think is best, fearlessly because if what you think is the best it will generally be accepted by the people. And if your proposals happen not to be accepted, there should be no dismay, no feelings of hurt. Sometimes the group may make a bad decision. This is why, in such cases, it is so important to continue to work with it, helping to guide it back on the right track again.


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B30] Colonial institutions were anti-democratic

... the Western enterprise in colonial Africa, as far as politics went, was a systematic apprenticeship in dictatorship as a way of life. Colonial institutions in Africa were inherently anti-democratic and dictatorial. From veto-wielding
governors to legislatures selected by patronage and bureaucracies accountable to no public constituency, all colonial, social, political and administrative practices were determinedly hostile to democratic initiatives. Neo-colonial institutions and practices are continuing this tradition of hostility but such is the strength of the Western power of self-deception that Western propaganda still has it that colonialism was a preparatory process for democracy.


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**B31] The creators of dictators:**

We found many people who want to sit back and leave everything to the Government. These are the persons who favor state socialism because it relieves them from individual initiative and individual responsibility. These are the easy victims of communism, because such people do not mind loss of freedom so long as somebody else or some agency like government provides for their creature comforts. These are the lazy, the indolent, and the unenterprising. These are the creators of dictators.


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**B32] Nation, government and opposition:**

The nation should be viewed as a great unifying organization of which the Government is the Executive Committee. This oneness of Government and people is a truly African concept. To understand this fully one must understand the significance of "Nana" as the title of a tribal ruler. "Nana" indicates kinship with the ruler.

Western political theory and practice are based upon a great suspicion of government, derived from European historical experiences. Government is viewed as something apart, ever ready to tyrannize over and exploit the people, seeking more and more power to this end and, therefore, to be watched and checked at every turn. Eternal vigilance may be the price of liberty wherever there is a threat to it, but the idea that government inevitably is such a threat is a Western myth that should be avoided by making government and people inseparable in interests and outlook, the former merely carrying out the expressed will of the latter—the People's Executive Committee.

There is nothing sacred about the two-party system of government or the multi-party system. And the institution of a paid Opposition as a scheme to protect and assure democratic processes is as much a shadow as the totalitarian one-party system and its claims. It may well be that man simply must have his self-deluding myths. Wherever freedom exists in reality, however, there is absolutely no need to create and institutionalize opposition just as though
opposition in itself is a democratic virtue. One must oppose, not because of conviction, or because what is done or proposed calls for opposition, but one must oppose because he is expected to oppose, and is even paid to oppose! This often leads to the kind of obstruction that a new nation can ill afford.

Where freedom exists, a thoroughgoing criticism of government policies and programs will never be wanting, nor will this criticism be powerless even if there is only one dominant party. In the Ghana Parliament some of the most relentless criticism of Government comes from the Government's own party. This went to such lengths at times that had it not been for the seating arrangement one would have supposed that these critics were members of the Opposition party. They were indeed of the opposition, but not the Opposition. Theirs was a spontaneous opposition growing out of sincere convictions about the country's needs.


B33 | A trustworthy political party:

A country that really wishes to answer the questions that history puts to it, that wants to develop not only its towns but also the brains of its inhabitants, such a country must possess a trustworthy political party. The party is not a tool in the hands of the government. Quite on the contrary, the party is a tool in the hands of the people, it is they who decide on the policy that the government carries out.

In an under-developed country the party ought to be organized in such fashion that it is not simply content with having contacts with the masses. The party should be the direct expression of the masses. The party is not an administration responsible for transmitting government orders; it is the energetic spokesman and the incorruptible defender of the masses. In order to arrive at this conception of the party, we must above all rid ourselves of the very Western, very bourgeois and therefore contemptuous attitude that the masses are incapable of governing themselves. In fact, experience proves that the masses understand perfectly the most complicated problems.

--[Frantz Fanon, <1925-1961>, (1961), Wretched, 184-185, 187-188]

B34 | Negroes' Education "Incorrect"

The object of all education is to secure Growth and efficiency to make a man all that his natural gifts will allow him to become: to produce self-respect, a proper appreciation of our own powers and of the powers of other people; to beget a fitness for one's sphere of life and action, and ability to discharge the duties it imposes. Now, if we take these qualities as the true outcome of a correct education, then every one who is acquainted with the facts must admit that, as a
rule, in the entire civilized world, the Negro, notwithstanding his two hundred years' residence with Christian and civilized races, has nowhere received anything like a correct education. We find him everywhere—in the United States, in the West Indies, in South America—largely unable to cope with the responsibilities which devolve upon him. Not only is he not sought after for any position of influence in the political movements of those countries, but he is even denied admission to ecclesiastical appointments of importance.

To a certain extent—perhaps to a very important extent—Negroes trained on the soil of Africa have the advantage of those trained in foreign countries; but in all, as a rule, the intellectual and moral results, thus far, have been far from satisfactory. There are many men of book-learning, but few, very few, of any capability—even few who have that amount, or that sort, of culture, which produces self-respect, confidence in one’s self and efficiency in work. Now why is this? The evil, it is considered, lies in the system and methods of European training to which Negroes are, everywhere in Christian lands, subjected, and which everywhere affects them unfavourably. Of a different race, different susceptibility, different bent of character from that of the European, they have been trained under influences in many respects adapted only to the Caucasian race. Nearly all the books they read, the very instruments of their culture, have been such as to force them from the groove which is natural to them, where they would be strong and effective, without furnishing them with any avenue through which they may move naturally and free from obstruction. Christian and so-called civilized Negroes live, for the most part, in foreign countries, where they are only passive spectators of the deeds of a foreign race; and where, with other impressions which they receive from without, an element of doubt as to their own capacity and their own destiny is fastened upon them, and inheres in their intellectual and social constitution. They deprecate their own individuality, and would escape from it if they could. And in countries like this [Liberia/Sierra Leone], where they are free from the hampering surroundings of an alien race, they still read and study the books of foreigners, and form their idea of everything that man may do, or ought to do, according to the standard held up in those teachings. Hence, without the physical or mental aptitude for the enterprises which they are taught to admire and revere, they attempt to copy and imitate them and share the fate of all copyists and imitators. Bound to move on a lower level, they acquire and retain a practical inferiority, transcribing, very often, the faults rather than the virtues of their models.

Besides the result of involuntary impressions, they often receive direct teachings which are not only incompatible with, but destructive of, their self-respect.

In all English-speaking countries the mind of the intelligent Negro child revolts against the descriptions given in elementary books—geographies, travels, histories—of the Negro; but though he experiences an instinctive revulsion from these caricatures and misrepresentations, he is obliged to continue, as he grows in years, to study such pernicious teachings. After leaving school he finds the same things in newspapers, in reviews, in novels, in quasi scientific works; and after a
while . . . they begin to seem to him the proper things to say and to feel about his race, and he accepts what, at first, his fresh and unbiased feelings naturally and indignantly repelled. Such is the effect of repetition.

Having embraced, or at least assented, to these errors and falsehoods about himself, he concludes that his only hope of rising in the scale of respectable manhood is to strive after whatever is most unlike himself and most alien to his peculiar tastes. And whatever his literary attainments or acquired ability, he fancies that he must grind at the mill which is provided for him, putting in the material furnished to his hands, bringing no contribution from his own field; and of course nothing comes out but what is put in. Thus he can never bring any real assistance to the European. He can never attain to that essence of progress which Mr. Herbert Spencer describes as *difference*: and therefore, he never acquires the self-respect or self-reliance of an independent contributor. He is not an independent help, only a subordinate help; so that the European feels that he owes him no debt and moves on in contemptuous indifference of the Negro, teaching him to contemn himself.

Those who have lived in civilized communities, where there are different races, know the disparaging views which are entertained of the blacks by their neighbours—and often, alas! by themselves. The standard of all physical and intellectual excellencies in the present civilization being the white complexion, whatever deviates from that favoured colour is proportionally depreciated, until the black, which is the opposite, becomes not only the most unpopular but the most unprofitable colour. Black men and especially black women, in such communities, experience the greatest imaginable inconvenience. They never feel at home. In the depth of their being they always feel themselves strangers in the land of their exile, and the only escape from this feeling is to escape from themselves. And this feeling of self-depreciation is not diminished as I have intimated above, by the books they read. Women, especially, are fond of reading novels and light literature; and it is in these writings that flippant and eulogistic reference is constantly made to the superior physical and mental characteristics of the Caucasian race, which, by contrast, suggest the inferiority of other races—especially of that race which is furthest removed from it in appearance.

It is painful in America to see the efforts which are made by Negroes to secure outward conformity to the appearance of the dominant race. This is by no means surprising; but what is surprising is that, under the circumstances, any Negro has retained a particle of self-respect.


B35] **Negrocentricity in Education**

The Negro must have an educational system of his own; based upon the history and tradition of his race. Therefore, the textbooks must be different than the white
man's textbooks. The white man's books laud him and outrage the Negro. In such textbooks the Negro should substitute all that is bad affecting him for what is good relating to him.

Therefore, the Negro should not be satisfied with a college or university education from white schools. He should add to his schooling by going to his own schools and universities, where possible, or read such textbooks that have been adopted by his schools and colleges. These books should glorify the Negro; just as the white man's system glorifies the white man. . . .

In reading books written by white authors of whatsoever kind, be aware of the fact that they are not written for your particular benefit or for the benefit of your race. They always write from their own point of view and only in the interest of their own race.

Never swallow wholly what the white man writes or says without first critically analyzing it and investigating it. The white man's trick is to deceive other people for his own benefit and profit.

Always be on your guard against him in whatsoever he does or says. Never take chances with him. His school books in the elementary and high schools, colleges and universities are all fixed up to suit his own purposes; to put him on top and to keep him on top of other people. Don't trust him. Beware! Beware! . . .

The educational system of today hides the truth as far as the Negro is concerned. Therefore, you must searchingly scan everything you read, particularly history, to see what you can pick out for the good of the race. For instance, you will read that the Egyptians were a great people, the Carthaginians, Libyans, etc., but you will not be told that they were Black people or Negroes. Therefore, you should go beyond the mere statement of these events to discover the truth that will be creditable to your race. Therefore, in a case like that you would ask where did the Libyans, Carthaginians or Egyptians get their civilization from? . . .

The original Egyptians were Black men and women, and so the Carthaginians and Libyans, but in the later centuries they became mixed in blood, just as the Blacks are being mixed in America and the West Indies by the infusion of white blood through the domination of the white man.

. . . All the original Pharaohs were Black. Tutankamun, whose bones and body were dug up not very long ago at Luxor in Egypt, was a Black Pharaoh. The Sphinx, in Egypt, which has stood through the millenniums, has black features. It is evident that as art it was portrayed to teach us of the greatness of men. When you are dealing with Jews let them know that they were once your slaves in Egypt, if you have to say so. There are good grounds for saying that civilization started in Africa and passed from and through Northern Africa into Southern Europe, from which the Greeks and Romans and the people of Asia Minor made good copies. . . . It is necessary for the Negro to be additionally educated or re-educated after he has imbibed the present system of education. The best way to do
this is to educate him racially in the home, meeting hall or his own club, where he will be put under the closest scrutiny and analysis of what appears to be education, as coming from other people, because their system of education may not completely fit into the Negro's ideas of his own preservation.

By not being able to do this in the past, educated Negroes have not been able to assume proper leadership of their race, because their education was of the nature to cause them to support the present system which is of no advantage to the Negro, except as a servant, serf and slave, for which purpose really the system was devised, to a certain extent. This explains the behavior of leading Negro intellectuals who are not able to dissect the educational system of others and use only that portion that would be helpful to the Negro race, and add to it for a complete curriculum that would be satisfactory as a complete education for the race. Do not swallow wholly the educational system of any other group, except you have perfectly analyzed it and found it practical and useful to your group. There is still room for the Negro educational system, free from the prejudices that the present educational system upholds against him. Never fail to impress upon the Negro that he is never thoroughly educated until he has imbibed racial education.

It is by education that we become prepared for our duties and responsibilities in life. If one is badly educated he must naturally fail in the proper assumption and practice of his duties and responsibilities. The Negro fails in the proper assumption of his duties and responsibilities because he has been badly educated. He has universally failed to measure up to his duties and responsibilities as a man and as a race. His education has been subversive. He must now make his education practical and real, hence, he must re-arrange everything that affects him in his education to be of assistance to him in reaching out to his responsibilities and duties.

As you shouldn't expect another man to give you the clothing that you need to cover your own body, so you should not expect another race to give you the education to challenge their right to monopoly and mastery; to take for yourself that which they also want for themselves. If you are going to distrust the other man in his honesty because you know him to be dishonest, then you must maintain the attitude in every respect, for if he is dishonest in one he may be dishonest in all. If he will rob you of your wages, he will also rob you of your education that would enable you to know that he is robbing you of your wages. Trust only yourself and those you know, and those who look like you. Those who look like you and are related to you ought to be known first before you know others. There may be good grounds for a common education of all groups in a community such as civic education, political and social education, but this detailed education that teaches man how to live to the highest and enjoy the best, is particular education and that particular education is always reserved for those
who want to gain an advantage. Therefore, if in no other way in particular, secure education and have your own such as the Jews, who have outside of any common education, a particular and peculiar education of their own, which augments or adds to or modifies the common education that they have gathered in the community with others.

By view of the fact that the Jew gets a dual education, the education of the State and the education of his race, he is always in a unique position to worsen or to better his compatriots of another race in the community. He is always making more out of everything than the Gentile, because he knows all about the Gentile, while the Gentile knows nothing about him.

--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1937), Message to the People, pp.31-32, 11, 12,13, 97-99]

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B36] New Goals for African Education

The task of educational, social, economic and political reconstruction must be undertaken somewhere in Africa. And some African government and leaders from other walks of life must have the vision and the will to lead off in the attack. The task is to determine the general line of march towards a higher civilization than now exists in the world today, and to carefully, step by step, develop a concrete and realistic scheme by and through which the advance is to be made. The scheme is a National University organized and structured with this end in view. It's overall function will be to guide and improve educational development all down the line. This University itself then becomes a great cooperative enterprise with the Government, and all economic, religious and social institutions in the country or, in short, it becomes the people's University in a very real sense.

The compelling reason why the African continent requires a new and revolutionary program of education is the compelling needs of the continent. These needs are urgent. These needs are so different from those of the West that even the suggestion to employ all Western procedures in meeting them appears ridiculous.

Elementary education in Africa, for example, must be the area of the greatest initial emphasis, study and development. The universal illiteracy alone demands a two-way education program for both African youths and their parents, and this matter of adult education must be made mass education in fact by making it an integral part of the school system.

"Mass education" as it is now being attempted in Africa will not do. This laudable program hardly scratches the surface. For after a reasonable period of time, literacy should be a requirement of citizenship, illiteracy outlawed, and inexcusable ignorance considered a crime.

...
The basic education program is to have as its main goal the development of better human beings in terms of cooperativeness, good manners, brotherhood, goodwill and service to community, or in short a science of humanity.

At the very outset, from the very beginning, the academic yardstick as the exclusive determinant of the child's intelligence and ability is to be destroyed. Henceforth, a greater aptitude and desire for non-academic skills will not be regarded as signs of intellectual inferiority. Quite the contrary, the "best minds" are to be encouraged to enter whatever fields their aptitudes and desires may lead them, whether these be agriculture or medicine, carpentry or law, transportation or teaching, business or scientific research.

Indeed, African education will require an expansion of the whole concept of talent. Talents are now conceived of and limited to such things as academic excellence, classical concepts and interpretations, abstract thinking, quick thinking, good memory and ready recall, speed in reading and understanding, speed in mathematical reasoning, and conversational ability.

There are other talents, generally unrecognized as such, which need to be glorified also and made an integral part of the educational measuring yardstick. Some of these are the gift for ready cooperation; the talent of good manners—which includes instinctive politeness, and respect for oneself and others; the talent for helping others, a quality akin to a natural love of people; the talent of being at home among strangers, even among those whose language and customs are decidedly different from one's own; the talent for order and beauty, and the talent for creation and of building—regardless of whether it expresses itself in building a poem or building a house, painting a canvas or new ideas for better roads or a more beautiful village.

The fact that the comprehensive educational program needed demands lengthy and careful studies in each country presents the problem of the first steps to be taken. The most significant aspects of the program rest squarely on the kind of society there is to be. The nation's basic social philosophy and fundamental goals must be predetermined, because the program to be developed will be designed to translate the philosophy into action in achieving the set goals.

Your first preparatory step should be a careful study of the history of mankind. You will need this broad perspective to see the place of Africa in the world setting and that of your country in particular. You will need this background understanding of the long, long march of the human family, its beliefs, the institutions developed to realize needs, the pitfalls and the successes. To be ignorant of history is to be ignorant of what you are trying to do now. History will show you where we have been, how we arrived where we are, whether we have traveled the best routes, and it will indicate — if we pause to reflect long enough — the best route to travel on from this point in time.
Genders or Households?

We speak in terms of the household intentionally as it is our position not to fall trap to the externally constructed agenda propagated through international NGOs of separating women from the men, children and youth of Tanzania. It is our belief that the problems confronting all of us must be dealt with starting with the family as a point of concern and not just one member or segment of the population in regards to gender. Gender is both male and female. Without the participation of all there can be no life.

--[SISI KWA SISI, The Tanzanian Preparatory Committee for 7th PAC, (1994)]

Re-Africanization and its obstacles:

80. . . . The Eurocentrism of the African elite is, according to Fanon, a colonial illness requiring a specific cure inseparable from revolutionary activity. Cabral agrees, and he names the cure as re-Africanization. (in Return To The Sources, 45.3.4) . . .

82. Fanon says the process of re-Africanization is something the majority of Africa’s people want. It is also positive and has an inherently revolutionary dynamic because it winnows out merely tribalistic values, leaving positive, inclusive values as a basis for future development. The majority of Africans want the institutional re-Africanization of the continent but the elite class is against any cleansing process because this will destroy it together with its Eurocentric philosophies. Thus, for the generality of the Westernized elite, re-Africanization can only be a catastrophe. An innovative minority, however, will have the sense to make common cause with the African people and so discover (in praxis) abandoned or even unsuspected values and social practices of a highly positive nature.

Both Fanon and Cabral specify, among these regenerative values, the practice of democratic discussion, self-criticism, open debate of a vigorous, frank tenor, collegial decision-making structures and collegial program design and communal construction (in Return . .55.1). These are the rules of communist democracy which selective use of other traditional African practices and values like universal age-group organization, democratic election and recall of administrators, could reinforce. (ibid., 45.1.1) . . .

83. There are numerous obstacles, both authors point out, but the positive evidence indicates that Africans—the peasant people—
prefer democratic self-government because that is the best traditional way they know.

84. The most serious domestic obstacle facing re-Africanization is the elite itself which has a self-preserving habit of sabotaging any possibility of democratic decision-making. It prefers mystificatory, colonial bureaucratic manipulation to voluntary participation. This preference is explainable because the elite is that part of the population whose values are derived from the Western way of life. The accent is on individualistic or familial priorities, the maximization of personal perquisites and the minimization of personal sacrifice to the point of avoiding productivity. Fanon says that this class is simply incapable of implementing any innovative or meliorative program whatsoever (in *The Wretched...* 176.0.1). The mission it has accepted is crudely to preserve for itself the irrational, unjust privileges set up by the old order and it cannot do this if it allows open, democratic discussion of priorities, plans and practices. So it hides behind formulae that allow it to avoid democratization.

85. Fanon calls it a worthless class which is unproductive and uncreative; a hustler class with the mentality of pimps, incapable of achievement and so mediocre even in its greed that it is satisfied with the mere crumbs of imperial privilege.

86. Against the minority of the African elite with enough intelligence and initiative to seek re-Africanization, the barriers are formidable. Among the strongest intellectual barriers is the Manichaean stigmatization of African values. It is impossible for anyone, African or foreigner, to co-operate harmoniously with Africans if that person has been trained to think of Africans as primitive, savage, barbarous or what have you— in other words, if culturally the person is a Westerner (in *Return...* 49.1). The primitive-civilized mind-trap works in two ways against re-Africanization. First there is the ideological conviction, nurtured in ignorance, that African values are inferior to Western values. Secondly, Africans are materially poor compared to Westerners. Now, whatever else a Western education may or may not teach, it does not teach habits of solidarity with the poor. In plain words, the Western educational experience is tacitly structured to make the elite African incapable of democratic co-operation in any undertaking involving poor people. The former is trained to be a boss or a so-called leader— he makes a lousy comrade and one of the reasons is that he also sees poverty as primitive.

87. The African people are poor, not because of primitivity, but because of robbery, piracy. The African people have been and are still being mugged. The mugger is the West. Robbery, says Cabral, is not incidental to the Western way of life: it is central. From the
African point of view it is a perverted philosophy that calls the pirate « civilized » and his victim « primitive » (*ibid.*, 57.2)

88. The key to an understanding of Africa's ruling *elite* today is the examination of its functional relationship to the two main sides of the colonial social structure: the African peasantry and the capitalist West. In that relationship the sacrifices are imposed on the former, the benefits are appropriated by the latter. The function of the *elite* is to try and get a share of the benefits while avoiding any part of the sacrifices.

89. The *elites* are trained to accumulate perquisites and to avoid sacrifices, pushing loads onto someone else's shoulders whenever possible. We think of sacrifice as punishment, perquisites as rights. Revolutions are ideopractical. They entail an even mix of rewards and sacrifices. Practising revolutionaries solve the problem by actually working where their human constituency lives and at the exact level of that human constituency (*ibid.*, 54.1.1) — sharing food, medicine, recreation, and also sharing hunger, scarcity, danger, even death. Cabral calls the revolutionary life a necessary community of sacrifice and he sees it as the basis of the future society in Africa (*ibid.*, 45.3.4)

90. The *elites* disagree. In vague, abstract ways we may concede that sacrifice is necessary, but we are programmed to seek only rewards. We undertake no project unless it pays a salary. Our priorities are crudely materialistic. At the same time, some of us are shrewdly opportunistic enough to realize that it is a sort of insurance for the future if we can at least pay lip-service to the struggle of our people. The problem for us, then, is how to find some formula that enables us to integrate into Western life-styles but at the same time, enables us to hide our ideopractical identity behind an abstract revolutionary *facade*. We need, in other words, a mask.

91. Ideopraxists need no masks; hustlers do. The identity of an ideopractical revolutionary is established by the pattern of action. The identity of the academic revolutionary is fabricated through talk.

---[Ayi Kwei Armah, <b.1939>, (1984), excerpt from “Masks and Marx”]

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**B39] The National Army**

The army is not always a school of war; more often, it is a school of civic and political education. The soldier of an adult nation is not a simple mercenary but a citizen who by means of arms defends the nation. That is why it is of fundamental importance that the soldier should know that he is in the service of his country and not in the service of his commanding officer, however great that officer's prestige may be. We must take advantage of the national military and civil service
in order to raise the level of the national consciousness, and to detribalize and unite the nation.

... Care must be taken to avoid turning the army into an autonomous body which sooner or later, finding itself idle and without any definite mission, will ‘go into politics’ and threaten the government. Drawing-room generals, by dint of haunting the corridors of government departments, come to dream of manifestoes. The only way to avoid this menace is to educate the army politically, in other words to nationalize it.

