

Pan-Africanism and The African Union

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In the early 20th century Pan-Africanism revived a concept of unifying consciousness that linked the communities of African descent with the emergent nation-states of the African continent. Pan-Africanism is a political philosophy to encourage unity among African American, African European, African Latino, Caribbean Blacks, and Africans from the continent of Africa, on the assumption that in numbers there is strength and power. By acting together we can accomplish much more than if any of these groups acted alone. The same concept of white unity is behind the emerging European Union in Europe. African-Americans, Caribbean Blacks, and Latin American Blacks have longed to be accepted by fellow Africans and to be included in their planning and thought since they left Africa in chains, bound for slavery in the Americas. Life along the Middle Passage from Africa to the Americas was horrible and filled with pain and suffering. Africans on those ships remembered a better, more fulfilling and rewarding life back in Africa and it was the hope of eventual return to Africa that helped many survive the vicissitudes of the Middle Passage and subsequent enslavement.

With the birth of the African Union and official recognition by Africans as full members in the latest incarnation of continent-wide and indeed worldwide Black unity that dream is finally being realized. What is not clear is how District Six which represents people of African descent in the Diaspora will work in detail. Perhaps the details are yet to be worked out. Pan-African unity has served as the philosophical and ideological framework which bridged the gap between different experiences of those African communities who were put in chains and transported as human cargo and human

contraband outside the continent, and those who stayed in the continent to be ruled by European colonial empire builders.

The struggle against slavery and colonialism merged together in the mobilization of the entire Black world against the ravages of apartheid, as the last bastion of overt racism and racial discrimination, and colonialism worldwide. The demise of White supremacy in South Africa in 1994 and the establishment of a government of national reconciliation, led by Nelson Mandela, a committed Pan-Africanist, provided closure to the double-consciousness which linked scattered societies of African descent with the nation-states of independent Africa in the 20th century. While those watershed episodes of Pan-African successes have been celebrated and documented, the socio-historical antecedents of principles of unification and cooperation have yet to be examined in depth. This article seeks to do just that by analyzing the socio-cultural and historical contexts which gave rise to the normative values associated with modern Pan-Africanism. It will be argued that an understanding of the past will facilitate an understanding of the 21st century and where Pan-Africanism needs to go from here. Pan-Africanism is transforming itself into a mobilizing ideology and a blueprint for development of the African continent, as financed and supported by Blacks globally.

Pan-Africanism is defined as “the perceived need to mobilize all peoples of African descent against racism and colonialism.” (M’bayo,2003: 19) This concept suggests that a mutual bond exist among Blacks regardless of geographic residence, or origin. This was no easy task for as DuBois noted

“One ever feels his two ness - - an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.”

DuBois added, “It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.” (DuBois 1903: 45-6)

This double consciousness originated in the ancient kingdoms of West Africa and the encounter by African people on the continent and in the Diaspora with the need for strength and mutual prosperity through unity. Ethnic groups and tribes were united by powerful emperors, sometimes peacefully but more often through the use of force to form kingdoms. The tug of old ethnic loyalties created factious divisions from time to time that caused kingdoms to come apart. The same is true of modern African nation states such as Nigeria in which one is a Yoruba, Ibo, or Hausa, for example, but, always a Nigerian at the same time. Only the Biafra War forced the Ibo to remain within the state of Nigeria, at great cost in terms of one million human lives which were lost. It is at times difficult to be loyal to both identities without being destructive of common unity and purpose.

Such consciousness is rooted in a series of paradoxes: born slaves in the land of the free; born poor in a land of prosperity; persecuted and maligned in a land of justice; DuBois contended that this very debasement of New World Blacks born “within a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world” is what gave the African in the Americas the ability to see the value in unity of all Black people and to promote this concept. This two-ness made both Caribbean Blacks and American Blacks willing and able to fight colonialism and racism worldwide. Their dream has been to conduct this battle in concert with Africans. DuBois, Garvey, and a host of others would spend entire careers fighting white supremacy, imperialism, the dehumanizing treatment given to Blacks all over the world. Throughout it all we longed to have the help of the more

numerous and powerful Africans with us in our struggles, and of course we always rooted for them and hoped that we could help them to win their battles. Until recently we had no institution through which to channel our hopes, dreams, and desires, but now the African Union may play this long hoped for role for us all.

EARLY PAN-AFRICANISM AMONG ANCIENT AFRICAN KINGDOMS

As Africans everywhere increasingly come together in mutual self-defense; an interest in diasporic studies surges. Large modern nation states are rooted in this concept, as were successful ancient African states such as Ghana, Mali, and Songhay. Although many authors trace the origins of Pan Africanism back to the first Pan-African Congress in 1900, I want to suggest that its origin lay in the ancient kingdoms of West Africa.

If we look closely at the ancient kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay we notice that all three were ruled by leaders who united people from several ecological zones broadly known as the sahal or desert zone, the savannah or grasslands, the forest zone and the coastal zone. Products from each zone were developed by members of many ethnic groups. These groups often met along the edges of each zone to trade and all zones benefited from these exchanges. By uniting people of all four zones into one empire ancient kings could control all of the zones and guarantee peace which is so vital for trade and prosperity. This argument is not new. West African scholars in Senegal and Guinea, such as Dr. Boubakar Barry have already made this argument. (Barry, 1997) Thus, I would submit that the peoples of these regions and their kings were eager to transcend what are often known as tribal or ethnic differences. Had they been fixated upon tribal similarities they would have just tried to unite the members of their own

ethnic group who live within one ecological zone, say the Fulani who extend from Nigeria to Senegal across the length of West Africa within the savannah ecological zone. Such a strategy would have been short sighted and condemned these rulers to poverty along with their people. This was a proactive Pan-Africanism whereby people united to secure mutual advantages from the strength that such a union offered and the prosperity that followed. (Barry, 1997)

Despite the tragic boundaries of modern African nations which they inherited from European colonial interests the people of West Africa are as they always have been Pan-Africanists. They still move freely throughout the four zones as refugees from drought, and war, or just to trade. In this sense they are ahead of their leaders. People still meet and trade along the Senegal-Gambia and Senegal-Mauritanian borders.

As French colonial armies moved into Senegal and Guinea to “pacify” these areas and make them safe for French colonial rule they provoked resistance from leaders like Samory Toure, who opposed foreign rule. Samory fought and fell back along the banks of the Niger River. Every time that he and his army of resistance fell back they moved further west into a different ethnic group’s territory and each time he was able to convince these new ethnic groups to join his cause and help him to fight the French. Before his resistance was brought to an end by the French army Samory had united a very diverse collection of ethnic groups into a multi-ethnic empire dedicated to fighting foreign rule. This represents a Pan-Africanism of resistance and reaction to invasion; it is based upon the common need for defense against external aggression. Samory represents Pan Africanisms’ militant face.

Thus, we can see why in 1868 Samory Toure who was a Muslim reformer and a military leader, who was from the Mande ethnic group, founded a kingdom which originated in the Kankan region of Guinea. Samory was a gifted leader who inspired confidence in his followers. An able administrator he built