--[Frantz Fanon, <1925-1961>, (1961), *Wretched* 201, 202]

B40] The news:

The news which interests the Third World does not deal with King Baudouin's marriage nor the scandals of the Italian ruling class. What we want to hear about are the experiments carried out by the Argentinians or the Burmese in their efforts to overcome illiteracy or the dictatorial tendencies of their leaders. It is these things which strengthen us, teach us and increase our efficiency ten times over.

--[Frantz Fanon, <1925-1961>, (1961), *Wretched*, p. 203]

B41] Their theories:

I feel like an awful fool
with the theories that they season
to the taste of their needs.

--[Leon Damas, <1912-1978>, from "Solde" (Bargain)

B42] Sudan is not an Arab nation:

Would you please note one thing
that Sudan which you preposterously claim to be
an Arab nation in the heart of Africa
has always been me and only me
it's named after me —
Sudan is me!


B43] Arabs and Africans:
I find it hard to understand the role the Arabs are trying to assume nowadays — the pose of spokesmen for the black people, and even that of liberators. It will take more than honeyed overtures of friendship to make us forget what the Arabs did to Africa.

--[Vusamazulu Credo Mutwa, <b. 1921>, (1971), My People, Penguin, p. 227.]

Credo Mutwa’s point is illustrated by this complaint from 1391--Chinweizu:

“These Arabs have harmed all our land, the land of Bornu, continually up to the present, and have captured our free subjects and relatives, who are Muslims, and are selling them to the slave-dealers in Egypt and Syria and elsewhere, and some they keep for themselves.”

--[Uthman Biri ibn Idris, King of Bornu, (1391) in Thomas Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives, OUP, 1975, p. 104.]

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B44) Passionate ignorance:

Our level of ignorance and the intensity of passion with which we hold on to our ignorance make the machinations of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) look like child's play.


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Du Bois on various issues

B45] The lingering power of old and discarded theories:

Present thought and action are all too often guided by old and discarded theories of race and heredity, by misleading emphasis and silence of former histories. These conceptions are passed on to younger generations of students by current textbooks, popular histories and even public discussion.


B46]  

“Here then, my brothers, you face your great decision: will you for temporary advantage — for automobiles, refrigerators and Paris gowns — spend your income in paying interest on borrowed funds, or will you sacrifice present comfort and the chance to shine before your neighbors in order to educate your children, develop such industry as best serves the great mass of people and makes your country strong in ability, self-support and self-defense? Such union of effort
for strength calls for sacrifice and self-denial, while the capital offered you at high price by the colonial powers like France, Britain, Holland, Belgium, and the United States, will prolong fatal colonial imperialism, from which you have suffered slavery, serfdom and colonialism. You are not helpless. You are the buyers of capital goods, and to continue existence as sellers of capital, the great nations, former owners of the world, must sell or face bankruptcy. You are not compelled to buy all they offer now. You can wait. You can starve a while longer rather than sell your great heritage for a mess of Western capitalist pottage.”


B47] “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line.”
--[Du Bois, <1868-1963>, (1900), in The Souls of Black Folk, Signet Classics, p. 54]

But is it the problem of the 21st century? And, in particular, is it the problem of Blacks in the 21st century?--Chinweizu

B48] Foreign control of African education is wrong:

It is worse than stupid to allow a people's education to be under the control of those who seek not the progress of the people but their use as means of making themselves rich and powerful. It is wrong for the University of London to control the University of Ghana. It is wrong for the Catholic Church to direct the education of the black Congolese.


B49] The Pan-African Congresses:

a) My plans [for the Pan-African Congress] as they developed had in them nothing spectacular nor revolutionary. If in decades or a century they resulted in such world organisation of black men as would oppose a united front to European aggression, that certainly would not have beyond my dream. But on the other hand, in practical reality, I knew the power and guns of Europe and America and what I wanted to do was in the face of this power to sit down hand in hand with coloured groups and across the council table to learn of each other, our condition, our aspirations, our chances for concerted thought and action. Out of this there might come, not race war and opposition, but broader cooperation with the white rulers of the world, and a chance for peaceful and accelerated development of black folk.”
b) “The program of [the Pan-African Congress] as I have outlined it was not a plan of action, but of periodic conferences and free discussion. And this was a necessary preliminary to any future plan of united or separate action.”


Unfortunately, the Pan-African Congress still adheres to its founder’s format, meeting for discussion and not for action. Whereas, with Du Bois, the intervals between the first four congresses were roughly 2 years, since 1945 the intervals have been 20 years or more. And the congresses have been mere feel good jamborees for ‘true believers’.

[See B74 for a view of the 7th PAC. Also see B150 for a Youth view of the 7th PAC]

Being episodic and ad hoc gatherings, and lacking any self-reliant resource stream to maintain even a secretariat, the Pan-African Congress movement has not, in the century it has existed, built any structural capacity for collective discussion, planning, decision-making and decisive action. Despite the innovative 7th PAC slogan “Organize, don’t agonize”, the PAC movement has built no standing capacity that is ever-ready to enter any field of action. Their notion of organization seems to go no further than finding charitable sponsors for and holding a jamboree once in a generation. Pathetic!--Chinweizu

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B50

I am frightened, by the so-called friends who are flocking to Africa. Negro Americans trying to make money from your toil, white Americans who seek by investment and high interest to bind you in serfdom to business as the Near East is bound and as South America is struggling with. For this America is tempting your leaders, bribing your young scholars, and arming your soldiers.

---[Du Bois, <1868-1963> (1959); in Foner ed, p. 319]

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B51] Abandon your African languages:

“Our local tribal much-loved languages must yield to the few world tongues which serve the largest number of people and promote understanding and world literature.

This piece of wisdom from Du Bois is the exact opposite of the piece of wisdom from Diop about the necessity of restoring our languages, and urging a systematic policy in favor of growing and infusing them with scientific and technological terms. [See A 41 (a)]. Which advice should we follow? And why, and with what likely consequences?—Chinweizu

B52] Knowing and mastering the world:

The world will not yield more than you want it to yield, but if you know the world, you can make the world yield much. Whatever you want, always try to master the world. To master the world, you must know the world, hence, you must pass outside of your own district, county and country. To know the world [go] and possess it because all that is in it is yours for the getting. Go out and get it.

There is no other rival but your fellowman. Never allow your fellowman to rise higher than you, otherwise, he will make you his slave.

If you do not use the world well by understanding it, it will destroy you through its matter and through its mind. If you treat the world well by knowing it thoroughly, the world will serve you obediently.

—[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1937), Message to the People, pp. 105-106]

B53] An African Way:

We are held in bondage by our indiscriminate and injudicious use of a foreign literature; and we strive to advance by the methods of a foreign race. In this effort we struggle with the odds against us. . . . The African must advance by methods of his own. He must possess a power distinct from that of the European. It has been proved that he knows how to take advantage of European culture, and that he can be benefited by it. This proof was perhaps necessary, but it is not sufficient. We must show that we are able to go alone, to carve out our own way. We must not be satisfied that, in this nation, European influence shapes our policy, makes our laws, rules in our tribunals, and impregnates our social atmosphere. We must not suppose that the Anglo-Saxon methods are final, that there is nothing for us to find for our own guidance, and that we have nothing to teach the world.

The Lure of Marxism:

22. Marxism, in its approach to non-Western societies and values, is decidedly colonialist, Western, Eurocentric and hegemonist. . . .

24. Marxism, in its approach to the non-Western majority of the world's peoples, is demonstrably racist—racist in a prejudiced, determined, dishonest and unintelligent fashion. . . .

75. From a non-Western perspective, Marxism contains enough flaws to compromise it seriously as a theory of revolution in the modern world. Why then does it show signs of still being in vogue?

76. Part of the answer lies in semiotic and iconographic behavior. The name « Marx » has sometimes been used by revolutionary movements in a symbolic way, as a ceremonial ancestral eponym linking different styles of revolutionary theory and praxis. As for the face of Marx, it has served as a kind of icon, an ancestral mask. The hagiographic element in communist culture is important. Its value lies in its mythopoeic and religious power. There are many people in the non-Western world whose psychological needs are for religious identification and dramatic pageant — ritual. Such needs are, of course, transitional, especially among groups only lately weaned from more conservative colonial ideologies such as Christianity and Islam. Hagiographic masks, when they have served their purpose, are ceremonially buried and new ones fashioned for those who still need them — the tender in age and mind.

77. Secondly, Marx has become a functional, philosophical, ancestral mentor-surrogate for intellectuals either ignorant of, or simply deprived of, their own philosophical lineages— they are intellectual orphans. The non-Western world in these neo-colonial times is a breeding-ground of young intellectuals who never had their own ideational family trees revealed to them. As a rule, children educated in colonial institutions are not taught the philosophies of their own people. Sometimes, the embargo on knowledge of self and kin extends to our history and even to our geography. Thus the majority of non-Western intellectuals educated in colonial or neo-colonial institutions are trained to be ignorant of their own philosophical antecedents while struggling to assimilate data, theories and father-figures from the Western arsenal. There is something natural in all this. Orphans need parents and will accept surrogates. As for those who do, in fact, have their own lineages but have been trained not to recognize them, some will cling with combative desperation to the ersatz
fathers they have found, thinking them even better than the real ones they might have had. But the most intelligent will keep searching for the truth until they find their lost ancestors and selves.

78. Continuity is one more reason why Marxism attracts those of the non-Western elite who like to talk of revolution. Most Africans educated in Western schools are indoctrinated with Christian worldviews when they are too young to put up any resistance. After that inertia, if not active acceptance, keeps them Christian. Much later, if they generate sufficient intellectual energy to break free of Christianity, they still need an alternative worldview, a sort of half-way house after primary addiction and Marxism is an excellent-half-way house for anyone previously addicted to Christianity. The mythopoeic composition of the Marxist thought-system is similar to that of Christianity. In certain respects, the basic structures of the two systems are identical. The Christian heaven has a secular analogue in the final stage of Marxist communism. Socialism is a style of Purgatory. Capitalism is very much the fallen world of woes. Similarities in molecular structure could be multiplied. Often, the same anti-cerebral, celebrationist Manichaean zeal that went into the elite African's Christian days is transferred to Marxism. The young Christian, who used to hate African religions as superstitious antitheses to his civilized Eurocentric religion, becomes an adult Marxist who still hates African worldviews and calls them mysticism and unscientific antitheses to his new-found Marxism.

79. Finally, there is plain mental laziness, the distinguishing characteristic made famous by Fanon's critique of the Western-educated non-Western elite. In Africa, the latter prefers consumption to production as a fixed principle of life. He prefers imitation to innovation. The normal member of this class admires products ready-made, purchased, bottled or packaged in the West—homogenized, pre-cooked and predigested if possible. As an intellectual product, Marxism has the prestige and convenience of a ready-made Western thought system loaded with impressivesounding terms and mouth-filling phrases redolent of education and instantly useable in academic debate or dinner-table chit-chat. Its great advantage is that it gives a patina of broad learning while protecting the faithful from the necessity of widely reading the whole world's philosophies. Outside Marxism, the non-Westerner posing as a Marxist usually knows little and, the less he knows, the more convinced he is that what he does not know is really not worth knowing, because it is not Marxist, because it is inferior.
11 Frantz Fanon: *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, Grove Press, 1978) 149.1.2

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92. In Africa, experience suggests that Marxism is of academic, not ideopractical, interest to revolutionaries. Fanon and Cabral have noted that it is limited, then gone on to spell out actual revolutionary imperatives (in *The Wretched...* 40.0.5 and in *Return...* 53.0.7). But for the elite African, Marxism has saving qualities. It enables him to acquire a reputation as a revolutionary while, in fact, he is busily building up a life of unproductive consumerism for himself and elitist privilege for his children, thus expanding the human base of Eurocentrism. Marxism enables a person to do all this at the slight cost of the energy invested in talking. Cold betrayal in practice; fiery revolution in words.


This is an example of what Senghor laments [in B66] about non-African ideologies.

--Chinweizu

B55] Marxism using Africans:

a) Africans must learn to use Marxism, but Marxism must not be allowed to use Africans.


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b) What I want is that Marxism and Communism be harnessed into the service of coloured peoples, and not coloured peoples into the service of Marxism and Communism... There are no allies by divine right. There are only allies thrust upon us by place, by moment, by the nature of things. And if our alliance with the French proletariat bars us from contracting any other, if it tends to make us forget or retreat from other necessary and natural, rightful and fertile alliances, if communism pillages our most vivifying friendships, wastes the bond that weds us to other West Indian islands, the tie that makes us Africa’s child, then I say that communism has served us ill...


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*In its General Declaration the 6th PAC proclaimed in 1974:*

“Revolutionary Pan Africanism inscribes itself within the context of the class struggle... The universality of imperialism implies the universality of the anti-imperialist struggle... It is our duty to... work for a movement of the working masses to defeat monopoly and finance capitalism and the forces of racism, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism... Skin colour—be it black, white, yellow or brown—is no indication of
the social class, ideology, nature, behavior qualities or abilities of men or peoples. . . . We
must therefore define ourselves not in terms of skin colour, which is a static element, but
solely in terms of our aims of progress which are dynamic, just and noble. . . . Pan
Africanism must define its programme of action . . . without consideration of skin colour
or nationality. . . . Pan Africanism therefore excludes all racial, tribal, ethnic, religious or
chauvinist considerations, it embraces the cause of all oppressed people of the world and
is opposed to all reactionary forces throughout the world. . . . Revolutionary Pan
Africanism can now bring to the world revolution and to universal progress its original
and prolific contribution.”

In other words, the duty of “Revolutionary Pan-Africanism” is not to solve the
problems of the African race but rather to contribute to the Communist “world
revolution”!

Outside the OAU interstate level, which is an offshoot of the Pan-African
Congress movement, the PAC is the only branch of Pan-Africanism that has been
active since 1945. Therefore, this take-over of the PAC by ‘Revolutionary Pan-
Africanism’ amounted to a hijacking of Pan-Africanism by Communism. The
Communist campaign to hijack the Negro liberation movement began back in the
1920s when Negro Communists tried to take over the UNIA but were fought off by
Garvey. After half a century of sustained and devious Communist effort, the 6th PAC
finally accomplished exactly what Cesaire had denounced—hijacking the Negro
struggle for the global class struggle and harnessing black people into the service of
the universal Communist struggle, so as to provide Communism with the
“revolutionary expendables” for which Padmore had denounced them in the 1930s
after he left Moscow.

According to Padmore, who knew the Communists well, having served as their
chief Negro organizer inside the Kremlin in the early 1930s when he was Chairman of
the Negro Bureau of the Profintern:

Negro workers and peasants are regarded by the Communists as ‘revolutionary
expendables’ in the global struggle of Communism against Western Capitalism. .
. . (and) peoples of African descent are courted primarily to tag on to the white
proletariat, and thus to swell the ‘revolutionary’ ranks against the imperialist
enemies of the ‘Soviet Fatherland’

--[Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism? pp. 289-290]

In effect, by inscribing “itself within the context of the class struggle,” the 6th PAC
shamelessly reduced Pan-Africanism to a Negro contingent in the global anti-capitalist
army led by the communists on behalf of the white proletariat. How does that solve the
problems of the African race—especially powerlessness and Negrophobia? Now, who
is a better advocate of the interests of the black race—Samora Machel, Aime Cesaire,
Padmore or the faceless and nameless black Marxists who executed the Communist
takeover of the 6th PAC and then issued that General Declaration?--Chinweizu

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c) European socialism, even the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels, cannot be
accepted by us as it stands and as too many African intellectuals, students and
trade unionists do accept it.

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B56] Mr Mandela: Why did they choose to set him free?

There is something unique to the makeup of a Black person and that is the ability to endure unimaginable pain. . . . Put us into a furnace, forget that we are in there and only when you can smell the fumes of burning flesh do you remember to take us out. And what do we say - "thank you"! Is Nelson Mandela a perfect example of the burnt out, no substance, Black person?

After twenty seven years of captivity imprisoned under apartheid, Mr Mandela seems to have lost his sense of focus. I vividly remember the day he was released. Tears of joy flowed down my face as I watched this frail but triumphant old man walk through the cheering crowds holding the hand of his warrior wife. The image was enough to instill hope in the many Black people across the world who are daily imprisoned physically, mentally and spiritually. The symbol proclaimed that right was stronger than wrong and, in the long run, good would overcome evil. I should have asked the question then--why did they choose to set him free? The answer now seems so very clear. They realised that Nelson Mandela was an idealist by nature, and as their time began to run out they saw a window of opportunity to manipulate us through him. We should all know from bitter experience that there is no room for idealism when you are dealing with such a cunning and conniving foe.

Once Mr Mandela was ‘free’ he immediately clothed himself in the trappings of our enemies. Western suit, western economics, western diplomacy, western politics, and western solutions-- to African problems.

--Excerpt from “Where is the substance, Mr Mandela?”, The Alarm No.7, July 1994, p.22

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B57] Share your house with the robber, the burglar, the murderer and the rapist?
What kind of fool are you?

“I said the white man has killed millions of our men, women and babies in South Africa, and I said that when we gain power in South Africa we should give them 24 hours to get outta town by sundown, if we are going to be merciful at all. Well, that’s a rhetorical statement, it didn’t have to be 24 hours. It could have been a week, a month, or six months, but not too long, because they don’t have no business being over there.

(Imagine) someone bumrush your house, black-boot stomp your door down and come in and rape everybody in the house and rob everybody in the house, take all of the riches in the house. One day you gain power to take your house back. . . . You take your house back by God Almighty’s permission and now you gonna share it with the robber, the burglar, the murderer and the rapist?
What kind of fool are you? “Well, well, well, I now have my house back, but I am going to show you what a good person I am. You can have the west wing and I will take the east wing, and we will share this section, and we will have one person one vote. We will have a vote on everything that comes up in the household”. What kind of fool are you?

No! I don’t owe you nothing. You break into my house and rape and rob and murder and steal all over my house, when I get enough power I’m gonna break your damn neck. That’s what I’m gonna do.

How many of you would let a burglar break into your house and rape and steal and kill, and then you share your house with the burglar day after tomorrow?”


B58] Walter Rodney on 6th PAC’s ‘non-recognition of race’

In the final communiqué [of the Sixth Pan-African Congress], there were statements to the effect that Pan-Africanism does not recognize tribe or race or things of that sort. . . . How could a Pan-African position say we don't recognize race?


B59] Race vs Class in the USA (and similar multi-racial societies):

What the uniqueness of the black situation means, to look at it programatically, is that at this moment it is extremely difficult for any progressive black leader to operate outside of the boundaries of the black community. At this particular time, for this era, I believe that our history imposes upon a black Marxist the necessity to operate almost exclusively, certainly essentially, within the black community. Now I know that will likely sound heretical to many Marxists because they will say, but surely your constituency is the working class and you should therefore transcend, rather than be a prisoner of, the racial divisions within the class, because these racial divisions are essentially divisions at the subjective level of consciousness. This is how the traditional argument will go, but I'm not at all convinced about that. They might be right but I find it rather peculiar, and I believe that a number of mistaken strategies derive from taking the racial divisions merely as subjective and therefore as something that you break down merely by speaking to the white worker and by exposing him to a superior logic. I believe that superior logic works only where there is no rooted class interest. Perhaps I should go further and say, where there is no historical privilege, because while there may not be a sharp class
difference between a black worker and a white worker, there are certainly
differences of historical privilege in all respects - culturally, politically,
economically, and in terms of social mobility.

... The phenomena of a race encrusted within a class in the particular way
that the black working class is situated and functions is definitely not
found anywhere else. I don't know whether that terminology itself is even
adequate to the analysis of the present time. It is true that the model of
black people as an "internal colony" has been used for quite some time in
the United States, but it has limitations. It hasn't gone in the direction of
really explaining the characteristics of a working class in a colony. Are
those characteristics represented in the United States among black people?
I don't think that question ever really came out clearly in the use of this
"internal colony" model. Indeed, it's only now that people are beginning to
look more closely at the specific characteristics of the working class in the
colony compared to the metropole, recognizing the differences in wage
rates, organizational structure and power, access to the state, and cultural
and racial perception. All these differences distinguish a capitalist worker
or a worker in the capitalist metropole from a worker in the peripheral
areas of the Third World. If we looked at those differences, we might want
to ask ourselves whether we can perceive similar kinds of differences
within the history of the black working people here in the U.S. Blacks, in
fact, have had a different degree of access to the means of production
compared with white workers. While white workers could get wage
employment, black workers after slavery became quasi-free labor under
the regime of the southern sharecropping system. While white workers
could get jobs, black workers formed the majority of the unemployed
pool. I was recently participating in a discussion where the brother, who
was a serious Marxist, took a very clear anti-imperialist position, but he
was saying nonetheless that the difference between white workers and
black workers could be boiled down to about $100 a year. What happened
to all this history? Do you mean that if I went out there and if I had the
power to distribute $100 a year more to every black worker, I would have
eliminated the problem? Surely it can't be reduced just to that kind of very
elementary variable.

We shall need to push for more serious work to examine what may be
the uniqueness of the American situation. However, I think that what
really happens is this: Ordinary black people know the uniqueness that
exists and if you come up with a theory that says it doesn't exist, then
you're joking, because your theory is irrelevant to how they see
themselves, false consciousness or no false consciousness. No people
could be so falsely conscious of black people living in this society as not
to know that the whole range of choices in this society is not predicated
merely upon the fact that a black worker earns $100 less than a white
worker.
Senghor on sundry matters

B60] European Socialism and African realities:

African statesmen...have for the most part chosen the socialist state ... socialist, not communist. I have tried to show that African civilization is a collectivist and communal civilization: it is socialist.

The mistake here is to start from European socialism without first analysing it. The mistake is to overlook its historical necessity, that in the forms which it has taken it is the natural outcome of a particular situation. The mistake is to want to transplant as they are all the institutions which it advocates. It is principally its method which we must retain from European socialism, and this method requires that we begin by analysing the realities of Africa, geographical, ethnic, political, economic, social and cultural. When this analysis is complete, the problem is to know what is the present value of the institutions and way of life which have sprung from these realities and how they can be adapted to the demands of the modern world. It is then seen that parliamentary democracy, mutual co-operation, division of labour in the forms which they are present in Africa are still valuable if only we are ready to renew them in the light of European and Asian experience. I say 'Asian', speaking as an African, because the situation in our underdeveloped territories is much closer to Asia than to Europe.


B61] African Art:

In art we have no lessons to learn from Europe. We are here on our own ground. All the lessons from African art must be retained as contemporary European art itself has retained them. ... After all, why should we go elsewhere to look for what we can find at home in Africa?


B62] Cultural colonialism:

cultural colonialism, in the form of assimilation, is the worst colonialism of all.


B63] The task of African writers and artists:

It is their task to analyse the total situation of the respective peoples and, as part of this, to say what must be retained from the values and institutions of their
traditional civilization and, most important of all, to say how, through the leaven of outside influences, these can be brought back to a new life.


B64] I still consider that the poem is only complete when it becomes song, speech and music at the same time.


B65] African humanities:

We have heard for decades about the ‘modern humanities’. ‘Why should there not be 'African humanities’? Every language, which means every civilization, can provide material for the humanities, because every civilization is the expression, with its own peculiar emphasis, of certain characteristics of humanity. How can an African elite play its part in bringing about a renaissance of African civilization out of the ferment caused by French contact if they start off knowing nothing about that civilization? And where can a more authentic expression of that civilization be found than in vernacular languages and literature?

--[Senghor, <1906-2001>, (1945?), in Reed and Wake eds., pp. 53-54]

B66] Africa’s misfortune—believing in enemy ideologies:

Africa's misfortune has been that our secret enemies, in defending their values, have made us despise our own. And so we now go around shouting slogans from their ideologies which we are naïve enough to believe in. . . . Let us look at them. Take just the two greatest, who fascinate us like serpents. Look at them. They are North Americans and Russians before they are capitalists or' communists. And they are right. They use their theories to develop their nations and increase their strength. They are right.


See [B54] for Ayi Kwei Armah on the example of African converts to the non-African ideology called Marxism –Chinweizu

B67] Independence of spirit, cultural independence, is a necessary preliminary to all other independence . . . political, economic and social.

B68] Neo-colonialism and development aid:

The methods of neo-colonialists are subtle and varied. They operate not only in the economic field, but also in the political, religious, ideological and cultural spheres. Faced with the militant peoples of the ex-colonial territories in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, imperialism simply switches tactics. Without a qualm it dispenses with its flags, and even with certain of its more hated expatriate officials. This means, so it claims, that it is ‘giving’ independence to its former subjects, to be followed by ‘aid’ for their development. Under cover of such phrases, however, it devises innumerable ways to accomplish objectives formerly achieved by naked colonialism. It is the sum total of these modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about ‘freedom’, which has come to be known as neo-colonialism.

--[Nkrumah, <1909-1972>, (1965), Revolutionary Path, p.234]

For all the hagiography and big noise, by Nkrumahists, about Nkrumah being a great thinker, you will notice that he makes hardly any appearance in this anthology. The fact is that, as far as I have examined them, Nkrumah’s supposedly great ideas are either crackpot or obsolete. If there are any that are not, I am yet to spot them. But all hope is not lost. I am still searching. Anyway, Nkrumah’s ideas and performance in Pan-Africanism—that’s a discussion for another time and place.—Chinweizu

B69]

“The less developed world will not become developed through the goodwill or generosity of the developed powers. It can only become developed through a struggle against external forces which have a vested interest in keeping it undeveloped.”

--[Nkrumah, <1909-1972>, (1965), Revolutionary Path, p. 323]

A “struggle against external forces” is not sufficient. In addition, appropriate structures for internal development must be constructed. Demolishing an unsuitable house is only a preliminary step that clears the ground on which a new and better house can be built. But the new house still needs to be built. You can’t stop with demolishing the old house. Furthermore, such examples as North Korea, South Korea, Singapore and Malaysia, which did not waste any breath in “a struggle against external forces,” suggests that it was possible, without struggling against the external forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism, to industrialize a former colony in the 1950s and 1960s. Hence, the struggle against external forces was also not necessary.

—Chinweizu

B70] National Liberation—its defining aim and a test for when it is achieved:

“national liberation exists when, and only when, the national productive forces have been completely freed from all and any kind of foreign
domination. . . . The aim of national liberation . . . is to free the process of development of the national productive forces. . . . In our view any national liberation movement that does not take into consideration this basis and this aim may struggle against imperialism, but will certainly not be struggling for national liberation. This means that, bearing in mind the essential characteristics of the present-day world economy, as well as experiences already gained in the field of anti-imperialist struggle, the principal aspect of national liberation struggle is the struggle against what is conventionally called neocolonialism.”


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**Garvey on sundry matters**

**B71] Cultivating Negro culture:**

It is through the institutions of a race that the civilization and culture of the race are built. The Negro should occupy himself in cultivating his own culture.


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**B72] Countering white propaganda:**

“We of the Negro race are suffering more than any other race in the world from propaganda—Propaganda to destroy our hopes, our ambitions and our confidence in self. . . . Propaganda is all around you; to make you buy a special brand of cigarettes, although no good, but advertised to be the best; to make you drink or use a certain brand of tea; telling you of its wonderful qualities and its everlasting benefits when there is absolutely nothing to it, and so on. . . . The press, cinema, pulpit, schoolroom are all propaganda agencies for one thing or the other. The pulpit carries religious propaganda, the schoolroom carries educational propaganda, the press carries out written propaganda, the platform carries on oral propaganda, the cinema carries out demonstrative propaganda. These methods have been devised by the white man to spread his ideas universally among men. That is why he is able, in a major sense, to control the minds of the people of the world.

The white man is a great propagandist. He fully and completely realizes the value of propaganda. Therefore, **you must organize your propaganda to undo the propaganda of other people; if their propaganda affects your interest.** The bible is religious propaganda, the school book is literary propaganda. The novels and books you read are also literary propaganda, all calculated to bring about certain results beneficial to the propagandist.
Never forget then that you are surrounded by a world of propaganda, all dressed up or cooped up to suit a doubtful public that is not careful about what it digests from without. The artist is also a propagandist. He paints pictures to convey the idea he wants to impress upon the non-thinking and doubtful public. The sculptor is also a propagandist. He chisels figures and portrays them to suit the aim or purpose he wants to achieve. The pictures of the Madonna and Christ and of the angels are painted portraying a white race, so as to inflict upon the rest of the world the belief that God, the angels and the Holy Family are all white, as well as Adam and Eve. Adam and Eve were black. They also paint the devil and the imps of hell black to impress upon the world the belief that all that is black is evil and all that is white is good and holy.

Tear from your walls, all pictures that glorify other races. Tear up and burn every bit of propaganda that does not carry your idea of things. Treat them as trash.

When you go to the cinema and you see the glorification of others in the pictures, don't accept it; don't believe it to be true. Instead, visualize yourself achieving whatever is presented, and if possible, organize your propaganda to that effect. You should always match propaganda with propaganda.

Have your own newspapers, your own artists, your own sculptors, your own pulpits, your own platforms, print your own books and show your own motion pictures and sculpture your own subjects. Never accept as yours subjects of another race; but glorify all the good in yourselves.

Keep your home free and clear of alien objects of glorification of other races, otherwise your children will grow up to adore and glorify other people. Put in the place of others the heroes and noble characters of your own race.

Never allow your children to play with or to have white dolls. It will give them the idea of having white children themselves. Give them the dolls of their own race to play with and they will grow up with the idea of race love and race purity.

Watch the newspapers, magazines and Journals daily for propaganda against your race or your institutions; particularly against the U.N.I.A. Rush into print immediately a defense of your race institutions and organizations from any attack. Never allow an insult propagated to go unanswered by you. Be ever vigilant to down anything by way of propaganda that dishonors or discredits you. Don't help the other fellow to carry on propaganda against yourself or your race.
... Propaganda organized by somebody else is always calculated to take advantage of you. Don't help them do so. Always ask, what is this about? What is the object of this? Who has sent this out? What is he aiming at? Will it hurt me and my race? Is he trying to get an advantage over me? Is it honest? Is it true? If you ask these questions of all propaganda that comes up, before you swallow it, you will be able to take care of yourself.

Don't sing the songs and repeat the praises that glorify other races. Sing your own songs and recite your own praises that glorify your own race. For instance, it is foolish for Negroes to sing or say "Britons never shall be slaves" when they themselves have been slaves and are likely to be slaves if they don't impress upon their minds that they as Negroes will never be slaves again.

Sing, therefore, "Negroes never shall be slaves." Be careful how you sing religious hymns that have been written, dished up and made popular by white writers to glorify the white race in the name of God; taking advantage of the silence of God to impress inferiority upon your race such as "the great white wings of angels," "the great white throne of God," "wash me white as snow." All these are damnably vicious forms of propaganda against the Black race. "Though my sins be as scarlet, they shall be whiter than snow." "Wash me in the blood and I shall be whiter than snow." All these things reflect the propaganda designed by the white man to glorify his skin and his race as against the black imps of hell and the black devil and the black pale of doom.

The idea of the white man making black a symbol of mourning and sadness is just to show the extreme of the purity of whiteness and it's joy and happiness. Reverse this. If possible teach the Negro that when he is in mourning he should wear white, and when he is happy to wear black. This is meeting propaganda with propaganda, the hatchet with the hatchet, the stick with the stick and the stone with the stone. . . .

--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1923 & 1937), Excerpts from Philosophy and Opinions, p.1,15; and Message to the People, pp.126-130]

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B73] War

“There may be righteous wars as well as unrighteous wars; depending entirely upon the civilization that makes the war or defends itself in war. It may be war to put down human abuse in favor of human virtue. The war-makers have always justified war in some way or another. If you become engaged in a war, always have justification for your engagement.

If the war is not yours, get something out of it before you go into it and complete it for the good of others. Never go into war foolishly. Never
sacrifice your life without good results for your cause. War is the best time to take advantage of your transgressor, whoever he may be. Whenever he is engaged in war and he promises you nothing, you will never get anything from him in time of peace. Therefore, during the time of war make your bargains before you help anybody else in war. If you are suffering from the abuses of others and there should be a threat of war against them from some other source, encourage it because it will be your chance to force a square deal. The more other people war among themselves, the stronger you become if you exercise good judgment.

Divide your enemies so as to gain your advantage. Always keep them divided so as to be able to gain the advantage. Your only hope of escaping the hate and prejudice of other people is to keep them severely occupied with other problems. If they have nothing else to attend to, they will concentrate on you and your problems will be aggravated. . . . If they have no other problems to occupy their time, they will turn to you and turn on you. Keep them occupied otherwise. The more confused they are worrying over their troubles, the more time you will have to get out of your trouble.

---[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1937), Message to the People, pp. 132,133]

The troubles wracking the Arab world since 2011, with the “Arab spring” and the Libya civil war that overthrew Gadafi, have been good opportunities for Black Africa. What with ‘revolution’ in Egypt; civil war in Syria; crises in the Palestinian territories; political unrest in Tunisia and Yemen; sectarian bloodbaths in Iraq; refugees flooding into Jordan and Lebanon, Black Africa has had some respite from meddlesome Arab expansionists and colonialists led by Gadafi with his Arab-imperialist “United States of Africa”. The question is: are we taking enough advantage of their being preoccupied with intra-Arab troubles? Are we using the time to organize ourselves to thwart any future efforts they will make against our land and our other interests when this their season of troubles is over? --Chinweizu

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B74] Looking back at 7th PAC--“A huge jamboree”

It turned out to be a huge jamboree of “Pan-African church men and women” coming to a shrine to swear allegiance to a faith they vaguely adhere to--and unfortunately, for too many--in a millenarian fashion without care for what they socially and substantially uphold. There were some very “spiritually” ecstatic moments but, unfortunately, these emotional lifts were not underscored in any historical sense by intellectual ballast. We had a great deal of “fine speeches”, name-dropping and stage management. There was an inability to advance the course of the emancipation of people of African descent in any sensible or theoretically enlightening way. This was largely because, from a very early and preparatory stage, the whole project--or if you like jamboree--was high jacked by elements and minds which were more concerned with the dramatics of seeing the
“7th Pan-African Congress” than with midwifing a qualitative development in the intellectual underpinnings of the struggle for the emancipation of people of African descent. I hope the next chapter of this process delivers more gold. We cannot go back to that sort of “nigger heaven” and political posturing.

--[Kwesi Prah, <b. 19xx>, (1995)]

See also [B150] and compare--Chinweizu

C.L.R. James on sundry matters

B75] Revolutionary Fidelity:

“In a revolution each must choose his side and stick to it.”


B76] Race or Class?

The race question is subsidiary to the class question in politics, and to think of imperialism in terms of race is disastrous. But to neglect the racial factor as merely incidental is an error only less grave than to make it fundamental.


James is in error here. He doesn’t see that race and class are independent co-factors in imperialism. Nor does he see why race is fundamental wherever imperialism brings physically together a ruling race and a ruled race. Here is why: Within the monoracial metropole, the class division and conflict may be fundamental; but in any colony where the colonizers and the colonized belong to different races, the racial division is stark and fundamental. All the white colonizers, even those of the lowest rank in white society, as members of the ruling race, ranked higher than all the colonized, higher than even those of highest rank in black society because even a black king belonged to the subjugated race. Being of the ruling race, working-class whites and even white tramps in Apartheid South Africa, or white Cockney privates in the British army in Kumasi in the early 20th century, enjoyed white-skin privileges; and even the black aristocrat suffered black-skin disabilities. In such a colony, race is fundamental and class is subsidiary. Inattention to this kind of colony is at the basis of James’ error.

But in a multiracial imperialist country, such as pre-1940s USA, where a subordinated race is entirely encrusted within the lowest white class, the “race vs. class” confusion could arise—especially if focus is put exclusively on the lowest class. It is then possible to say that the black race in just a fraction of the working or lowest class. Please see Rodney on race vs. class in the USA [B60 above]. But even there, so long as the encrusted black race ranks below the whites of the same class, and consequently all blacks rank below all whites in the society, race is fundamental and
class is subsidiary, just as in the case of the colony with a ruling race and a ruled race. This is not counter intuitive: in any mixed race crowd, sex aside, the first noticeable visual distinction is the skin colors. Your skin color announces, like a uniform, where you belong in the global power hierarchy or pecking order. It answers the first question about a person’s ranking in the world and, therefore, in that crowd. If the skin is white, then she belongs to the globally most powerful race and she will automatically elicit the respect due to the ruling race. But if the skin is black, then he belongs to the most subordinate race, and he will suffer the disrespect accorded to people that are lowest on the totem pole. It is only after their racial ranking is visually declared by their skin color, that the question of their class ranking arises, and then it is the class ranking within their particular race and society. They may both be middle class, but whereas she is a middle class white of the dominant race, he is a middle class black of the dominated race. So even in a random multiracial crowd at any airport, race is fundamental, and class is subsidiary.---Chinweizu

B77] From no classes of people have Negroes suffered more than from the capitalists of Britain and America. They have been the most pertinacious preachers of race prejudice in the world.

B78] “It is on colonial peoples without means of counter-publicity that imperialism practices its basest arts.” . . .

B79] Justified prejudice/hatred

a) Hatred of those who deserved to be hated and destroyed had sharpened his [Dessalines’] wits.

b) “European Communists will have to make wide concessions to natives of colonial countries in order to overcome the justified prejudice which these feel toward all classes in the oppressing countries.” James paraphrasing Lenin’s thesis to the Second Congress of the Communist International.
B80] On whites and blacks—various comments:

a) The whites are the implacable foe, the traditional and everlasting enemy of the Blacks. . . . The white man is their Bitter Enemy.”

b) The attitude of the white race is to subjugate, to exploit, and if necessary exterminate the weaker peoples with whom they come in contact. They subjugate first, if the weaker peoples will stand for it; then exploit, and if they will not stand for SUBJUGATION nor EXPLOITATION, the other recourse is EXTERMINATION.
   --[ Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, P&O, I:13]

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c) In their relationship with the Black race, Europeans are psychopaths.

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d) The world has made being black a crime and I have felt it in common with men who suffer like me, and instead of making it a crime I hope to make it a virtue.
   --[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1928), in Speech at the Ward Theatre, Kingston, Jamaica, Negro World, January 7, 1928; quoted in Race First, p.23]

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B81] Cabral quotes Nkrumah on Nkrumah’s intended new approach to African Unity:

“Nkrumah told me in Conakry— (unfortunately he is not alive, but I am not lying, I never lied in my life) he was one of my best friends, I'll never forget him; and you can read my speech at his memorial—you see he told me, "Cabral, I tell you one thing, our problem of African unity is very important, really, but now if I had to begin again, my approach would be different.”
   --[Amilcar Cabral, <1924-1973>, (1972), Return to the Source, p. 91]

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B82] Black weaknesses/faults—that we should struggle with and eliminate

a) Suffering and smiling:

Suffer, suffer, suffer, suffer, suffer, suffer for world,  
Na your fault be dat.
   --[Fela Kuti, <1938-1997>, from ‘Suffering & Shmiling’ (1978)]
b) **Too fearful:**  
My people dey fear too much  
We fear for the thing we no see  
We fear for the air around us  
We fear to fight for freedom  
We fear to fight for liberty  
We fear to fight for justice  
We fear to fight for happiness  
We always get reason to fear  
We no wan die  
We no wan wound  
We no wan quench  
We no wan go  
I get one child  
Mama dey for house  
Papa dey for house  
I wan build house  
I don build house  
I no wan quench  
I wan enjoy  
I no wan go  
--[Fela Kuti, <1938-1997>, from ‘Sorrow, Tears & Blood’ (1977)]

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c) **Not suspicious:**  
We are not a suspicious race.  
--[Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like*, p. 42]

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d) **Unreal ideas about existence:**  
I no longer wonder why we haven't achieved liberation as a group. We cling to unreal ideas about existence and who we are.  
--[Mollie West, in a Nov 2009, email]

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e) **Madness:**  
I predicted several years ago that our demise was near due to our inability to connect with our Africaness and what it means vis-a-vis the world. We seem to want to include *everyone* who has dark skin as an African! What insanity! We're humane to the world and yet traitors when it comes to one another. It's madness.  
--[Mollie West, in a March 2008 email]

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f) **Deep religiosity:**  
Africans are a deeply religious race.
Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like*, p.44

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**g) Complacent faith in prayer**

Somehow Blacks have the strange notion that "everything will fall into place for them if they just pray." Ha! Prayer certainly has its place, but we've been complacent for far too long now, and if the end came tomorrow for us as a people, I wouldn't be surprised one iota. I'd say, "We had enough time!"

---[Mollie West, in an April 2008 email]

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**h) Fatalist attitude:**

Some of us seem to accept the fatalist position, the fatalist attitude, that God accorded to us a certain position and condition, and therefore there is no need trying to be otherwise. The moment you accept such an attitude, the moment you accept such an opinion, the moment you harbor such an idea, you hurl an insult at the great God who created you, because you question Him for His love, you question Him for His mercy. God has created man, and has placed him in this world as the lord of the creation, as the sovereign of everything that you see, let it be land, let it be sea, let it be the lakes, rivers and everything therein. All that you see in creation, all that you see in the world, was created by God for the use of man, and you four hundred million black souls have as much right to your possession in this world as any other race.

—[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1922), *P&O*, I:89-90]

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**i) Individualism:**

[Africans need to] discard the spirit of individualism which has so far prevented social cohesion.


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**j) Belief in lies:**

The only way that we can be in the condition we are in, as a people, is to believe lies. Our mentality has been reversed and our behavior made backwards because we take the lie for the truth, and the truth for the lie.


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**k) Love to be deceived:**
Among the peoples of the world the most susceptible to deception is the Negro. As a fact, he likes deception. He thrives on it. He doesn’t appreciate being told the cold, blunt truth. He likes to be complimented and flattered, even to his own destruction, and so, those who desire to profit out of his peculiar mentality and spirituality indulge wholesaley in the scheme of deception.


This is just a small sampling of our weaknesses that we need to struggle against and eliminate. These have been identified by our fellow blacks. There is a more serious list of weaknesses which have been identified by our white enemies who have used them to subjugate and exploit us. These do not belong here, but will be included in another essay on our weaknesses, as part of the strategic “Black World Know Thyself” discipline that I call Niggerology.--Chinweizu

B83] By whatever means necessary:

Within the movement we use words like 'by whatever means necessary' but many add--to themselves--an amendment such as 'as long as no one gets hurt' or 'as long as white people are ok with it' or 'as long as we can keep white support' and so on. But if we are to be true to the liberation struggle we cannot stop till the wrong that have been done are put right. Clear?

Steve Biko <1946-1977> on sundry matters

B84]

There is no doubt that the black-white power struggle in South Africa is but a microcosm of the global confrontation between the Third World and the rich white nations of the world.
--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 72]

Indeed, the situation of the blacks in apartheid South Africa was a microcosm of the situation of the Black world within the global structure of white power. Black South Africa was embedded in the white power structure of White South Africa in much the same way that the Black World has been embedded in the global white power structure. This is why much of what Biko had to say about the blacks in South Africa resonates and can still be applied to blacks in the global white power world.--Chinweizu

B85]

It seems sometimes that it is a crime for the non-white students to think for themselves. The idea of everything being done for the blacks is an old one and all
liberals take pride in it; but once the black students want to do things for themselves suddenly they are regarded as becoming “militant”.

--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 4]

B86]
It does not help us to see several quiet black faces in a multiracial student gathering which ultimately concentrates on what the white students believe are the needs for the black students.

--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 5]

This applies equally to black presidents who are invited to the World Economic Forum at Davos, or black guest members of the UN Security Council, or the black woman actress playing her affirmative action role and fronting as the Prosecutor at the International Criminal Court (ICC), or the other black mask faces that white power, for its own deep and devious reasons, has chosen to put on—like Kofi Annan, Condoleezza Rice and Barak Obama. Despite such black faces fronting for the white master, the institutions they pretend to head still concentrate on what white power wants.---Chinweizu

B87]
These were white-dominated [organizations] and paid very little attention to problems peculiar to the black community. In fact some people began to question the very competence of pluralistic groups to examine without bias problems affecting one group especially if the unaffected group is from the oppressor camp. It was felt that a time had come when blacks had to formulate their own thinking, unpolluted by ideas emanating from a group with lots at stake in the status quo.

--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 10]

B88]
We [SASO] feel we do not have to prove ourselves to anybody. . . . The blacks are tired of standing at the touchlines to witness a game that they should be playing. They want to do things for themselves and all by themselves. . . . SASO adopts the principle that blacks should work themselves into a powerful group so as to go forth and stake their rightful claim in the open society.

--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, pp. 13, 15, 16]

Similarly, blacks worldwide should work themselves into a powerful group, by creating a Black superpower, so as to get their due in global society--Chinweizu

B89]
These dull-witted, self-centred blacks are in the ultimate analysis as guilty of
the arrest of progress as their white friends for it is from such groups that the theory of gradualism emanates and this is what keeps the blacks confused and always hoping that one day God will step down from heaven to solve their problems. . . . I would like to remind the black ministry, and indeed all black people that God is not in the habit of coming down from heaven to solve people’s problems on earth.

--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, pp. 24, 60]

B90]
Black theology shifts the emphasis from petty sins to major sins in a society, thereby ceasing to teach the people to “suffer peacefully”.
--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 59]

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B91]
There is a lot of community work that needs to be done in promoting a spirit of self-reliance and black consciousness among all black people in South Africa.
--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 38]

Same needs to be done among all black people in the world. --Chinweizu

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B92]
The students realize that the isolation of the black intelligentsia from the rest of the black society is a disadvantage to black people as a whole.
--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 18]

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B93]
The blacks were made to fit into a pattern largely and often wholly determined by white students. Hence our originality and imagination have been dulled to the point where it takes supreme effort to act logically even in order to follow one’s beliefs and convictions.
--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 18]

Also true of the black elites everywhere who, by education and occupation, fit into a global culture that is wholly determined by white power--Chinweizu

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B94]
“black consciousness” seeks to show the black people the value of their own standards and outlook.
--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 30]

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B95]
It is a sin to allow oneself to be oppressed.
--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 31]

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B96
What we are concerned herewith is group attitudes and group politics.
--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 51]

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B97
There is always an interplay between the history of a people, i.e. the past, and their faith in themselves and hopes for their future. We are aware of the terrible role played by our education and religion in creating amongst us a false understanding of ourselves. We must therefore work out schemes not only to correct this, but further to be our own authorities rather than wait to be interpreted by others.
--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 52]

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B98
It is still a known fact that white people simply don’t know black people, and in most cases do not have the interests of black people at heart.
--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 57]

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B99
Christianity in its introduction [to South Africa] was corrupted by the inclusion of aspects which made it the ideal religion for the colonization of people, nowadays in its interpretation it is the ideal religion for the maintenance of the subjugation of the same people.
--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p. 57]

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B100] The definition of Black consciousness

Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from the black world for a long time. Its essence is the realization by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It is based on a self-examination which has ultimately led them to believe that by seeking to run away from themselves and emulate the white man, they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. . .[91-92] Black Consciousness therefore, takes cognizance of the deliberateness of God’s plan in creating black people black. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the “normal” which is white. . . It seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life.
The interrelationship between the consciousness of the self and the emancipatory programme is of paramount importance. Blacks no longer seek to reform the system because so doing implies acceptance of the major points around which the system revolves.

Blacks are out to completely transform the system and to make of it what they wish. Such a major undertaking can only be realized in an atmosphere where people are convinced of the truth inherent in their stand. Liberation therefore, is of paramount importance in the concept of Black Consciousness, for we cannot be conscious of ourselves and yet remain in bondage. We want to attain the envisioned self which is a free self. . . . [49]

We have in our policy manifesto defined blacks as those who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations.

This definition illustrates to us a number of things:
1. Being black is not a matter of pigmentation—being black is a reflection of a mental attitude.
2. Merely by describing yourself as black you have started on a road towards emancipation, you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient being.

From the above observations therefore, we can see that the term black is not necessarily all-inclusive; i.e. the fact we are all not white does not necessarily mean that we are all black. Non-whites do exist and will continue to exist and will continue to exist for quite a long time. If one’s aspiration is whiteness but his pigmentation makes attainment of this impossible, then that person is non-white. Any man who calls a white man “Baas”, any man who serves in the police force or Security Branch is ipso facto a non-white. Black people—real black people—are those who can manage to hold their heads high in defiance rather than willingly surrender their souls to the white man. . . . [48-49] The call for Black Consciousness is . . . more than just a reactionary rejection of whites by blacks. The quintessence of it is the realization by the blacks that, in order to feature well in this game of power politics, they have to use the concept of group power and to build a strong foundation for this. [68]

--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, pp.91-92, 49, 48-49, 68]
refuse to make these demands and choose to come to a round table to beg for your deliverance, you are asking for the contempt of those who have power over you. This is why we must reject the beggar tactics that are being forced on us by those who wish to appease our cruel masters. This is where the SASO message and cry “Black man, you are on your own!” becomes relevant.

--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p.91]

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Similarly the impoverished condition of blacks worldwide is not a mistake on the part of the whites but something deliberately created and deliberately maintained; and it will not be corrected unless the blacks make serious demands and put irresistible pressure on white power. --Chinweizu

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**B102**

The black man in himself has developed a certain state of alienation, he rejects himself, precisely because he attaches the meaning white to all that is good, in other words he associates good and he equates good with white. This arises out of his living and it arises out of his development from childhood.

--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, (1976), I Write What I Like, p.100]

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**B103**

We come from a background which is essentially peasant and worker, we do not have any form of daily contact with a highly technological society, we are foreigners in that field . . . because of the ability of the white culture to solve so many problems in the sphere of medicine, various spheres, you tend to look at it as a superior culture than yours, you tend to despise the worker culture, and this inculcates in the black man a sense of self-hatred which I think is an important determining factor in his dealings with himself and his life.

--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, (1976), I Write What I Like, p.102]

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Also true of blacks worldwide--Chinweizu

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**B104**

The reference I think of common literature to the term black is normally in association also with negative aspects, in other words you speak of the black market, you speak of the black sheep of the family, you speak of—you know, anything which is supposed to be bad is also considered to be black. . . . And of course typically . . . whiteness goes with angels, goes with, you know, God, beauty, you know. I think this tends to help in creating this kind of feeling of self-censure within the black man.

--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, (1976), I Write What I Like, p.103]

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**B105** Conscientisation:
We try to get blacks in conscientisation to grapple realistically with their problems, to attempt to find solutions to their problems, to develop what one might call an awareness, a physical awareness of their situation, to be able to analyse it, and to provide answers for themselves. The purpose behind it really being to provide some kind of hope; I think the central theme about black society is that it has got elements of a defeated society, people often look like they have given up the struggle. Like the man who was telling me that he now lives to work, he has given himself to the idea. Now this sense of defeat is basically what we are fighting against; people must develop a hope, people must develop some form of security to be together to look at their problems, and people must in this way build up their humanity. This is the point about conscientisation and Black Consciousness.


A similar conscientization is needed among black people worldwide.--Chinweizu

B106]  This country belongs to black people and to them alone:

‘We [SASO] wish explicitly to state that this country belongs to black people and to them alone.’ Whites who live in our –who live in this country on terms laid down by blacks and on condition that they respect black people. This should not be construed as anti-whitism. It only means that in as much as black people live in Europe on terms laid down by Europeans, whites shall be subjected to the same conditions.

---[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, (1976), I Write What I Like, p.121]

B107]

I think what we need in our society is the power by us blacks to innovate.

---[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p.130]

B108]

SASO accepts the premise that before the black people should join the open society they should first close their ranks to form themselves into a . . . [inaudible] . . . group, to oppose the definite racism that is meted out by the white society, to work out their direction clearly and bargain from a position of strength.

---[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, pp. 131-132]

Blacks worldwide need to likewise close ranks and make themselves a powerful group and then from a position of strength bargain with the rest of the world.--Chinweizu

B109]  On Death and politics
You are either alive and proud or you are dead, and when you are dead, you can’t care anyway. And your method of death can itself be a politicizing thing. So you die in the riots. For a hell of a lot of them, in fact, there’s really nothing to lose—almost literally, given the kind of situations that they come from. So if you can overcome the personal fear of death, which is a highly irrational thing, you know, then you’re on your way.


B110] So we argued that any changes which are to come can only come as a result of a programme worked out by black people – and for black people to be able to work out a programme they needed to defeat the one main element in politics which was working against them: a psychological feeling of inferiority which was deliberately cultivated by the system. So equally, too, the whites in order to be able to listen to blacks needed to defeat the one problem which they had, which was one of “superiority”.


B111] Diminishing fear:

[Reflecting, in early 1977, on the new situation created in South Africa by the student uprisings in Soweto and elsewhere since June 1976, for which Black Consciousness had prepared the way, Biko said]:

We have been successful to the extent that we have diminished the element of fear in the minds of black people. In the period ’63-’66 black people were terribly scared of involvement in politics. The universities were putting out no useful leadership to the black people because everybody found it more comfortable to lose himself in a particular profession, to make money. But since those days, black students have seen their role as being primarily to prepare themselves for leadership roles in the various facets of the black community. Through our political articulation of the aspirations of black people, many black people have come to appreciate the need to stand up and be counted against the system. There is far more political talk now, far more political debate and far more condemnation of the system from average black people than there has ever been since possibly 1960 and before.

I am referring here to the whole oppressive education system that the students are talking about. After complaining about it, the government wants to further entrench what the students are protesting about by bringing in police and Saracens [armored cars] and dogs – almost soldiers, so to speak. Now the response of the students then was in terms of their pride. They were not prepared to be calmed down even at the point of a gun. And hence, what happened, happened. Some people were killed. These riots just continued and continued. Because at no stage
were the young students—nor for that matter at some stage their parents—prepared to be scared. Everybody saw this as a deliberate act of oppressive measures to try to calm down the black masses, and everybody was determined equally to say to the police, to say to the government: we shall not be scared by your police, by your dogs and by your soldiers. Now this is the kind of lack of fear one is talking about which is a very important determinant in political action.


B112

The attitude of some rural African folk who are against education is often misunderstood, not least by the African intellectual. Yet the reasons put forward by these people carry with them the realization of their inherent dignity and worth. They see education as the quickest way of destroying the substance of the African culture. They complain bitterly of the disruption in the life pattern, non-observation of customs, and constant derision from the non-conformists whenever any of them go through school. Lack of respect for the elder is, in the African tradition, an unforgivable and cardinal sin. Yet how can one prevent the loss of respect of child for father when the child is actively taught by his know-all white tutors to disregard the family’s teachings? How can an African avoid losing respect for his tradition when in school his whole cultural background is summed up in one word: barbarism?

To add to the white-oriented education received, the whole history of the black people is presented as a long lamentation of repeated defeats. . . . Thus, a lot of attention has to be paid to our history if we blacks want to aid each other in our coming into consciousness.

—[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, pp. 69-70]

B113

Wherever colonization is a fact, the indigenous culture begins to rot and among the ruins something begins to be born which is condemned to exist on the margin allowed it by the European culture. It is through the evolution of our genuine culture that our identity can be fully rediscovered.

—[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, I Write What I Like, p.70]

B114] Biko on racial integration:

The myth of integration as propounded under the banner of liberal ideology must be cracked and killed because it makes people believe that something is being done when in actual fact the artificial integrated circles are a soporific on the blacks and provide a vague satisfaction for the guilt-stricken whites. It works on a false premise that because it is difficult to bring people of different races together in this country, therefore achievement of this is in itself a step forward towards
the total liberation of the blacks. Nothing could be more irrelevant and therefore misleading. Those who believe in it are living in a fool’s paradise.

First the black-white circles are almost always a creation of white liberals. As a testimony to their claim of complete identification with the blacks, they call a few “intelligent and articulate” blacks to “come around for tea at home”, where all present ask each other the same old hackneyed question “how can we bring about change in South Africa?” The more such tea parties one calls the more of a liberal he is and the freer he shall feel from the guilt that harnesses and binds his conscience. Hence he moves around his white circles—whites-only hotels, beaches, restaurants and cinemas—with a lighter load, feeling that he is not like the rest of the others. Yet at the back of his mind is a constant reminder that he is quite comfortable as things stand and therefore should not bother about change...

[p.22] The fact [is] that no matter what a white man does, the color of his skin—his passport to privilege—will always put him ahead of the black man. Thus in the ultimate analysis no white person can escape being part of the oppressor camp. [p.23]... Instead of involving themselves in an all-out attempt to stamp out racism from their white society, liberals waste lots of time trying to prove to as many blacks as they can find that they are liberal. This arises out of the false belief that we are faced with a black problem. There is nothing the matter with blacks. The problem is WHITE RACISM and it rests squarely on the laps of the white society. The sooner the liberals realise this the better for us blacks. Their presence amongst us is irksome and of nuisance value. It removes the focus of attention from essentials and shifts it to ill-defined philosophical concepts that are both irrelevant to the black man and merely a red herring across the track. White liberals must leave blacks to take care of their own business while they concern themselves with the real evil in our society—white racism. [p.23]...

Does this mean that I am against integration? If by integration you understand a breakthrough into white society by blacks, an assimilation and acceptance of blacks into an already established set of norms and code of behaviour set up by and maintained by whites, then YES I am against it. I am against the superior-inferior white-black stratification that makes the white a perpetual teacher and the black a perpetual pupil (and a poor one at that). I am against the intellectual arrogance of white people that makes them believe that white leadership is a sine qua non in this country and that whites are the divinely appointed pace-setters in progress. I am against the fact that a settler minority should impose an entire system of values on an indigenous people.

If on the other hand by integration you mean there shall be free participation by all members of a society, catering for the full expression of the self in a freely changing society as determined by the will of the people, then I am with you. For one cannot escape the fact that the culture shared by the majority group in any given society must ultimately determine the broad direction taken by the joint culture of that society. This need not cramp the style of those who feel differently but on the whole, a country in Africa, in which the majority of the people are African must inevitably exhibit African values and be truly African in style. . . . [p.24]
The limitations that have accompanied the involvement of liberals in the black man’s struggle have been mainly responsible for the arrest of progress. Because of their inferiority complex, blacks have tended to listen seriously to what liberals had to say. With their characteristic arrogance of assuming a ‘monopoly on intelligence and moral judgment’, these self-appointed trustees of black interests have gone on to set the pattern and pace for the realization of the black man’s aspirations. . . . [pp. 65-66]

Once the various groups within a given community have asserted themselves to the point that mutual respect has to be shown then you have the ingredients for a true and meaningful integration. At the heart of true integration is the provision for each man, each group to rise and attain the envisioned self. Each group must be able to attain its style of existence without encroaching on or be thwarted by another. Out of this mutual respect for each other and complete freedom of self-determination there will obviously arise a genuine fusion of the life-styles of the various groups. This is true integration. From this it becomes clear that as long as blacks are suffering from inferiority complex – a result of 300 years of deliberate oppression, denigration and derision – they will be useless as co-architects of a normal society. . . . Hence what is necessary as a prelude to anything else that may come is a very strong grass-roots build-up of black consciousness such that blacks can learn to assert themselves and stake their rightful claim. [p. 21]

It is time we killed this false political coalition between blacks and whites as long as it is set up on a wrong analysis of our situation . . . [and because] it forms at present the greatest stumbling block to our unity. It dangles before freedom-hungry blacks promises of a great future for which no one in these groups seems to be working particularly hard. The basic problem in South Africa has been analysed by liberal whites as being apartheid. . . . For the liberals, the thesis is apartheid, the antithesis is non-racialism, but the synthesis is very feebly defined. They want to tell the blacks that they see integration as the ideal solution. Black Consciousness defines the situation differently. The thesis is in fact a strong white racism and therefore, the antithesis to this must, ipso facto, be a strong solidarity amongst the blacks on whom this white racism seeks to prey. [p. 90]

And Biko further observes, quite correctly--Chinweizu:

The concept of integration . . . is full of unquestioned assumptions. . . . It is a concept long defined by whites and never examined by blacks. . . . [It is one of the] concepts which the Black Consciousness approach wishes to eradicate from the black man’s mind. . . . Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind and a way of life, . . . Its essence is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression—the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. [pp. 91-92]
And Biko drives his point home thus--Chinweizu:

Those who know, define racism as discrimination by a group against another for the purposes of subjugation or maintaining subjugation. In other words one cannot be a racist unless he has the power to subjugate. What blacks are doing is merely to respond to a situation in which they find themselves the objects of white racism. We are in the position in which we are because of our skin. We are collectively segregated against -- what can be more logical than for us to respond as a group? When workers come together under the auspices of a trade union to strive for the betterment of their conditions, nobody expresses surprise in the Western world. It is the done thing. Nobody accuses them of separatist tendencies. Teachers fight their battles, garbagemen do the same, nobody acts as a trustee for another. Somehow, however, when blacks want to do their thing the liberal establishment seems to detect an anomaly. This is in fact a counter-anomaly. The anomaly was there in the first instance when the liberals were presumptuous enough to think that it behoved them to fight the battle for the blacks. [p.25]


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Economic reorganization for a more equitable distribution of wealth:

I think there is no running away from the fact that now in South Africa there is such an ill distribution of wealth that any form of political freedom which does not touch on the proper distribution of wealth will be meaningless. The whites have locked up within a small minority of themselves the greater proportion of the country's wealth. If we have a mere change of face of those in governing positions what is likely to happen is that black people will continue to be poor, and you will see a few blacks filtering through into the so-called bourgeoisie. Our society will be run almost as of yesterday. So for meaningful change to appear there needs to be an attempt at reorganising the whole economic pattern and economic policies within this particular country.

BPC believes in a judicious blending of private enterprise which is highly diminished and state participation in industry and commerce, especially in industries like mining--gold, diamonds, asbestos and so on--like forestry, and of course complete ownership of land. Now in that kind of judicious blending of the two systems we hope to arrive at a more equitable distribution of wealth.

--[Steve Bantu Biko, <1946-1977>, (1977), I Write What I Like, p.149]

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Chancellor Williams <1893-1992> on sundry matters

B116] Ideology of “Black Africanism”

The black people may begin to learn at last how futile it is to grasp as their own the ideologies developed by the white world for the people of the white world. . . . What the need now, therefore, is neither “Black Capitalism” nor “Black
Communism” – both of which benefit those at the top and exploit the masses – but what is needed is an ideology of “Black Africanism,” operating within the framework of the traditional African Philosophy of life and the best of its value system.


B117] Mixed breeds in the USA vs. North Africa:

In the United States, whites known to have any amount of “Negro blood,” no matter how small, are classified as Negroes; in Africa, North Africa in particular, they do the very opposite. Blacks with any amount of “Caucasian blood” are classified as “white.” . . .[ Destruction of Black Civilization, p. 37] The drive for more and more [racial] amalgamation is, and always has been spearheaded by those “coloureds” who maintain a separatist society within the black race, and who are not, and never have been identified with the black masses. Since everybody knows that there are millions of light-skinned members of the race, some as white as any Caucasian, who are as African in spirit and are as devoted to the race as anyone else, the crucial question is how long will this other white oriented group be allowed to block the real progress of the race? . . . The Negro integrationists are hostile to the Black Revolution, and aim to defeat its main aims by forcing the black children and youth of the nation more directly under “white education.” . . . [pp.302-303] At present our mental laziness permits any fast-talker to assume leadership. Just knowing about anti-black mulattoes will not remove need to know what each individual stands for. “Color” is no guide, for the blackest of the Blacks may be an arch traitor. . . . [p.335] There could never be any clear-cut judgment or defense against internal subversion along any color line, because in almost every black society it was possible to find Mulattoes who were as loyal to the race as anyone could be, and, as well, pure Blacks who might be paid agents of the Arabs or Europeans. . . . [p. 298]


B118] US mulattoes and the Arab world:

The United States refused to follow either the South African system of making their Afro-Dutch offsprings a separate ethnic group by law and calling them “Coloureds,” or the ancient practice of Egypt and the Arab world of classifying mixed breeds as “white.” This fact has had a tremendous impact on integrationist Negroes in the United States, leading many to identify with the Arab world, rather than Africa; and even to adopt Arabic names, rather than African names. In fact, because of their powerful hold on Africa through the religion of Islam, and the vast Coloured population in many Arab states, many white Arabs will publicly state (for African ears) that they are a non-white people. [Destruction, p. 304] In the Sudan the white Arabs were so successful that their “Coloureds” there
consider themselves Arabs, not Africans, and look down contemptuously on the blacks in the Southern Sudan. . . .

B119] Of Jews/Hebrews and Arabs:

“'We often confuse race with religion. The people we call ‘Jews’ indiscriminately are Hebrews by race and Jews by religion. Anyone can be a Jew, but not a Hebrew. The Hebrews and the Arabs are both white Semitic peoples, and no number of offsprings by non-Hebrews and non-Arabs, or adherents to either religion, will ever change this absolute fact. . . . the white Jews (Hebrews) and white Arabs remain exactly what they always were – white.”

B120] The Arabs’ white superiority complex:

The Arabs’ white superiority complex is not one whit less than that of Europe or America, although their strategy of ‘brotherhood’ deceives naive Blacks
--[Chancellor Williams <1893-1992>, (1971), Destruction: p.34]

B121] Fundamental attitudinal changes:

Re-education will be required for the two mandatory changes in attitude: one toward each other in terms of mutual respect, and the other, a change in attitude about efficiency, expertise in business management and financial responsibility and administration. Unless we begin to develop and expand these first, a great survival movement will fail just as many other noble efforts failed because the rush neglected the necessary foundation.

B122] Disobedience, indiscipline, and rejection of authority, within the race:

a) “'An inheritance from slavery [. . .] is the attitude of indifference and disrespect of Blacks toward Blacks. To the average Black, another Black is not as important as someone, anyone, of another race. Therefore, black clerks or salespersons will serve whites more quickly and politely than they will serve members of their own race. This evil spirit from slavery pervades all “classes,” whether lawyers, carpenters, doctors, painters, nurses, shop owners, school heads, teachers, repairmen, garbage and trash men, paperhangers, taxi drivers, movers and haulers, employees in homes, et al.”
b) “The Negro in Western civilization, because of his environments that force upon him a complex inferiority, is the most stubborn individual to discipline within the race. He has but little, if any, respect for internal racial authority. He cannot be depended upon to carry out an order given by a superior of his own race. If the superior attempts, in his presence, to enforce the order he is undermined and accused of "putting on airs." If the order is entrusted to a lieutenant, he, in turn, changes the order to suit himself and endeavors to constitute himself the superior individual.

In my experience, as head of the largest serious Negro organization in the world, I have found that to every hundred orders given to be executed for the absolute good of the organization and the race, not 2 per cent of them have been carried out in their entirety. This lack of obedience to orders and discipline checkmates the real, worthwhile progress of the race.

—[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (192x), P &O II: 292]

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d) Unfortunately, for us as a body, we have been taught that we must have some person to think for us, instead of thinking for ourselves. So accustomed are we to submission and this kind of training, that it is with difficulty, even among the most intelligent of the colored people, an audience may be elicited for any purpose whatever, if the expounder is to be colored; and the introduction of a subject is treated with indifference, if not contempt, when the originator is a colored person. Indeed, the most ordinary white person is almost revered, while the most qualified colored person is totally neglected, nothing from them is appreciated.

--[Martin Delaney, <1812-1885>, (18xv), quoted in The Irritated Genie, p. viii]

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B123] Blacks who want to escape from the Black race:

a) “It is astonishing how disloyal and selfish is the average Negro "intellectual" of the passing generation to his race. The Negro who has had the benefit of an education of forty, thirty and twenty years ago, is the greatest fraud and stumbling block to the real progress of the race. He was educated with the wrong psychology and perspective. He indulged the belief, and carried out the practice, that to be a man, and be great, is to exploit the less fortunate members of his race, barter their rights economically and politically, and then with the attendant personal success, seek to escape the race through an underground current of miscegenation.”

—[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, P &O, II: 286]

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b) “God made us in His own image and He had some purpose when He thus created us. Then why should we seek to destroy ourselves? If a few Du Boises and De Lissers do not want their progeny to remain of our race,
why not be satisfied to abide their time and take their peaceful exit? But why try in this subtle manner to humiliate and destroy our race?

--[Marcus Garvey, <1887-1940>, (1923), P&O, II: 60-61]

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c) [There are] those groups within the African race who are trying hard to escape from it, seeking their identity with a white people—any white people. And we have said, "Let them go!" The only thing we object to, and will fight to the end, is the attempt to program the whole race again on a march away from itself or allow them to remain as leaders of the same people from which they wish to flee.


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**B124| African self-knowledge**

“The African we have been dealing with, the African we've been focusing upon, or rather the African that our Eurocentric vision has created, is one-sided and false. The African we were taught to envision as the true African is the peripheral creature of the forest zone or the colonized survivor of the slave trade. The more sophisticated centers of Africa were shattered, the great achievements of mainstream Africans were ignored. So we have a comparison between the mainstream European and the primitive African. Even people of African descent have come to the conclusion that what is special about the African is his simple, raw humanity, his exotic little rituals and costumes, etc. They are not aware, for example, of his scientific tradition. Most people have been made to think that it was the European, because of his so-called theoretical and abstract thinking, who alone learned to master and transcend nature. When we go back in history, we begin to realize that this is not true.” [Egypt Child Of Africa: p. 454]

“Within the last decade alone, evidence has been unearthed in the field of agricultural and pastoral science, architecture, aeronautics, engineering, mathematics, mining, metallurgy and medicine, navigation and physics, that has made the whole ground, upon which conventional studies of Africa have been built, rock violently with the shock of
astonishing discoveries. These are astonishing only because the nerve of the world has been deadened for centuries to the vibrations of African genius. Every new revelation has made us realize that the eyes of the anthropologist and historian have been focusing on the edge or periphery of the African world, blind to all that has lain within the heartland of its civilizations.

“Anthropology has had a long love affair with the primitive and has preferred to set its tent down among the African bushmen, exploring the simplicities of tiny tribal communities rather than the complexities to be found in the primary centers of large African nations. Very partial and limited visions of the African hovering on the fringes of his vast world have come to represent the totality of his capacity and potential. . . . What they mean by traditional is the only kind of culture we have come to accept as African—that of the primitive on the periphery, the stunned survivor . . . Even notable African scholars, in their romantic embrace of this exotic savage, have come to the conclusion that the African invented nothing, explored nothing, but occupied some special sensory or emotional realm in his experience of the natural world. Five centuries of these falsehoods have been exploded in just five years.” [Blacks In Science, pp.5, 8-9]

“Our whole vision of the African, his capacity, his potential, his ability to move and to affect and to influence other peoples, all that had to be changed. All that had to be revised before people could look again at the hypothesis of an African presence in early America. . . . Everybody has to become aware of this revision of history. The disrespect for us, the kind of prejudices that have built up upon that disrespect and contempt, is what is at the root of racism. It is no sense talking about man being equal when we have history books that show us repeatedly that that is not true. The concept, the idea, the vision of equality, cannot be based simply upon liberal cliché or Biblical fantasy. We have to realize that it is rooted in hard historical realities. There is a
body of hard evidence about great achievements of Africans and African-Americans upon which we can build [a] new curriculum.”

“We have to make our people aware of these things and to be inspired by them. Not to be inspired by mere hollow chauvinistic boasts, but inspired by a genuine awareness of achievement, so they can emulate that achievement. So their children do not have to feel they only half-belong to the world. . . . People of African descent should become very much aware of what is going on. Very much aware of these developments, of this record of achievement. It is affecting us profoundly. It's not only the ignorance of this that is making people despise us, push us aside and treat us as second-class citizens, but our ignorance of it makes us also treat ourselves in a certain way. It has affected the way we approach everything.” [Egypt Child Of Africa: pp. 455, 456, 457]


B125] On the effects of Historical amnesia:

The hypnotist had given the student the posthypnotic suggestion “when I wake you the past will be gone.” He then woke the student. The student reported how he felt. He exhibited infantile behavior, losing both memory and the powers of speech. . . . Being robbed of a past brought on a semi-infantile torpid state.

--[Amos Wilson, <1941-1995>, (1989), Falsification of Afrikan Consciousness, pp. 41, 42]

B126] The President's Wife

'If I may, I'd like to ask Mother a question ... If you had to choose between a head of state whose wife is a non-African, and a couple in which the husband, the country's leader, is of casted birth, which of these couples would you prefer?'
The old woman remained silent for a moment, looking at her hands.
The clock struck the half-hour.
The First Lady of a country should have been born in that country. To be precise, I would be in favour of denying all men and women married to foreigners access to highly political positions.'
She had spoken without haste or excitement.
Kad glanced at the doyen. After a moment's silence, the old man said: 'I wouldn't be as extreme as my wife. However, I must acknowledge that for the sake of national pride, the presidential couple should be of native birth. Casted or not.'

'Aren't you afraid people might accuse you of racism?' objected Kad, to keep the discussion going.

Cheikh Tidiane folded his arms. 'Why should that be considered racism? And who are "people"?' asked the old woman. Receiving no answer, she continued: 'Would people in Washington accept a Negro as First Lady? A woman from an African country? Or in Moscow, Peking, London, Tokyo, Rome, Paris . . . The problem of castes is a live issue in Europe. Take the case of the Prince of Wales — Edward the ... I forget which — who had a choice to make: a commoner, or the throne of England. The woman was of his race, but not of his aristocratic caste. He chose the woman. For a woman, the Prince's attitude is very flattering. More recently, take the case of President Bourguiba. No one can doubt his nationalism, nor the loyalty of the woman who was with him during his years of struggle. But the time came when for the sake of his fellow countrymen and their pride, he had to choose a wife from his own country, or resign. He chose to remain Tunisia's Head of State, and married a Tunisian woman. Even in France, a black West Indian could through a historical accident have become President temporarily. What happened? He simply vanished. Our Independence is of very recent date. And you men are very sensitive to "people". In view of the powerful influence a wife can have over her husband's actions, it seems to me that there's no doubt at all on this point.'


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_Toussaint L’Ouverture on sundry matters_

_B127_

“Work is necessary, it is a virtue, it is for the general good of the state.”

--[Toussaint L’Ouverture, <d. 1803>, [179x2], quoted in Black Jacobins, pp. 155-156]

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_B128_

“It is not astonishing that these men who sacrifice their country to their interests are unable to conceive how many sacrifices a true love of country can support in a
better father than they, since I unhesitatingly base the happiness of my children on that of my country, which they and they alone wish to destroy.

--[Toussaint L'Ouverture, <d. 18003>, (179x?), quoted in Black Jacobins, p.196

B129]

Do they think that men who have been able to enjoy the blessing of liberty will calmly see it snatched away? They supported their chains only so long as they did not know any condition of life more happy than that of slavery. But today when they have left it, if they had a thousand lives they would sacrifice them all rather than be forced into slavery again. But no, the same hand which has broken our chains will not enslave us anew. France will not revoke her principles, . . . But if, to re-establish slavery in San Domingo, this was done, then I declare to you it would be to attempt the impossible: we have known how to face dangers to obtain our liberty, we shall know how to brave death to maintain it.

--[Toussaint L'Ouverture, <d. 1803>, (179x?), quoted in Black Jacobins, pp.196, 197

B130]

“when you control a man’s thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his proper place and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary.”

—Carter G. Woodson, <1875-1950>, (1933) The Mis-education of the Negro, 1933

B131] National interest and Foreign affairs:

It is decidedly not in our national interests that we should . . . thoughtlessly inveigh at others for conducting their foreign affairs in a way compatible with their own national interests. If we constantly keep in mind the rules of the game, by realizing vividly that it is the national interests that are paramount and overriding in the conduct of foreign affairs, and that where these interests conflict, each of the countries in the conflict is entitled to strive for its own interests to prevail, our pronouncements and actions in these matters will carry more weight, demonstrate greater maturity, and, at the same time, reflect honour and credit to our fatherland.


B132] The Glory of a ruler
In order that Nigeria may achieve rapid economic progress, and establish an egalitarian, just, democratic and peaceful society... we of the Unity Party of Nigeria are resolutely determined to pursue [the following]:

Equal opportunity for every Nigerian; equality under the law; extermination of ethnic hegemony; dethronement of mediocrity wherever it exists; guaranteeing for every Nigerian no matter his place of birth or state of origin, equal access to the good things of life. [etc.] . . .

Our dual aim is to achieve equality of status for Nigerians and the black people with all other racial groups, and respectable economic strength for Nigeria in the international community. . . .We can succeed . . . provided we allow ourselves to be guided by this great principle: “The glory of a Ruler is the welfare of every one of his people.”


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Karenga on sundry matters

B133] Choosing To Be African:

“In the 60’s when we first collectively declared that we are an African people, we did not do so simply to reaffirm our historical source of origin and reclaim a history as old as humanity itself. We did it also as an act of self-determination, a reaffirmation of our right as the Nguzo Saba, the Seven Principles, say, “to define ourselves, name ourselves, create for ourselves and speak for ourselves.” Moreover, we did this to make a definite cultural claim and cultural commitment, a claim of uniqueness, distinctiveness and difference from our oppressor, and a commitment to extract and emulate the models of excellence and achievement rooted in our history and culture.

We made this claim of distinctiveness while reluctantly conceding some similarities in our thought and behavior with that of society, due to the cultural dominance of the ruling race/class and its powers of coercion and enticement. After all, we had been here so long and the dominant society had done its best and worst to insure we lost our historical memory and cultural grounding. That is to say—outlawing our languages and access to education, killing off our cultural leaders, erasing and rewriting our history, undermining our family formation, splitting our families apart with the devastating axe of the auction block, brutally imposing their nonsense names on us, “giving” us a god in their own racial and racist image and irrationally claiming they had saved us from ourselves, freed us by enslaving us and were “civilizing” us by the savagery they served as daily bread.

But where there is oppression, there is also resistance. And thus in the midst of the Holocaust of enslavement and subsequent forms of savage oppression, we held to core values of what it means to be African, even though we forgot in many, perhaps most, cases the original source of our
understanding and assertion in the world. Hidden behind a thick veil of forced historical amnesia and ongoing oppression, our Africanness became invisible to us on one hand and inaccessible on the other. It is here in the 1960’s that we joined our claim of cultural distinctiveness worthy of recognition and respect to a commitment to constantly study and learn from our culture and to hold fast to those core values that teach us to seek and speak truth, practice and promote justice and always pursue and do the Good.

That is why Us took up the challenge to initiate and sustain a cultural revolution, an ongoing struggle to recover, reaffirm and reconstruct the best of our culture and use it to repair and transform ourselves in the process of repairing and transforming our consciousness and the conditions of our lives in society and the world. Indeed, we maintained that the cultural revolution within precedes and makes possible the political revolution without. As Malcolm taught and reminded us, until we recapture our heritage and history and the identity embedded in it, we cannot break the bonds of White supremacy and imagine and build the new world we all want and deserve:

This is the meaning and inherent message of Us’ position that we must constantly dialog with African culture, asking it questions and seeking from it answers to the fundamental issues and challenges of African and human life and then daring to add an African imagination and initiative to the ongoing historical struggle for human freedom and human flourishing in the world.


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B134] Re-Africanization/ Going back to Africa by dialoging with African culture

For Tiamoyo and me, our trips to Africa are never simply to see ancient wonders or witness modern problems and possibilities or yet again to attend talks and plan conferences, projects and future initiatives. It is always a sacred journey to a sacred site—home of our ancestors; navel and womb of the world; cradle of humanity and human civilization; ancient source of our culture, our spiritual consciousness and our ethical commitments; and thus, of the fundamental way we understand and assert ourselves in the world. As Mecca is to the Muslims, Jerusalem is to the Palestinians and members of the three Abrahamic faiths, Chichen-Itza to the Maya, Varanasi to the Hindus, Bodhgaya to the Buddhists, Uluru to the Australian Aboriginals, and the Sacred Black Hills to the Great Sioux Nation, so the whole of Africa is to us.

For us, Africa, more specifically ancient Africa, is our moral ideal, the foundation and framework on which and within which we understand ourselves and the world, conceive our purpose and obligations in life,
ground our hopes and forge our future in effective and expansive ways. We take seriously Min. Malcolm’s teaching that even if we can’t or don’t go back to Africa physically, we should go back mentally, spiritually and culturally. And this is not to escape into the past or to neglect the real challenges of the present or avoid decisions that will determine our future. Rather, it is to ground and center ourselves in our own culture and to extract from it models and messages of human excellence and achievement and to use them to confront and solve problems and to enrich and expand our lives. It is not an uncommon practice for persons to consult ancient texts for grounding and guidelines for how they live their lives. It is only with ancient African texts that some question the value and validity of the practice. Indeed, every day people read ancient texts of Greece, Rome, Palestine, Israel, Arabia, India and elsewhere for insight, inspiration and grounding. And we have read and read them too, but with Cheikh Anta Diop we ultimately ask what does Africa have to say about this or that critical issue?

In Kawaida philosophy, we call this dialoging with African culture, asking it questions and seeking from it answers to the fundamental concerns and issues of humankind.”


This dialoging with African Culture is a sankofa activity, and an explicit technique for doing what Senghor was calling for (See B23 above.) Senghor described the task; Karenga discovered a way to do it.

This dialoging with African culture is needed, not only by the diaspora blacks, but also by the blacks of the Sub-Saharan homeland. For these have been separated and alienated from African culture by a century or more of European colonialism and neocolonialism. For the sub-Saharan Muslims the separation has been for much longer given that their ethnic groups were first Islamized and enbalmmed in Arab culture long before the Europeans colonized Black Africa. Black Africans of the homeland need this dialoging with Black African culture, not just by way of the Huisia of Ancient Egypt, and the Odu Ifa of the Yoruba, but also by way of their pre-colonial proverbs, folk tales, myths, legends, languages etc. The need for these other materials was demonstrated by the recovery of the meaning of Abrofo in Twi [see A30 above]. Hence the importance of collecting and publishing these texts so they can be studied and used for dialoging with African culture.

--Chinweizu

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**B135] Culture, Consciousness And Struggle**

Kawaida, the philosophy of our organization Us, defines this dialog as the constant practice of asking questions and seeking answers from African culture to the fundamental and enduring concerns of the African and
human community. At the heart of this project is the continuing quest to free ourselves, live full and meaningful lives and become the best of what it means to be both African and human “in the fullness of ourselves,” as Marcus Garvey taught us. Moreover, it involves an ongoing search for models of excellence and possibilities within our culture, speaking our own special cultural truth to the world and making our own unique contribution to the forward flow of human history.

To truly dialog with African culture means, first of all, using it as a resource rather than a mere reference. To simply use African culture as a reference is to mention it, to make a point without grounding or developing it, and never using it to answer questions, solve problems and produce and pursue paradigms of excellence and possibility in thought and practice. To dialog with African culture is to constantly engage its oral, written and living-practice texts, its worldview and values, its understanding of itself and the world, in an ongoing search for ever better answers to the fundamental questions and challenges of our time.

We must always recognize and respect the fact that our culture cultivates in us our own special way of being human in the world . . . And it is within the context of this rich and most ancient of histories and cultures, that we must work our way on and in the world, imagine excellence and achieve it, conceive good and pursue it. This ongoing search for solutions and models of human excellence and possibilities must occur, Kawaida contends, in every area of human life, but especially in the seven core areas of culture: history; religion (spirituality and ethics); social organization; economic organization; political organization; creative production (art, music, literature, dance, etc.) and ethos, the collective self-consciousness achieved as a result of activity in the other six areas.

In the area of history, Us maintains, we must study history to learn its lessons, absorb its spirit of possibility, extract and emulate its models of excellence and possibility and honor the moral obligation to remember. Indeed, we must measure ourselves in the mirror of the best of our history and constantly ask ourselves how can we use the past as a foundation to inform, improve and enrich our present and expand the horizons and promise of our future.

In the area of religion (spirituality and ethics), we must uphold our most ancient spiritual and social justice traditions that introduced the concept of humans as possessors of dignity and divinity as early as 2140 B.C.E. (before the common era) and spoke to the world saying, “speak truth, do justice, care for the vulnerable, honor the elders and ancestors, cherish and challenge the children, maintain a right relation with the environment and always raise up and pursue the good.”

Our social organization must be constantly concerned with values and practice that affirm and strengthen family, community and culture, especially the Nguzo Saba, the Seven Principles which aid us in building a peaceful and harmonious togetherness and to struggle for freedom, justice, peace and human flourishing in the world. In the area of economics, our
culture teaches us the principle of ujamaa which in its most expansive sense means shared work and wealth rooted in a profound sense of kinship with other humans and respect the environment as sacred space.

Our culture teaches us also to view politics as a collective vocation to create a just and good society and advance human good in the world. And the best of African culture teaches that our creative production or art is at its best functional, collective and committing, celebrating not only the transcendent and awesome, but also the ordinary, revealing the beauty and sacredness of everyday people and their struggles to live dignity-affirming and fulfilling lives. Finally, our culture provides us with an ethos, a self-understanding that undergirds and instructs our self-assertion in the world, and fosters human excellence, social justice and ceaseless struggle for good in and for the world.


B136] On being Conscious, Organized and Active:

To be aware is what we called in the 60s “being conscious”. To be conscious is, first, to be conscious of ourselves – of our history and culture so there is always clarity rather than confusion about who we really are, and what we have done and must do. And it is to be conscious of our ever-present strength and our currently existing weaknesses and with due deference to Frederick Douglass, it is to know that the need to struggle is always with us and “without struggle there is no progress” or promise, no future or movement forward worthy of the name, history and culture African.

To be conscious is also, as Marcus Garvey taught, to be aware of our opposition, our enemy and oppressor, or any other category of those who block our way forward, who wish, work and make war on us and others to maintain their monopoly on wealth, power, status and knowledge and who talk post-racial fantasies and simple-minded patriotism essentially to divert and disarm and ultimately to defeat us. And it is to be conscious of their strengths and weaknesses also and to know that unless we consider them to be gods, they can be defeated and a new, just and good society and world can be brought into being.

And finally, to be conscious is to be conscious of the context in which we live and struggle to be able to assess and know the issues involved, the balance of forces, the conditions of the times, the presence and possibilities of allies, the trends and tendencies of history and thus, the appropriate weapons and strategy to use in the struggle. It is to be conscious of the possibilities of victory or defeat at any given moment, the most favorable grounds on which to fight and the grounds to be avoided or to enter with extreme caution. And it is to be aware that we must prepare
carefully and conscientiously for every battle and as Molefi Asante says, possess a victorious consciousness that refuses to be dispirited or defeated even in the face of the most overwhelming odds.

Secondly, to be organized is to be in ongoing structures that harness our energies and house and advance our interests and aspirations and unite us into an aware and active social force for African and human good in the world. It is to be an active member of a group, building a supporting and sustaining context and structural capacity for collective discussion, planning, decision-making and decisive action. It is, as Maria Stewart suggested, to stand ever-ready to enter the field of action. For as we said so often in the 60s: in the struggle, our defense depends not on the enemy not coming, but on our being ready to receive him when he does.

Thirdly, to be active is to be constantly mobilized, in motion, in movement and in struggle. It is to understand that episodic engagement, mere monetary contribution, and occasional involvement are not enough, that we must be as we used to say constantly, “on the case for the race” and continuously “in-it-to-win-it” for our people, the world and future generations. It is to understand and embrace Frantz Fanon’s teaching that the opening of a new future and the basis of hope lie in a commitment to action. Indeed, Fanon says that to achieve that opening and “to ensure that hope and to give it form, (one) must take part in action and throw (oneself) body and soul into the national struggle” of one’s people.

Moreover, Fanon says, “you may speak about everything under the sun, but when you decide to speak of that unique thing in (human) life that is represented by the fact of opening up new horizons, by bringing light to your own country, and by raising yourself and your people to their feet, then you must collaborate on the physical plane.” That is to say, you must move beyond ideas to action, give of yourself, engage in a persistent practice which proves your commitment and produces the desired result. For as we say in Kawaida: in matters of love, life and struggle, practice proves and makes possible everything.

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**B137] Alliances and solidarity: Start with ourselves then link up with others with the same problem:**

a) “we cannot be for the whole world, if we do not include ourselves”


This should be told to the “Revolutionary Pan-Africanists” who have decreed that Black people must show international solidarity with all the oppressed of the world but must not struggle against some cases of white oppression of blacks so as to not be
tainted and charged with ‘Black racism’. They are vociferous in demanding that Black Africans must support the Palestinian Arabs in their struggle against Israel, but say nothing about Black Africans supporting the Black Mauritanians in their struggle against the apartheid of their Beydane Arab enslavers and colonizers.

At the 6th PAC they even resolved that Pan-Africanism does not recognize race, or nationality, only class. These blacks want to be for the whole oppressed world, but do not include their black selves and brothers in the oppressed world. Conceivably, if the rest of the oppressed world could be saved by killing off all blacks, that’s acceptable to them. Can one get crazier than that?
—Chinweizu

b) “It is also important that we define our particular problem, develop our own specific strategy for engagement of the issue and then link our initiative in common struggle with others who are similarly situated, interested and willing.”


B138] On Common Ground Coalition politics

This leadership exhibits a capacity to reach effectively across our geographic distances and also demonstrates a rightful concern for mutually-beneficial coalition-building with other communities and interest groups. But it does not seek to submerge, erase or explain away its racial, ethnic or communal character and interests. For only as a self-conscious community can a community build coalitions and construct alliances with others on the basis of distinct and yet interrelated interests we call common ground. Indeed, if we have no identity, we can have no interests; and if we have no identity or interests, how can we seriously speak of finding common ground interests with others who know and respect themselves as distinct and define and advance their interests as such?

Thus, the grounding and unavoidable proposition here is this: we have both the right and responsibility to exist as a people, define, defend and promote our own interests and with others similarly situated and interested, struggle to build the good and sustainable society we all want, demand and deserve.


This should be applied to those Continentalists who reject and resist Black African identity and who go instead for a fantasized Continental identity that allegedly melts Black African identity and Arab identity into some, bogus multi-racial African identity.

--Chinweizu
we began 48 years ago our five-point process and practice of education, mobilization, organization, confrontation, and transformation. These initiatives, central to the process and practice of liberation, were designed and directed toward reaffirming, reviving and expanding our *culture of struggle*, a culture in which struggle is both necessary and natural and which comprehends liberation as both a living practice and a practice of life.

... there is no substitute for an aware, organized and engaged people, constantly involved in a multiplicity of actions to define, defend and promote their interests. And those interests must always, as our ancestors taught, be about bringing good in the world, not simply for ourselves, but also for the wholeness and well-being of the world and all in it. ... to break the monopoly the oppressor had on so many of our minds, and to provide new liberated and liberating ways to understand and assert ourselves in the world.

Thus, we used African terms with their expansive and enriching notions of human life, human relations and the world and built a vanguard organization, Us, to teach and implement in practice these new African ways of engaging each other and the world.

... When we first began, we had no finished social picture or completed human portrait of the good world we wanted to bring into being. But we knew that the existing order of things, especially the society in which we lived and struggled, was long overdue for and demanded radical change. And we also believed that we could, by our defiant, determined and decisive actions, set in motion ideas, events and social forces which would aid in altering the course of history in some meaningful way and push it further along the road to revolution and liberation in the tradition of our ancestors who struggled before us.


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**B140] Resisting The Erasure Of Blackness**

There is a war being waged against the concept, consciousness and practice of Blackness, against our understanding and asserting ourselves as a self-conscious community, and against our presence and self-presentation as a people who embody and express a unique and equally valid and valuable way of being human in the world. It is a war waged on various fronts to deny us human rights and racial justice, i.e., the right to exist, the right of presence, of self-representation and self-determination, of cultural practice and preservation, and the right to a good life as a self-conscious community, free from domination, deprivation and degradation.
But whatever strategies and tactics are used, it is to estrange us from ourselves, alienate and isolate us from others, and eliminate us as a valid, valuable and viable communal presence from intellectual discourse, policy considerations and public space. Here it is important to note that Blackness is defined not simply by color or phenotype, but by *color, culture and consciousness*, i.e., a unique and equally valid and valuable way of being human in the world, and a “consciousness-in-movement” which asserts itself in liberational and life-affirming ways. It is this attempted erasure of our culture and consciousness that is at issue and that forms what is called and condemned in UN documents as cultural genocide.

Leftists, liberals, labor leaders and right-wingers alike, all tell us we should not insist on a Black identity, have Black interests or offer a Black agenda. It is a regular refrain of the ruling race and their “colored” allies that we are bitter, if we do battle for social justice; separatist, if we insist on self-determination; and essentialist, if we assert that we are an African people in world-encompassing cultural and communal terms. Of course, no such widespread criticism is offered of Jews, Latinos or even Armenians. Indeed, their diversity is not used to deny their identity and commonality. Only with us is diversity raised to deny commonality rather than reveal a rich and complex *identity-in-diversity*.

Also, we are constantly told we must tone down or dilute our assertion of ourselves and not be “too Black.” This is peddled as an essential requirement for success and acceptance by the ruling race who defines what is proper and profitable, what is civilized and savage, beautiful and ugly, using themselves as the exemplary model and measure. Thus, we start out with an ethically unacceptable ethnic disadvantage, for we cannot be ourselves, measure ourselves by our own culturally-grounded standards and represent ourselves in dignity-affirming ways that do justice to our humanity and our cultural conception of ourselves. Instead, we must present ourselves in the image and interests of others, i.e., the ruling race.

We are also told we are in a post-racial moment in history and society, but actually, this only applies to us. In fact, post-racial is what we are supposed to pretend; it’s not what White people really practice. Thus, our pretension and their practice are at great and ever-growing variation. For, they still monopolize wealth, power and status, and control the economy, political system and cultural apparatus of this country. And we are continuously called to self-efface and distance ourselves from our people and cultural center to put them at ease, get a job, receive funding or be elected and serve as president. Indeed, we are duly advised and admonished, with funeral seriousness, that Blackness is no longer fashionable, favored or funded in this world of post-racial pretensions and illusions.

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B141] The Annual Founder’s Kwanzaa Message – 2004

From Dr. Maulana Karenga,
Creator of Kwanzaa

Kwanzaa and the Seven Principles: Creating and Practicing Good in the World

Karenga, center, with wife Tiamoyo at his left, celebrating Kwanzaa at the Rochester Institute of Technology on December 12, 2003

This Kwanzaa millions of Africans all over the world come again together to celebrate family, community and culture and to recommit themselves to creating and practicing good in the world, using the Nguzo Saba, the
Seven Principles, as the fundamental framework and foundation to achieve this. Thus, as our ancestors and elders before us, we come again together to reinforce the bonds between us as persons and peoples, and to give thanks for the harvest of good we have gathered from the fertile fields of our lands, the fruitful fields of our lives, and the bruising and blood-stained battlefields of our struggles. We come together again also to commemorate the past, to raise and praise the sacred names and sustaining practices of the ancestors and to recommit ourselves to the dignity-affirming and life-enhancing views and values they have left to ground and guide us. Consciously following in the cultural footsteps of our ancestors and elders, we come together also to celebrate the good in and of the world, the good of family, community and culture, the good of loving-kindness and care, the good of respect for ourselves and others, the good of life and love, of sharing and together, working to build and sustain the world we all want and deserve to live in. Created in the context of the Black Freedom Movement of the 60’s, Kwanzaa reflects the Movement’s dual stress on reaffirmation of our Africanness and our social justice tradition. Kwanzaa is, thus, a self-conscious commitment to return to our own history and to recover the enduring richness of our own culture, its values, insights and instructive practices and to use it as a constant resource to inform, enrich and expand our lives. Likewise, Kwanzaa reaffirms the centrality of our ancient and ongoing social justice tradition. Kwanzaa embraces its stress on struggle and its ethical insistence that we seek and speak truth, do justice, care for the poor and vulnerable, empower the masses of people, pursue peace, continuously expand the realm of human freedom and human flourishing and constantly repair and renew the world. Thus, at Kwanzaa, we are obligated to ask what is the moral meaning of our lives as Africans in the world? What does it mean to be an African living in this time of comforting illusions and brutal realities, in this world where claims of global progress masks the massive disruption and destruction of human lives and the natural environment and where aggression, empire and occupation are justified by racialized religion, manipulated fear, and military might. In such a context, what are our moral obligations to ourselves and each other, to the poor and unpowerful, to the ill and aged, to the stranger, the environment and future generations and to the oppressed, suffering and struggling peoples of the world? Regardless of the specific conclusions we come to with regard to these enduring questions, the overarching answer to these and all related ones is found in the ancestral teachings in the Odu Ifa that “humans are divinely chosen to bring good in the world” and that this is the fundamental mission and meaning of human life.

The Nguzo Saba

And it is in this process of seeking to create and practice good in the world that we turn to the Nguzo Saba, the Seven Principles. For they are the
fundamental framework and foundation for our self-understanding and self-assertion as Africans in the world. Indeed, the Nguzo Saba provide us with a cultural value system that calls on us to have the courage to care and think deeply about what’s going on in the world and to enter the field of action with a willingness to work and struggle hard to build the world we all want and deserve to live in. Thus, within the conception and definition of the Nguzo Saba, there is a constant call for striving and struggling for the good, developing and maintaining the good and becoming and being the good. This is a call to act in such a way that we embody and express in all we do the best of our values and practices as a people. For only by honoring the obligations placed upon us by our history and highest values can we bring good into the world in its most expansive sense. In this regard, the Seven Principles focus on African family, community and culture, but they also have a meaning and message for society and the world. Indeed, they speak to the best of what it means to be African and human in the fullest sense and offer a path to shared good for us as a people and for the whole of humanity.

Umoja (Unity)

The Nguzo Saba, the Seven Principles, begin with the principle of Umoja (unity). Our text, Kwanzaa: A Celebration of Family, Community and Culture, states that the principle Umoja calls on us “to strive for and maintain unity in the family, community, nation and race,” i.e., the world African community. Umoja encourages a profound sense of relatedness, togetherness and oneness in the small and larger circles of our lives. It fosters a spirit of togetherness and moral sensitivity which encourages us to avoid injuring each other and the world and to eagerly work and struggle for the common good. Indeed, the principle of unity reminds us of the ancient ethical teaching of the Odu Ifa that the greatest good comes from our gathering together in harmony whether in family, friendship, community, society or the world. And this too the principle of unity teaches us: we live in a web and world of interdependence and that freedom, dignity, well-being and other goods should and must be shared goods for everyone, if there is to be any peace, justice and security for anyone in the world.

Kujichagulia (Self-Determination)

The second principle, Kujichagulia (self-determination), the text says, is a call “to define ourselves, names ourselves, create for ourselves and speak for ourselves.” It teaches us to define ourselves by the good we do and the dignity-bearing way we walk in the world, to name ourselves in reverent respect for our history and highest values, to create for ourselves in the life-affirming, world-preserving ways of the ancestors, and to speak for ourselves in ways that bring forth the best of our culture, and reaffirms our
ancient and ongoing commitment to bring and share good in the world. Kujichagulia also teaches us that we must constantly dialog with our culture, asking it questions and seeking from it answers in our continuous quest to live full, free and meaningful lives and make a worthy contribution to the ongoing struggles to bring, sustain and increase good in the world.

Ujima (Collective work and Responsibility)

The third principle, Ujima (collective work and responsibility) calls on us, the text says, “to build and maintain our community together and to make our brothers’ and sisters’ problems our problems and to solve them together.” This principle teaches us that we are responsible to and for each other, that we must build the world we want and deserve to live in and that it is a work which requires a profound and persistent ethical sensitivity to the needs and aspirations of others. Thus, the problems of poverty, homelessness, unemployment, crime, early death and racialized justice, the pandemic of HIV/AIDS and the support of its survivors and the care for the families of its victims must not be approached simply as isolated, personalized tragedies and unfortunate problems for others. Rather, they must be understood and engaged as problems which we are all affected by and responsible for solving. Likewise, the sufferings and struggles of the peoples of the world whether in Sudan, Haiti, Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Australia, Venezuela, Bolivia, and other parts of the world are our concerns also. For we live in a world and web of interdependence and the issues of freedom, justice, self-determination and peace are critical issues for all of us, everywhere in the world. For as Malcolm taught us, these liberation struggles are linked with our own and are the motive force of human history. Moreover, these struggles raise critical issues for us and the world which we must deal with—i.e., the right to freedom and self-determination, and the wrongness of suppression and oppression, the right and responsibility of resistance, and the wrongness of invasion, occupation and unjust war, the right to the resources of one’s own land and the wrongness of international robbery of these resources by corporations or conquering country. Thus, it is important for us to accept that our concerns for the oppressed must be expressed in a sustained practice to free them, that our anger at injustice must be reflected in our active resistance to it and that our preference for the poor must be linked to a practice which alleviates their poverty and points towards an end of it. This ultimately means that we must take up and continue the historical and ongoing struggle for good in the world, the struggle for freedom, justice, power of the masses of people over their destiny and daily lives and peace in the world. Thus, we must enter the corporate temples and political courtyards of the rich and powerful and radically renounce and confront them, we must resist their bloodthirsty gods of wealth and war, turn over the tables around which they design the deaths, dispossession and imprisonment of
whole nations and place a new life-affirming, life-enhancing common
ground agenda before this country and the world.

_Ujamaa (Cooperative Economics)_

The fourth principle, _Ujamaa_ (cooperative economics), the text tells us, urges us “to build and maintain our stores, shops and other business and to profit from them together.” This is a compelling call to practice the principle of shared work and shared wealth in the world. It begins with a call to build and maintain economic institutions and by extension engage in economic practices that address our needs and aspirations and represent the best of our values. And certainly the central values here are cooperation for common good and the collective sharing of that good. The model which Kwanzaa raises and the _Nguzo Saba_ teaches is the harvest. To harvest good, we plan and then plant the promising fields of our lives and future together. We cultivate them together with loving care; we harvest them together with hope and anticipation of abundance. We joyfully share the good we have created together. And we conscientiously set aside seeds of good for the future. Moreover, the principle of _ujamaa_ speaks to a sense of kinship we must feel for each other and the world. The root word of _ujamaa_ is _jamaa_ which means family. Thus, it urges us to engage in economic practices which recognizes and respects our kinship with other humans and the world. It thus opposes activities which exploits and oppresses others and damages the world. Furthermore, as a cooperative pursuit of common good, _ujamaa_ is profoundly concerned with an egalitarian distribution of wealth and good in the world and with care for the poor and vulnerable. Indeed, the _Husia_ teaches us that “we are given wealth so that we can do good with it.” And the _Odu Ifa_ teaches us “that anyone who cultivates the disposition for doing good especially for the needy, this person, in particular, will never lack happiness.” Thus, the ethical understanding of our traditional texts and the awesome insights of our ancestors urge us beyond the crass consumerism of the marketplace, the isolated individualism and the market-driven madness of acquisitiveness, posing as a substitute for actual and longed-for freedom. Instead we are informed by the ethical teachings of the ancestors that we are to find meaning in our lives by searching after _Maat_, seeking to do good in the world, speaking truth, doing justice, opposing injustice, caring for the vulnerable and being responsive to and responsible for others in the world. Thus, Harwa, chief of staff of the Divine Wife of Amen, Amenirdis, says in the _Husia_ that we are to be “a refuge for the poor, a raft for the drowning, a ladder for those in the pit (of despair), a shade for the orphan and a helper for the widow;” that we should be “one who speaks for the wretched, assists the unfortunate and aids the oppressed by excellent deeds,” and that we should “give food to the hungry and clothes to the naked (and be) one who removes pain and suppresses wrongdoing and who sustains the aged and eliminates the need of the have-nots.” And
he concludes saying, “My reward for this is being remembered for my virtue,” that is to say, for the good I’ve done in and for the world.

**Nia (Purpose)**

The fifth principle is *Nia* (purpose). The text tells us this principle calls on us “to make our collective vocation the building and developing of our community in order to restore our people to their traditional greatness.” Here it is important to recognize that in the best of the African ethical tradition, greatness does not lie in material wealth, military might, scientific or technological knowledge, but by the good we do with what we have. Thus, the *Husia* says “the wise are known by their wisdom but the great are known by their good deeds.” This teaching instructs us to move beyond the idol worship of wealth, technology and science to questions and answers of how to put them in the service of the masses of people who need them most as Mary McLeod Bethune urges us to do. In a word, we are compelled to ask in all we do, how does it benefit the world and the people in it who need it most? This teaching of the *Husia* parallels and reinforces the teaching in the *Odu Ifa* that says “Let’s do things with joy...for surely humans have been divinely chosen to bring good in the world.” And this is the fundamental mission and meaning of human life. So let us do good in and for the world. Let us be exalted by the good we do, the good heaven and history have chosen us to do. And even as we are chosen, let us choose to be chosen, not over and against any other people, but chosen with all other people to create, increase and sustain good in the world. And in this choosing, let us always choose life over death, justice over injustice, freedom over oppression, self-inflicted or imposed, peace over war, love over hatred, and truth over lies in any form. In this then lies the moral meaning of our lives to choose to do and do good in the world and to do it not only for ourselves, but for the world. For the *Odu* tells us that “when it is our turn to take responsibility for the world, we should do good for the world.” Indeed, the *Odu* says, “doing good worldwide is the best expression of character.” For surely, everyone deserves and has a right to the good and goods of and in the world.

**Kuumba (Creativity)**

The sixth principle is *Kuumba* (creativity) which the text tells us calls on us “to do always as much as we can in the way we can in order to leave our community more beautiful and beneficial than we inherited it.” This principle speaks in a larger sense not only to our always striving to make our own community constantly better and more beautiful and beneficial, but also the world. This Kwanzaa, as always, we put forth the possibility of healing and repairing the world, making it more beautiful and beneficial than we inherited it. This we do in the spirit of the ancient African concept of *serudj ta* which means in ancient Egyptian—to repair, restore and
renew the world making it more beautiful and beneficial than we inherited it. But inherent in this concept is the call to heal ourselves and each other as well as the world. This is the real meaning of reparations. It is not about receiving monies, but about the larger struggle to achieve justice and liberation and the radical repairing we will do to ourselves, society and the world in the process of struggle. Now the concept of *serudj ta* is rooted in the ethical teachings of our ancestors that we constantly injure ourselves, each other and the world as a whole, not only by what we do wrong, but also by what we fail to do right. Moreover, the damage we do to each other and the world, like the good we do, we do to and for ourselves. For as the *Odu Ifa* teaches us, we live in a world and web of interdependence. Thus, the *Odu* says “Anyone who does good does it for herself and anyone who does evil does it to himself.” We do damage to the world, ourselves and each other in varied ways. We do damage when we fail to follow the best of our ethical and spiritual teachings and instead use religion to disrespect and impose on others, to justify unjust wars, to seize and occupy others’ land and to claim a special religious and racial status above and beyond all other people in the world. We do damage when we turn a blind eye to injustice, a deaf ear to truth and an uncaring heart away from the suffering and pain around us and throughout the world. We do damage when we make material gain the measure of all things, when we pollute, plunder, deplete and destroy the environment and undermine the basis for life on earth, and when we act in ways that dim and diminish the future for coming generations. Our ancestors, the ancient Egyptians, taught that, “We must think of eternity and plan for the future for those who will come after us.” We must leave them a legacy of good, indeed, an ancient teacher in the *Husia* says, “I did good for my community. I spoke truth. I did justice. For I knew the value of doing good. It will be a storehouse for those who come after us.” And Queen Hatshepsut said, “I added to what was formerly done. For I wanted it to be said by those who come afterwards. How beautiful is this which happened because of her.”

**Imani (Faith)**

*Imani* (faith) is the seventh principle of the *Nguzo Saba*. And the text tells us that Imani, the principle of faith, calls on us “to believe with all our heart in our people, our parents, our teachers, our leaders and the righteousness and victory of our struggle.” We must then, have faith in our people, in their capacity for and commitment to good in the world; in our parents—fore parents and current ones, and the good they’ve done, do and want for us; in our teachers who teach us the good and inspire us to embrace it; and in our leaders who guide us toward the good and aid us in becoming self-conscious agents of our own life and liberation. And ultimately, we must believe in the righteousness and the rightful and right direction of our struggle. We must believe that our struggle for freedom for the oppressed, justice for the wronged and injured, power for the
masses of people over their destiny and daily lives and for peace in the world is a rightful and compelling one. And we must believe in the rightfulness and eventual victory of our struggle, believe that we can together end oppression, lessen and eventually eliminate injustice, put an end to the disempowerment of the masses of people, and erase the scourge of war from the world. And finally, we must have faith that a different future is possible; that we can, as Frantz Fanon urged us, start a new history of humankind with other progressive people in the world, bring into being a new world and a new man and woman who will cherish, respect and reaffirm each other, sustain the good world and pass on this good and legacy to future generations. Let us go forward then, in and with unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity and faith striving to embody and live the life-affirming, and life-enhancing values of our ancestors that represent the best of what it means to be African and human in the world. Let us always strive to be a powerful presence for good in the world and constantly work for the good life every person and people as bearers of dignity and divinity demand and deserve. And let us this Kwanzaa and always, wish for each and all of us, a long and good life, blessings without number and all good things without end, in a word, all the good that heaven grants, the earth produces and the waters bring forth from their depths.

December 2004

--[Maulana Karenga, <b. 1941>, (2004)]

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Kwanzaa—its importance for Black World unity

The Africentric set of principles and practices called Kwanzaa was introduced by Maulana Karenga in 1966 to give Afrocentric ethical guidance to the members of the black race. But it has the potential to accomplish much much more. This Afrikan cultural value system, Kwanzaa, is a major contribution to the cultural unification of a race that has been deeply divided by white enemy ideologies and religions—European Christianity and Arab Islam especially—and their sects. The Black African Muslims
are more tightly bonded to the Arab whites than to their fellow non-Muslim blacks, and are thrilled, at the call to Jihad, to kill their own blood brothers, or to sacrifice their own lives to defend and expand the Arab Empire, Dar–al-Islam. The Black African Marxist is thrilled to turn his own people into “revolutionary expendables” for the benefit of the European Communist Empire. So too the Black African Christian is ever ready to burn down the shrines of his ancestors, destroy African culture and serve the interests of Europeans in all kinds of ways in the false belief that he is thereby serving god.

These white ideologies and religions have deeply fragmented the Black world with their beliefs, rites and rituals. Until we have a set of beliefs, rites and rituals that will bond the blacks more strongly to one another than these alien rites bond them to the white enemy, Black World unity will remain a mirage.

The Black world is in dire need of something that produces in its individuals a commitment to and solidarity with the entire Black World; that produces a situation where one instinctively lives and acts out the principle that "I am because the Black World is, and since the Black world is, therefore, I am." This would biologically result from a psychological attachment to a set of beliefs and rituals shared by the entire Black World. This body of beliefs and rituals becomes a property that is valued and automatically defended as well as an independent motivation of action. This type of psychic commitment has yet to occur among blacks because the appropriate beliefs and rituals have not been instituted. The importance of Kwanzaa is that it is the first step in instituting them.

That is why Kwanzaa is the most profound contribution to African unity that has thus far been made. Compared to Kwanzaa, the OAU/AU, the proposed Continental Union government etc., are simply insignificant and inconsequential because they lack the profound bonding power of shared rites and rituals.

To help explain this matter of rites and rituals, here is the famous ethologist Konrad Lorenz:

The triple function of suppressing fighting within the group, of holding the group together, and of setting it off, as an independent entity, against other, similar units, is performed by culturally developed ritual . . . Any human group which exceeds in size that which can be held together by
personal love and friendship, depends for its existence on these three functions of culturally ritualized behavior patterns. . . . From the little peculiarities of speech and manner which cause the smallest possible subcultural groups to stick together, an uninterrupted gradation leads up to the most elaborated, consciously performed, and consciously symbolical social norms and rites which unite the largest social units of humanity in one nation, one culture, one religion, or one political ideology. . . . Without traditional rites and customs representing a common property valued and defended by all members of the group, human beings would be quite unable to form social units exceeding in size that of the primal family group which can be held together by the instinctive bond of personal friendship . . . It is in their character of independent motivating factors that rituals transcend their original function of communication and become able to perform their equally important secondary tasks of controlling aggression and of forming a bond between certain individuals. . . . Our fidelity to the symbol implies fidelity to everything it signifies, and this depends on the warmth of our affection for the old custom. It is this feeling of affection that reveals to us the value of our cultural heritage. The independent existence of any culture, the creation of a superindividual society which outlives the single being, in other words all that represents true humanity is based on this autonomy of the rite making it an independent motive of human action.


Thus, it is by its myths, rituals and mores, i.e. its symbolic system, that a people is held together. Ethology thus confirms and explains what sociologists, such as Saint-Simon and Comte postulated: that myth and ritual are needed for social cohesion. [See Jacques Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence*, p. 524], and what Confucius recognized some 2500 years ago, when he based his system on the observance of the rites—a code of rules of behavior—saying, among other things: “it is by the rites that a state is administered” (Analects XI.26).

Until a system of myths, rituals and mores is instituted exclusively for blacks, Black World solidarity and unity will remain a much desired but unrealized dream. Kwanzaa has supplied an initial element in that desired system. It needs to be added to until we produce a distinctive system of rites and rituals for the blacks and the blacks only. We would then have a system of symbols which we blacks all share and love and cherish and hand on to our children to love and cherish; a system of symbols which we
blacks all automatically defend with everything we’ve got, including our precious
individual lives. Only then will African unity, black world unity, cease to be a mirage.
--Chinweizu

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B142]Western man wrote his own history as if it were the history of the entire human race.”

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B143]Negroes are the only people in the world who are set apart because of who they are, and at the same time told to forget who they are by the same people who set them apart in the first place.

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B144] The Community

The community, as used here, is an extension of the family and is an expression of those shared values and traditions that bind individuals and families into a coherent and consistent whole. Beyond the basic unit of the family, the community consists of institutions that facilitate the functions of the family and expand upon those functions. Those institutions are themselves interlocked with other institutions, families and individuals. The binding agents that cement the several elements into a singular unit — the community — are culture and ideology, or common values, behaviors, and goals.
--[Kwame Akoto, <b. 19xv?>, (19xz?) Nationbuilding, p.184]

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Nyerere on sundry matters

B145] Mental independence:

In 1965 Tanzania adopted its own form of democracy—we rejected the Western model and said it was not appropriate for our circumstances despite the fact that all our constitutional development had until then been based on it. We looked at different democratic systems round the world, and studied the works of different thinkers, and we asked ourselves two questions. First, what is the purpose of democratic systems? And second, what are the conditions of Tanzania, and what special problems face the
country? Then we worked out a system of one-party Government which seemed to us to include the essential elements of democracy at the same time as it provided for unity and strength in Government, and took account of our poverty, our size, our traditions, and our aspirations. The resultant constitution is not perfect; but it suits us better than any system operating elsewhere, and we believe that it safeguards the people’s sovereignty at the same time as it enables the effective and strong Government so essential at this stage of our development.

When we introduced this new system, we were criticized for ‘abandoning democracy’, and even now these charges are still heard. The criticisms came mostly from the traditional democracies of the West; even some of our sympathizers felt that we had taken a step backwards in our development. In response to this criticism we tried to explain what we were trying to do and why we thought our new system was both democratic and suitable for our conditions. But having done that we did not worry about what the Western countries said or what democratic theorists said. For in rejecting the idea that we had to follow the ‘Westminster model’ if we wanted to be democratic, we had overcome the psychological need to have a certificate of approval from the West in relation to our political system. We did not reject this idea of an accolade from the West because we were critical of the political systems operating in Western countries. On the contrary, there was much that we admired in them, and we learned a great deal from them. But we acted as intelligent and thoughtful citizens of Tanzania who wanted democracy to be a continuing reality in our own country.

What we have done in relation to democracy we have also to do in relation to socialism. It is not intelligent to reject an accolade from the West on democracy in order to seek one from the East on socialism... It is absurd to assume that while democracy has to be adapted to the circumstances of the country in order that the people’s will shall be effective, socialism can just be copied from somewhere else. Admiration of some facets of democracy in Britain, Sweden, and elsewhere did not lead us to imitation. Equally we should be able to admire certain things which have been done in China, Russia, Korea, Yugoslavia, and so on, without assuming that any of these countries provide a model for us to copy.

Unfortunately some of our people—often the ones who were most insistent that we should not copy the democracy of the West—are now judging our socialist policies and progress by what Moscow or Peking have done, and are demanding that we do something because it has proved useful in one of these places. They get upset if the communist parties of these countries express disapproval (either explicitly or implicitly), because they believe that the model for socialism already exists there, and that we can only be really socialist if we have earned a ‘certificate of approval’ from the guardians of this model. Such people are refusing to think for themselves. They are saying that the perfect answer to the
problems of man in society is already known, and all we have to do is to copy others. Once again, they are saying that Africa has nothing to contribute to the world and all good things come from elsewhere. And then, in their insecurity, they look for a ‘certificate of socialist approval’ from the country or party they believe has the answers.

We must avoid this attitude. It is neither patriotic nor sensible to deny the need for Western approval and in the next breath to seek an accolade from the East. Tanzania does not need a certificate of approval about its internal policies from any outside group. The only approval our policies need is the approval of the Tanzanian people. We shall get that if we succeed in dealing with our own problems in a way which is suitable to our present circumstances and acceptable to the people’s beliefs and understanding at any one time. True Tanzanians will worry about what the Tanzanian people think, not what anyone else thinks. True Tanzanian socialists will worry about how the Tanzanian people can move in the quickest possible time towards a society where socialist principles find their fullest expression. They will not worry about the approval or disapproval of other socialists in matters which are of exclusive concern to us.

Of course it would be stupid to allow an insistence on working out our own policies to develop into a rejection of the lessons we can learn from the experiences of other countries and the ideas of other people. To say that Tanzania does not need certificates of approval from this country or that does not mean that we cannot learn from non-Tanzanians. This kind of automatic rejection of something because it is said by an American or Chinese, or done in Britain or Poland, is as much a reflection of an inferiority complex as the automatic acceptance of what they say or do.


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**B146] Education:**

[Education in Tanzania] must produce good farmers; it also has to prepare people for their responsibilities as free workers and citizens in a free and democratic society, albeit a largely rural society. They have to be able to think for themselves, to make judgements on all the issues affecting them; they have to be able to interpret the decisions made through the democratic institutions of our society, and to implement them in the light of the peculiar local circumstances where they happen to live.

It would thus be a gross misinterpretation of our needs to suggest that the education system should be designed to produce robots, who work hard but never question what the leaders in Government or TANU are doing and saying. For the people are, and must be, Government and TANU. Our Government and our Party must always be responsible to the people, and must always consist of representatives—spokesmen and servants of the people. The education provided must therefore encourage
the development in each citizen of three things; an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains.

These things are important for both the vocational and the social aspects of education. However much agriculture a young person learns, he will not find a book which will give him all the answers to all the detailed problems he will come across on his own farm. He will have to learn the basic principles of modern knowledge in agriculture and then adapt them to solve his own problems. Similarly, the free citizens of Tanzania will have to judge social issues for themselves; there neither is, nor will be, a political ‘holy book’ which purports to give all the answers to all the social, political and economic problems which will face our country in the future. There will be philosophies and policies approved by our society which citizens should consider and apply in the light of their own thinking and experience. But the educational system of Tanzania would not be serving the interests of a democratic socialist society if it tried to stop people from thinking about the teachings, policies or the beliefs of leaders, either past or present.


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**B147] Responsibilities of leadership:**

In this field, as in so many others, what is called for is good, honest leadership from people who are really committed to the welfare of the citizens of Tanzania. And the kind of honest leadership which is required is not necessarily the noisiest. If a leader can encourage the people and help them to understand problems and policies by his constructive oratory, that is a very good thing. But it is not entertainment that our people want and expect from their leaders; nor do they want a lot of false promises about a Utopia which someone will bring to them; nor do they want to listen to their leader abusing some person or some group which he has set up as a scapegoat for the problems the people are experiencing.

The leaders of Tanzania... have to show, in both actions and words, that they recognize one central fact. **Leaders cannot do anything FOR the people. We can only provide the necessary information, guidance and organization for the people to build their own country for themselves. Leaders of Tanzania should not be making promises; we cannot fulfil them for others. We should not be complaining; complaints help no one. We should know the facts of Tanzania’s situation, understand them, and give guidance to the people in the light of them.**

This is essential. Leaders have to know the reality of our present position, and then show the people how, by our own efforts, we can change our present poverty into something better. . . . We have to assess
our present situation—which includes many things beyond our control—and work out plans to change the situation and to counteract the effect of those things we cannot alter. Then we have to execute our plans by hard and intelligent work. There is no other way. There is no short cut.

Our people are poor. That is a fact. It is also a fact that every human being finds it easier to see the greater wealth or the greater privilege of other people than he does to see his own advantages. It is not part of a Tanzanian leader’s duty simply to encourage the people in envy, or to turn that envy into hostility or hatred against others. But he does have to make it clear to the people that he is not himself among a group which is unfairly privileged. It is for this reason that the leadership qualifications have been laid down in the Arusha Declaration.


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B148] There Is No Theology Of Socialism:

There is, however, an apparent tendency among certain socialists to try and establish a new religion—a religion of socialism itself. This is usually called 'scientific socialism' and the works of Marx and Lenin are regarded as the holy writ in the light of which all other thoughts and actions of socialists have to be judged.

Of course, this doctrine is not presented as a religion; its proponents are often most anxious to decry religion as the 'opium of the people', and they present their beliefs as 'science'. Yet they talk and act in the same manner as the most rigid of theologians. We find them condemning one another's actions because they do not accord with what the priests of 'scientific socialism' have decided is the true meaning, in modern terms, of books written more than 100 years ago. Indeed we are fast getting to the stage where quarrels between different Christian sects about the precise meaning of the Bible fade into insignificance when compared with the quarrels of those who claim to be the true interpreters of Marxism-Leninism!

This attempt to create a new religion out of socialism is absurd. It is not scientific, and it is almost certainly not Marxist—for however combatant and quarrelsome a socialist Marx was, he never claimed to be an infallible divinity! Marx was a great thinker. He gave a brilliant analysis of the industrial capitalist society in which he lived; he diagnosed its ills and advocated certain remedies which he believed would lead to the development of a healthy society. But he was not God. The years have proved him wrong in certain respects just as they have proved him right in others. Marx did not write revealed truth; his books are the result of hard thinking and hard work, not a revelation from God. It is therefore unscientific to appeal to his writings as Christians appeal to the Bible, or Muslims to the Koran.
The works of Marx and Lenin are useful to a socialist because these men thought about the objective conditions of their time and tried to work out the actions necessary to achieve certain ends. We can learn from their methods of analysis, and from their ideas. But the same is true of many other thinkers of the past. It is no part of the job of a socialist in 1968 to worry about whether or not his actions or proposals are in accordance with what Marx or Lenin wrote, and it is a waste of time and energy to spend hours—if not months and years—trying to prove that what you have decided is objectively necessary is really in accordance with their teachings. The task of a socialist is to think out for himself the best way of achieving desired ends under the conditions which exist now. It is his job to think how to organize society, how to solve a particular problem, or how to effect certain changes, in a manner which will emphasize the importance of man and the equality of man.

It is especially important that we in Africa should understand this. We are groping our way forward towards socialism, and we are in danger of being bemused by this new theology, and therefore of trying to solve our problems according to what the priests of Marxism say is what Marx said or meant. If we do this we shall fail. Africa's conditions are very different from those of the Europe in which Marx and Lenin wrote and worked. To talk as if these thinkers provided all the answers to our problems, or as if Marx invented socialism, is to reject both the humanity of Africa and the universality of socialism. Marx did contribute a great deal to socialist thought. But socialism did not begin with him, nor can it end in constant reinterpretations of his writings.

Speaking generally, and despite the existence of a few feudalistic communities, traditional Tanzanian society had many socialist characteristics. The people did not call themselves socialists, and they were not socialists by deliberate design. But all people were workers, there was no living off the sweat of others. There was no very great difference in the amount of goods available to the different members of the society. All these are socialist characteristics. Despite the low level of material progress, traditional African society was in practice organized on a basis which was in accordance with socialist principles.

These conditions still prevail over large areas of Tanzania—and indeed in many other parts of Africa. Even in our urban areas, the social expectation of sharing what you have with your kinsfolk is still very strong—and causes great problems for individuals! These things have nothing to do with Marx; the people have never heard of him. Yet they provide a basis on which modern socialism can be built. To reject this base is to accept the idea that Africa has nothing to contribute to the march of mankind; it is to argue that the only way progress can be achieved in Africa is if we reject our own past and impose on ourselves the doctrines of some other society.

Nor would it be very scientific to reject Africa's past when trying to build socialism in Africa. For scientific thinking means finding out all
the facts in a particular situation, regardless of whether you like them or not, or whether they fit in with preconceived ideas. It means analysing these facts, and then working out solutions to the problems you are concerned with in the light of these facts, and of the objectives you are trying to achieve. This is what Marx did in Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century; if he had lived in Sukumaland, Masailand, or Ruvuma, he would have written a different book than *Das Kapital*, but he could have been just as scientific and just as socialist. For if 'scientific socialism' means anything, it can only mean that the objectives are socialist and you apply scientific methods of study in working out the appropriate policies. If the phrase does not mean that, then it is simply a trap to ensnare the unwary into a denunciation of their own nature and therefore into a new form of oppression. For a scientist works to discover truth. He does not claim to know it, nor is he seeking to discover truth as revealed—which is the job of the theologian. A scientist works on the basis of the knowledge which has been accumulated empirically, and which is held to be true until new experience demonstrates otherwise, or demonstrates a superior truth which takes precedence in particular situations.

A really scientific socialist would therefore start his analysis of the problems of a particular society from the standpoint of that society. In Tanzania he would take the existence of some socialist values as part of his material for analysis; he would study the effect of the colonial era on these attitudes and on the systems of social organization; he would take account of the world situation as it affects Tanzania. After doing all that he would try to work out policies appropriate for the growth of a modern socialist state. And he could well finish up with the Arusha Declaration and the policies of ujamaa!

A scientific socialist could do all this with or without a knowledge and understanding of Marx and Lenin—or for that matter Saint-Simon, Owen or Laski. Knowledge of the work and thinking of these and other people may help a socialist to know what to look for and how to evaluate the things he sees; but it could also mislead him if he is not careful. Equally, a knowledge of history may help him to learn from the experience of others; a knowledge of economics will help him to understand some of the forces at work in the society. But if he tries to use any of these disciplines or philosophies as a gospel according to which he must work out solutions he will go wrong. There is no substitute for his own hard work and hard thinking.

For example, a study of the work of past socialist thinkers and of history and economics appears to have led some people to argue that Tanzania can only become socialist if it first goes through the stage of capitalism. Yet it is difficult to believe that they thought about the objective conditions of this country when coming to this conclusion. (It is also difficult to believe that they understand the principles of socialism—the attitude of mind it requires!) Certainly Tanzania was part of the Western capitalist world while it was under colonial domination, but it
was very much on the fringe. Certainly our independent nation inherited a few capitalist institutions, and some of our people adopted capitalist and individualistic ideas as a result of their education or their envy of the colonial representatives whom they encountered. But the masses of the people did not become capitalist, and are not filled with capitalist ideas. By far the largest part of our economy is not organized on capitalist lines. Indeed, whenever we try to help Africans to become capitalist shopkeepers, capitalist farmers, industrialists, etc., we find that most of them fail because they cannot adopt the capitalist practices which are essential to commercial success! Yet rather than give up their theories, these dogmatists often attribute these African failures to the machinations of a racial minority—thus revealing their racialism and non-socialist beliefs—instead of recognizing that capitalism demands certain attributes among its practitioners which the majority of our people have never been forced to acquire.

Under these circumstances what would be the sense in working to create capitalism, with all the individualism, social aggressiveness, and human indignities which it involves? These attributes would have to be fought against, and the organizations of capitalism destroyed or reformed, when you finally decided that the task of building socialism could be begun. And when should opposition to capitalism be started? If capitalism must precede socialism, how far does it have to go before it can be replaced?

Capitalism would only have to precede socialism if there was some reason to believe that the people will fail to solve the problems of production except by capitalist methods. It is certainly true that capitalism can lead to the high output of goods and services—no socialist would dispute that. But there is very little evidence to support the contention that only through capitalism can a satisfactory level of production be attained; indeed there is an increasing amount of evidence with which to refute such a statement. Countries like the USSR, East Germany, China, and North Korea may differ in their approach to socialism, but they are certainly not capitalist, and they do produce the goods their people need. North Korea, for example, may not be able to compare with the state of New York in the provision of television sets, cars, and fashion clothes; but it has electrified something like 98 per cent of its villages, and 86 per cent of its farm houses, and it has built new and improved houses for about two thirds of its rural families in the space of eight years. In other words, the priorities of production may be different, and the emphasis given to economic output as against other values may vary, but North Korea has shown that production can be organized in a non-capitalist manner. If it can be done once, what reason is there to believe that it cannot be done again?

The real truth is that the principles of socialism are relevant to all human society at all stages of technology and social organization. But their application has constantly to be worked out afresh according to the objective conditions prevailing in the time or place. There is no book
which provides all the answers to these problems of application; there is no 'socialist road map' which depicts all obstacles and provides a path through or around them. In fact we have no alternative but to hold fast to the principles of socialism— to understand its characteristics—and then apply the accumulated knowledge of man to the continuing and changing problems of man. And we have to do this as best we can, without the infinite knowledge which belongs to God and which would provide the answers to all our problems. There is no magic formula, and no short cut to socialism. We can only grope our way forward, doing our best to think clearly—and scientifically—about our own conditions in relation to our objectives.


B149] Scientific socialists should be scientific!

*Excerpt from “The Varied Paths to Socialism”*

The United Arab Republic and Tanzania are both committed to building socialism, and I would like to use the opportunity of your kind invitation to reflect upon what this means. In particular I wish to direct my remarks to considering its implications for those of us who are—or who may be in the future—in positions of authority or responsibility.

Over time there have been many definitions of socialism, and many books have been written which purport to explain its requirements and implications. Some of these have been valuable analyses of the problems in general, or of problems existing in particular places. We can learn from these writings.

Unfortunately, however, there has grown up what I can only call a 'theology of socialism'. People argue—sometimes quite violently—about what is the true doctrine, or what this or that writer meant when he used a particular phrase. This would not matter if it were simply a recreation of intellectuals, but in fact we have the peculiar position where leaders grappling with existing problems are denounced, or approved, on the grounds that they are—or are not—'acting in accordance with the book—or one person's interpretation of the book.'

Frankly this seems to me to be absurd. I am a Christian and it is part of my belief that the word of God is expressed in the Bible. To me, therefore, in spite of—or even because of—the contradictions of the Bible, it is quite sensible to try to get its full meaning, and, when I am trying to act in accordance with God's wishes, to refer to those who have given the Bible a detailed study. I believe that the same thing is true of those who accept the Koran as the inspired word of God's Prophet Mohammed. But the books on socialism are different. They are written by men; wise and clever men perhaps—but still men. Consequently we should use their books as we use the work of living people—knowing that one individual may contribute greatly to the solution of a problem, but that no man is infallible. Indeed, I think that this idea that there is one 'pure socialism', for which the recipe
is already known, is an insult to human intelligence. It seems to me that man has yet to solve the problem of living in society, and that each of us may have something to contribute to the problems it involves. We should recognize that there are books on socialism which can illuminate the problems, and books which chart a way forward from a particular point. But that is all.

It is imperative that socialists continue thinking. And this thinking must be more than an attempt to discover what any so-called socialist Bible or socialist Koran really says and means. It is necessary that those who call themselves scientific socialists should be scientific! In that case they would accept or reject socialist ideas and methods in accordance with the objective circumstances of time and place. They would certainly not be hampered or inhibited by the irrelevancies of a socialist theology.

Let me hasten to add that, in conformity with this approach to socialism, I consider that my remarks here today are simply a contribution to the continuing discussion—no more!


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B150] SISI KWA SISI youth perspective of the 7th PAC.

on behalf of SISI KWA SISI, Mbeya, Tanzania (1994)

Well Mzee, If you go through our constitution, you perceive our (SISI KWA SISI) outlook, for the same was written in part against the background of the 7th PAC. But again, I will meet your request by writing some more of our perspectives, after having discussed with my other SISI KWA SISI brothers living in the city (Dar-es-Salaam ) where I happen to be right now. So I decided to discuss with my SISI KWA SISI brothers here so as to meet your condition of having the memories fresh in the mind... though I thought that through collective flashing back it would be easier for us all to recall those events than for me alone because of SISI KWA SISI were also involved in preparing for the mini-congress here-TZ for the 7th PAC...I will start from that one.

The (SISI KWA SISI) perspective of the mini-congress-TZ for the 7th PAC:

(1) There was a total disregard for the Naiwu Osahon's Black agenda principle that... No non-Black individuals, organisations, agencies etc. should be involved in organizing, mobilizing and popularizing the 7th PAC. In Tanzania, the national committee for the 7th PAC invited even non-Blacks to... attend the seminar. They asked them to donate charity money towards making the 7th PAC a success. In fact they went begging for money from many prominent Asian businessmen as from European and Arab ambassadors, from UN agencies, European/white NGO's etc. These people were also invited to the seminar: Americans, Scandinavians, Arabs, Koreans etc...Thus the Black Agenda principle was totally compromised and contradicted. In fact one of the peoples who formed the 7th PAC steering committee of TZ was not a Blackman but a Palestinian "Marxist intellectual" and lawyer by the name of KARIM ESSACK. It is unfortunate that this very non-
black was the busiest, (seemingly) the most "concerned" and most likely the architect and sole steering force for the 7th PAC mobilization and popularization in Tanzania.

He seemed to be the only one... (together with me later on) doing the work for Pan-Afrikan revivalism FULL time. Karim Essack is a close friend of Mzee A.M. Babu. They are all Marxists, thus they're from the integrationist branch of the Pan-Afrikanism, as a matter of fact it was this non-Black mzee who made it financially possible for about six to eight youths to attend the congress.

(2) The Tanzanian National Preparatory Committee for the 7th PAC did very little to mobilize people especially the youth (even within Dar-es-Salaam itself). This is directly from the fact that Mzee Karim Essack was the only one working full time. Thus very few people were aware of the congress. I traveled all the way from Mbeya to Kampala and then came back to DSM to inform others who were right here in DSM who knew nothing about the congress. Only the journalists knew about it and it happened that most of those who formed the 7th PAC ad hoc committee of TZ were journalists. None was a youth.

I personally took the task of popularizing and mobilizing for the same in DSM city and then in Mbeya region. There, I visited many secondary schools with a Pan-Afrikan message. We used the Black agenda to spread the news. The response was most positive. Thus very few people indeed attended the mobilizing classes in Mbeya. Very few youths in DSM attended that congress. It was in fact a great pity, almost a shame. There were many unoccupied seats. Therefore youth representation in particular, like all other people's representation in general, was shamefully poor. As there were very few folks from the other (non-university) walks of life, the intellectuals: I mean university intellectuals and lecturers dominated the mini-congress.

(3) English medium of communication in a country where Kiswahili is the language of everyone except foreigners, the explanation for this is obvious...English was preferred so that those foreign (European and Arabic) "friends of ours" could understand what we were discussing, even at the expense of our own fellow Black people. In TZ, the majority of our Black people can't speak or understand the English language unlike, for example, in Kenya.

(4) The mini-congress did not take a stance on the basic definition of who is an Afrikan; who is the one to be "Pan"-Afrikanizing. During this seminar, historical foes of the Black race, apart from Europeans, (Arabs, Persians, Lebanese, etc.) were never attacked or condemned. In fact, the Europeans who were attacked were those of the IMF, World Bank, Euro-American "capitalism" and it was done very much from a class rather than a race perspective.

(5) The Tanzanian government, through its ruling party (CCM) became involved in preparing for the 7th PAC. In fact during the last stage they provided the minibus with which we travelled all the way to Kampala. Again this was in breach of the Black agenda that was against any Afrikan government involvement to avoid "politicizing" the matter or "high-jacking" the movement for their own "power interests"....
(6) Presence of many and almost all European NGO's and/or their extensions during the seminar and in contrast, the lack of Black NGOs. Those were our SISI KWA SISI observations. We then boarded a bus, going to Kampala with these things in mind, to learn what would be there. From Kampala itself we drew the following lessons:

**Observations on the Kampala 7th PAC itself**

1] **Who is an Afrikan?**

The 7th PAC Congress failed to clarify who is (or for that matter was...) an Afrikan. This issue was brushed aside and ignored despite the knowledge that there were two factions: that of Kampala and the other one of Nigeria. Decisive difference between them being their different definitions of an Afrikan. Instead, a personal definition of an Afrikan was provided by the 7th PAC patron--President Museveni. His definition was an integrationist one. He included the Arabs and even the Boers. Could you imagine that! I personally was very shocked by such an inclusion. I remember I did not sleep well that night. How on earth could we say and accept that Boers are Afrikans too? Are they not whites and Europeans, alien Aryans who happen to live in Afrika? Any way President Museveni's definition was also controversial. It needed more debate, more reasoning. But there was no time made out for that. It could have been that the international preparatory committee--most of whom are socialist, Marxist and communist "universalists"--had "advised" or influenced President Museveni to give out such an integrationist almost miscegenationistic, universalist, and colour-blind definition of an Afrikan. And so President Museveni gave us an integrationist definition of who was an Afrikan with no objection from participants.

2] **Excessive openness**

The invitation "come one, come all" was also integrationist. Thus even the historical enemies of the Black race whose historical genocidal behavior and treatment of the Black race catalysed the growth and emergence of Pan-Afrikanist concept, theory and philosophy were invited and were present in full force--some just listening attentively and others participating fully, like those Arabs from Khaddafi's Libya. Actually Khaddafi himself was to participate as the chief guest of honor (on equal footing with no one but Museveni only) through a speech by satellite, but the satellite jammed. We of SISI KWA SISI feel that the invitation could have been "come one, come all BLACKS". That could have encouraged any member of the "melanin-high race" to attend while discouraging any non-Black members. That is, any Blackman whether Marxist, Black Communist, Black universalist, Black Jacobanite, Black Muslim, Black Christian, Black Atheist, Black Pagan (the correct term being Black traditionalist), Black Nationalist and Black anything could have been invited to the congress to discuss our common black problems and produce a Black agenda to guide our Black destiny in this race conscious world in which we of the Black race have historically suffered the worst at the hands of all white people--whether Europeans or Arabs. The slogan "Come one, come all" could have articulated our Blacks only intergrationism--intergration within the race (Ultra-gration)--which should be foremost on our agenda. We should not be pushing for, especially
miscogenationistic values where our Afrikan culture, values and being have always been undermined.

I don't have any objection say for Blacks even integrating so-called multi-nationals (which in actual facts are Euro-multi-nationals) Like the UN and all its agencies, the so-called South-Southism organization, non-aligned movement etc. I have no objection to that. I only object strongly and vehemently to the idea of wanting (almost seemingly forcing) us Blacks to integrate with white in Pan-Afrikanism. Why? Simple: this was born as a reaction to the oppression, suppression, exploitation and humiliation of Black people by the whites. It started as an "all Blacks only" movement to counteract racism (white racism) against Blacks. It started as our Black self definition and self-determination against our historical bitter enemies and oppressors; the whites, all whites as a group (race) of people.

Thus Pan-Afrikanism started as a body for blacks only. Just as there are numerous bodies for whites only (excluding us Blacks) there are bodies for Europeans only... Asians only... Arabs only... Japanese-Chinese... Indo Asians only etc. It started as a "Negro" only body... and don't tell me that Negro was inclusive of Arabs and European Marxist and Liberals. Yes, Black Marxists could mix with their own-Black ideological counterparts in Marxism-communism. I don't object to that too. Yes. Black universalists could mix with Asians in Theosophy and I don't object to that either. But for God's sake Blacks should never and ought never to mix with non-Blacks in Pan-Afrikanism. The integration of Blacks and white in Pan-Afrikanism makes the latter loose its meaning and purpose of existing in the very first place. This is decisive, and so, let it be so understood.

[3] Rushed and hectic
There was limited time for most things. One felt that in order that the congress could meet its proposed schedule and programme, a lot of things were done hastily almost in a "fire fighting" commandist fashion. It became obvious that finishing up everything by 8th of April was more important than the debate and all the questions that emerge therefrom. The 7th PACongress was most hectic, as if we were in an examination room finishing up before or on time pupils/students. Anyway, I think too dead-line conscious. Yet there were a lot of things to talk about, reason about and strategize about. There were many important and sensitive questions that went unanswered. Many more critical questions could have emerged but again time seemed to be too short.

[4] Bad scheduling
The arrangement of having various workshops taking place at the same time limited people's participation and contribution in other equally important areas of their interests. For example, I particularly wanted to participate in the workshop on Reparation and the workshop on Education and Culture, but at the same time I was to be a "resource person" at the workshop on "the Youth and the future of Pan-Afrikanism" so I missed the above ones. By the time I managed to attend the workshop on Reparation I found that they had just concluded and were packing to leave. This had the effect of limiting very much the delegates' participation and contribution in other areas.

Also as a result of limited time, many youths were not allowed to speak during the question and answer phase despite our constant hand-raisings. This frustrated the youth including me. It is also worthy to note that while Tanzanian youth were included in the congress itself, we became side-stepped. We had to fight-back strongly to retain that arrangement, that is, to have our chance to speak. It seemed that those allowed to speak during the response from the floor were prominents; the well-knowns; the already established; the famous, the "over dogs" and not the under-dogs, the unknowns, most of these being the youths. Truly we were marginalized. This is not mere sentiment. Many of us were frustrated by that favouritism against us. But what is easily forgotten here is that throughout its history, the Pan-Afrikanist vision has been spearheaded by the same. The pre-1945 Pan Afrikan Congresses were almost Black Youth congresses. So was the 1945 one. Without falling back to its youth to give it strength, Pan-Afrikanism loses vigour and potency just as without the Black colour (race question) it loses its meaning and reason for being. The great Honourable Garvey had expectations for the trust of the youth. So was militant martyr Omowale Malcolm X who maintained that "our accents will be to the youth". So was Dr. Chancellor Williams research covering 6000 years of our Black history (please refer to his powerful book The destruction of Black Civilization-Race Issue from 4000 BC to 2000 AD). It lead him to propose a master-plan for the race survival and salvation in which he put the whole historical challenges to the youth who should be the ones to start such a great race movement for our Black renaissance. So Wazee, you have to trust us, the youth, and give us (or rather accept us onto race higher responsibilities for we are the ones who have the energy necessary for spearheading the cause right now.

[6] The 7th PAC's failure to breakaway from the "talented 10th"- the academic, the scholar intellectuals, the professors the Ph.D.s.
This was an obvious side result of marginalizing the youth and wanting to meet the deadline. Thus despite the promise that the 7th PAC would be All-inclusive, the same PhDs and prominent persons, thus the elderly, dominated the congress as main speakers from the establishment side of Pan-Afrikanism. This explains why we got the same 'anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism' analysis, the same pro-Third Worldism, "South-Southism, non-Alignmentalism", and the newly established (by Khaddafi) International Popular Front. The latter body has actually gone to the extent (so soon after its birth) of regarding Pan-Afrikanist congress and movement as its subset despite Pan-Afrikanism's existence many years before the former! So in most cases, we got the same Marxist-oriented "analysis" and "objectivity". We were left out and thirsty for the emotive aspect of Pan-Afrikanism. Why have most of our intellectuals, scholars, professors and doctors (PhD's) fallen into the whiteman's trap of objectivity and "universalism"? Thus our learned personnel (mis-learned?) have been hiding their emotional feelings a part of themselves? Thus of all the analysis we got, only one PhD gave us the thinking aspect of our black problems with its rightful emotive side. That one happened to be yourself, Chinwezu only. Of course this your "telling it like it is" analysis was "unpopular", even regarded as "controversial" but was to the point. Thank you for choosing to be emotive (thus non-objective and non-universalistic) professor.

[7] Iconical reverence of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah alone:
During the congress, we observed that wherever there were posters about Pan-Afrikanism, there was the photograph of Nkrumah. Now, we of SISI KWA SISI do not object to that. But why him alone? Surely there are other equally great Pan-Afrikanist figures that needed to be remembered iconically together with Kwame Nkrumah. The list is long like Marcus Garvey (Nkrumah's own mentor), Patrice Lumumba, Malcolm X, Sobukwe, Steve Biko, A. Cabral, Samora Machel, Du Bois, Sarah Mugabe, Muthoni, Kimbaveta, Angela Davis, Mzee A.A.Karume, Cheikh Anta Diop, Mzee Yousef Ben Jochanan and so on. I believe that those who had arranged the Kampala congress were mostly integrationist Marxist Socialists, and they preferred that particular icon only because Nkrumah ended up his intellectual journey by embracing Marxism-Leninism. Thus the Nkrumah icon was to show us the younger generation that his Marxism socialism is the only way forward for Afrika. Am I not to realize that because my Osagyefo had set an example (mis-example) of miscegenation of Blacks and Arabs through his own personal marriage to equally Aryan Arabic daughter—Fathia, such an icon was being used to enforce the concept of Blacks and Arabs natural and historical alliances of which the new Libyan/ Khaddafi formed I.P.F. is striving to reap the fruits of? But then, why Nkrumah alone as an icon? Is it to show us of the younger generation that in Pan-Afrikanism, race is no longer the issue, or if, then a minor-secondary one, the main issue being ideology?

[8] The Arabs
Have Arabs, through Islamism now become our historical allies and not historical enemies any longer? Through experience with militant Pan-Afrikanist Blacks from UK in particular and also from USA, we of SISI KWA SISI came to learn from some of our militant diasporan brothers and sisters (from the reaction of the speech we delivered, as well as during various discussions) that whenever we pointed the evil of the white Europeans particularly the Anglo Saxons, these our diasporan kith and kin were in full agreement but surprisingly when we extended the same analysis to include the Arabs our diasporan kith and kin would either experience a shock or become stupefied and traumatized. We of SISI KWA SISI came to learn later that it was because most of these militants from the diaspora were moslem converts: that means that they share that religion and belief with the Arabs, and that way religious alliance has them to perceive the Arabs as being friendly to them. They are no longer our Black historical bitter enemies, no longer the foes; that between the two white devils (the Europeans and the Arabs) the latter are less evil if not the devil at all. Our militant diasporan brothers and sisters have become so "anti-European", so "anti-Christian", so "anti-Capitalist" that they had to jump out of the Eurocentric frying pan but only to fall into the Arabic fire. Thus most of them would argue that only Europeans are our main and major race problem; that the Arabs are not a problem any longer but actually our natural allies against the West, against capitalism, imperialism, Anglo Saxonism. So there are some otherwise "militant" pro-Black brothers and sisters who think that between our historically bitter and deadly enemies—the Europeans and the Arabs—the former are more fatal than the latter. And so we should join forces with the Arabs to fight the Europeans. It is like choosing between the mosquito and the housefly. Which of these two small insects is more dangerous to mankind? Mosquito causes malaria but does that mean that the housefly's side effects could be ignored by mankind? No! And even so do you fight mosquitoes and malaria by siding with the houseflies? The answer is still no. So why fight one devil by
aligning with the other who is equally our historical enemy? Only total confusion could result from this phenomenon. The same attitude by our diasporan kith and kin means that we are now reaping the fruits of 1960s to 1970s concept of "Third Worldism", the myth was promoted by Blacks progressive protest and militant organisations like the Black Panther Party. About people of colour joining forces against a common enemy--the white European system in general and bourgeoisie capitalists in particular. This idea has spread into young Pan-Afrikanists especially those of the diaspora.

[9] Eurocentric mannerism at the Pan-African congress. Europe won the day in mannerism, dress fashion, beauty parameters (hair curling and straightening) and values. Any way Pan-African vision has so far failed to develop its ethics, values, style and fashion for its members to embrace. Thus there is no Pan-Afrikan identity. No Pan-Afrikan mufti, no Pan-Afrikan culture, no Pan-Afrikan way of life. Consider this fact: we start the session every day without even Pan-Afrikan prayers for our Pan-Afrikan ancestors. Thus Pan-Afrikanism is so afar seemingly an ideological but cultureless vision. It needs to develop its authentic Afrikan, pro-Black values, styles and a way of life, which is Afrocentric. Pan-Afrikanism needs to be Afrocentric and project its value to the level of an individual along the street, so let it be.

[10] Lack of the cultural dimensions of Pan-Afrikanism at the congress. Thus we missed the cultural festival (festac) part of Pan-Afrikanism. We actually missed even the poetries. Only lectures, speeches dominated the congress.

Few participants attended (so it seems) from non-English speaking, non-Anglophone Afrikan countries. Francophone and Portuguese speaking countries were poorly represented. Why so? Is Pan-Afrikanism only a black Anglophone affair?

(12) Drinking party that caused some youth to become too drunk and undisciplined.
While it was good of the president as a PAC patron to provide free for all drinking and entertaining party after the hard debating work, the drinking proved to be a problem. Some youths, being exposed to free beers, drank too much and became drunk, this manifested itself during the get-together, familiarization and socialization for youths only. There, indiscipline was obvious and led to chaos. There was no order and most of the young PAC-Afrikanists became frustrated and left the meeting. The few remaining ones started again [and] proceeded successfully! Actually we came to realise that most of those who had left were those who were too drunk and actually became a problem to the deliberations. And ("telling it like it is") most of those who were too drunk and out of control happened to be the young Pan-Afrikanists from the host country-Uganda. This whole experience was very discouraging, a shame, but those of us who remained (the hard core) turned it into something constructive, something worthwhile, after all "Black Consciousness" is all about making the best out of the bad or even the worst Black Condition; creating hope where there is none; creating sanity where there is insanity; creating sobriety where there is drunkenness; creating direction where there is disillusionment. And so it came to pass.
[13] Diaspora offers of help
Afrikans from the diasporas’ (USA and UK) promise of help and assistance to us Afrikans in the continent. During the sessions, the Afro-Americans and Afrikans from the UK time and again kept giving us promises of help in so many different ways: technologically, financially, resource wise and so on. Time will tell. It is to be seen if they really are WILLING and able when put to the first test.

[14] Young white blondes
And lastly, the presence of young white blondes amidst us especially the young Black males. Obviously, their very presence must have had a psychological effect of attracting the black young Pan-Afrikan minds to them and in that way misdirecting, misorienting and ultimately confusing them. . . The presence of those white blondes amidst young black Pan-Afrikanists, particularly those young still intellectually evolving Pan-Afrikanists who still haven't known Garvey (yet) or those still not "Garveyite" enough; those young Black Pan-Afrikanist oriented minds who still don't know separatism, Afrikan fundamentalism, in the lines the great Marcus Garvey, Mzee Yosef Ben Jochanan-Dr Ben, Mzee John Henrick Clarke, The Diopian "Dr, J", Bantu Steve Biko, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, Chinweizu, Carlos Moore, Dr. Asante, Maulana Karenga, Haki Madhubuti, Obat Shaka, Jitu Weusi, Chief Nangoli, Dr Barbara Dean Williams Jackson (Queen Hatshepsut Nzingha) Queen Mother Moore, Dada Shawna Maglanbayan and Dr. Chancellor Williams, for those who have not yet come across or studied his book the Destruction of Black Civilisation, the presence of those young blondes was dangerous, damaging, deviating and diverting. It was giving the impression that integrationism was all right in vision of Pan-Afrikanism; that colour was not an issue at all. That Pan-Afrikanism is an open door for the whites who are liberal enough to be sympathetic and empathetic to us of the Black race; that the problem is "the system" but not (never) racism; that more than race, class was the main issue. Obviously, some young one (Black male) might have been confused by those white blonde trap. Obviously, some may have made amity with one of those young European blondes. Someone might even have gotten a white blonde blue-eyed, European, aryan girl friend in the spirit of Pan-Afrikanism. Imagine that extreme misorientation! Surely someone, some potentially best Black young mind, will end up being another Fanonite why? Because of the 7th PAC young European white trap someone has already been affected (for good?) towards universalism, if not miscegenationism. The presence of those blondes were detrimental to the Black autonomy; truly so.

Now, having observed and analysed that, we (of SISI KWA SISI) recommend the following:

General Recommendations

(1) The need to define who is an Afrikan. There should be a one-day long debate and workshop solely on this subject in any Pan Afrikan congress following this one. We suggest that brother Naiwu Osabon's PAM should make this arrangement possible. This definition should not be a product of one man's viewpoint. The final definition must be a product of consensus agreement by all the participants, even through popular voting if need be. The definition of who is an Afrikan is very important matter in Pan-Afrikanism.
Five days was too short a period of time for the congress. Marcus Garvey's UNIA convened thousands more people, 15 times those 1,500 individuals who attended Kampala, and had his convention from 1st to the 31st of August; and that was 1920!

Why should the Black world fail to match him 70 years after during which we have apparently made historical progress through winning black political sovereignty, our civil rights and even some of our human rights. Why brother Naiwu Osahon's plan of 15 days is fair. If he could get all the Black world's support to extend the same that would be better for us.

Youths' full participation should never be ignored. Youths' full participation, hand in hand with elders and veterans and women's full participation in a complimentary (not a competitive nor even supplementitive) basis is highly needed. The Pan-Afrikan vision needs the energy and vitality of the new blood—the youth (male and female and brothers and sisters and boys and girls and men and women) as well as the experience and wisdom of the elders and veterans.

Pan-Afrikanism should as of now, break away from its tradition of the "talented 10th-ism", the Dubois elitist Blacks approach and become an all Blacks-only mass movement in the line of Marcus M. Garvey's UNIA.

The need to eliminate disunity, distrust and disloyalty among ourselves and strive hard to create in its stead, collective supportive teamwork style of organizing ourselves. Between the veterans and young emerging potential leadership, let there be a coach-to-players kind of relationship. The coach advises, teaches, warns, corrects and shows the way, but ultimately it is the players' final business to play the right way in their own personal styles. So, should the team win, both sides become happy and successful. However, I object to such a relationship being on religious path; that is deifying someone as divine, inhuman, infallible as Malcom X did his mentor. No one man has the solution to the multitude of problems that confront us as a race of people. Yet I will canonize my race's great ones in a spiritual line but not religious way. So, the veterans should take up their positions and lead from behind, leading by advising while leaving the new Pan-Afrikanists led by [. . .?]. A.M.Babu should have joined forces in supporting younger Naiwu Osahon, instead of organizing a splinter group parallel to in competition with that of Osahon, and in that way splitting the Black world and frustrating the "emerging Garvey of our times".

The need to discuss clearly and openly our Black relationship with the Arabs.
Are they now our allies? Why? Are they no longer a problem to us? Before all are they now Afrikans too? Where does Islamism end and Arabism begin? Should the reparation demand include them not? Why? Why are the Arabs seemingly opposed to our forming an all Black-only organization very similar to theirs, Arab League of Nation? Has religionism and theocratic universalism through Islamism and Christianity too, become a divisive factor for Blacks in Pan-Afrikanism?

The need to have an equally open discussion between Black Separatist nationalists and the Black universalists and integrationist Marxist-socialists. The
dialogue between these two camps is necessary. Why is it that the Black Marxists always fight so hard to insist that their white friends and allies, comrades, counterparts or partners should attend the Pan-Afrikan Congress by all means necessary? Why? Do they think that we Black nationalists do not have some white people whom we have equally befriended but whom we would not accommodate in our Pan-Afrikanism, it being a Black-only affair? Why has ideology become a divisive factor in Pan-Afrikanism in exactly the same way as religion has been?

(8) Pan-Afrikanism must be made Afrocentric. It must be firm in developing its Afrocentric cultural values, style, taste and so on. Thanks to an Afrikan god (Ptah Amen-Ra) that someone dressed "wild" during the 7th Pan congress. I came to know later that he was Garveyite Chief Nagoli. Many thanks to him for being unashamed to put on Afrikan authentic outfit. His example of authentic self-confidence has to be emulated by other Pan-Afrikanists especially us the youth.

(9) The need to mobilize more Blacks for Pan-Afrikanism, not only Anglophone Black Afrikans but also Francophone and Portuguese-speaking Afrikans and others.

(10) The cultural aspect of Pan-Afrikanism (Festac) should never be ignored. Festac should be staged hand in hand with any PAC congress that will follow this. Culture we should not forget is (among other definitions) a people's dramatization through the symbolization of their collective-social aspirations. Cultural dramatization leaves a more lasting psychological impact for its observers and participants in a way that speeches and lectures alone cannot. The cultural aspect is so important for seeing and then developing our potentials within ourselves as a race. This is very important for the young and emerging Pan-Afrikanist minded Blacks. We should not follow (never) a Marxist (equally Eurocentric fallacy which is actually a trap) that culture is not important for our liberation; that ideology has to come first. Which ideology? Scientism? Dialectical materialism? That Afrikan ancient and traditional cult has no role to play now but in its stead, we develop a new revolutionary guerrilla-gun carrying culture which, according to them, Marxist is the only way for attaining millenarianism rather than Black renaissance. Psychology and spirit rather than of presenting us with those white young blondes whose presence only leads to the alienation of our minds and encourages our inferiority complex. It encourages our thinking in terms of integration as the only solution to improve the race.

(11) Drinking problem within the race: It was a sad experience that even the potential Pan-Afrikanist latter days leaders and 'crusaders' were highly affected by the alcohol trap as it came to manifest in the youth in Kampala. Such ones, when they became leaders later on, could be easily bought off by the race enemies, the whites, through beer parties if not white women or through both ways. Thus the need to develop a Jainistic-Buddhistic Spartan naturalistic, Afrocentric teetolistic, Black-simplistic, highly cost-conscious, "Karmicistic" way and style of life which deprecates pomposity, squandermania and so on. Garvey himself admonished about this that if the Blackman is not careful he will drink in all the poison of modern civilisation and die from the effects of it. He also admonished us to abstain from intoxicating liquor, as it makes us morbid and sometimes drunk. He continued "must I flatter you when I find all peoples preparing themselves for the
struggle to survive, and you still smiling, eating, dancing, drinking and sleeping away your time, as if yesterday were the beginning of the age of pleasure?" (from Marcus Garvey speech delivered during the 4th international Convention, August 1, 1924, refer to the book: Philosophy and Opinion of Marcus Garvey page 101 of part 1). I personally call for the Pan-Afrikan minded youth in particular, and for all Black youths generally, to abstain from such vices as drinking, smoking and 'womanization'. These three are good historically proven traps to catch the otherwise uncompromising forward thinking individuals--leaders and visionaries. Instead of those same vices, the youths should be taught the art of free meditation in the Buddhist monk style as it was in ancient Egypt (Kemet).

(12) The frank talk dialogue is needed as between Blacks in the continent and our kith and kin of the diaspora, more than anywhere else, it is in Pan-Afrikanist movement that such a dialogue should be held. Why is each side interested in Pan-Afrikanism? What is the Black continent's agenda? What is the Afro diasporan agenda? What do we (Afrikans in the continent) need, want and expect from them? What do Afrikans in the diaspora need, want, and expect from Mama Afrika? Thus, frank talk and dialogue that would lead to immediate action is needed here more than semantics, emotionalism, speech militancism, eloquencism (though all those are rightly justified) all being, so far vehicles for political compromise of some sort. We need to move beyond that. Everything we talk about must be geared towards immediate action. Doctor Chancellor Williams, Doctor Ben and others have to be discussed openly, frankly and critically in the spirit of Pan-Afrikanism.

(13) We recommend that brother Naiwu Osahon should continue to mobilise and organise for another PAC as he had envisaged before. We (of SISI KWA SISI) believe that Naiwu Osahon-led PAM Black agenda is timely, prophetic and foremost ground for the reincarnation of the Pan-Afrikan vision at the grassroots level once again. The point here is to wake up and get over the brand of (bastard) Pan-Arikanism that has become for us Blacks, no longer the vehicle for self-expression, self-determination, self-analysis; no longer a means to our final freedom (Black renaissance) but a dangerous trap to lead us to our ultimate ruin through integrationism, universalism, scientism, third-worldism, Bundung-ism, group 77ntism, south-southism, Islam brotherhoodism and one international popular frontism in which the white peoples interests (whether Europeans, Arabs, Asians, Chinese etc.) and agenda are tactfully forced onto us and our own, Black interests and Black agenda are made secondary, a means to an end and not (never!) the end in itself.

Mzee, it is time we Black nationalists, Garveyites and Pan-Afrikanists started to organise ourselves internally before going forward to attract other Blacks on our side. Why is it that we leave Black Marxists, Black integrationists to lead and determine our affair and destiny? We of SISI KWA SISI put up this challenge, calling all Garveyite Black nationalists to support brother Naiwu Osahon in his bold and brave foundation and efforts towards an all Blacks only movement globally.

See also [B74] above and compare--Chinweizu

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Postcript

Presented above are some 200 issues. Only a handful of them fall within the narrow purview of an African Unity Pan-Africanism that is obsessed with Continental Union Government, CUG—that alleged panacea for all the problems of blacks. Those whose minds are marooned on the little rock of CUG should tell us how their CUG will solve the problem of the Arabs’ white superiority complex (B120), especially if the CUG is dominated by Arab money? Or will solve the problem of ethnic monopoly of power (A43); or the problem of Marxism using Africans (B56); or the problem of too much fear (B82; or the problem of irreplaceables (A20); ) or how CUG will accomplish the task of diminishing fear (B111) -- to name just a few of the problems highlighted by the passages presented above. It should now be clear that a CUG is not a precondition for addressing most of our problems and that the obsession with CUG is a decoy—and indeed a part of the problem.—Chinweizu

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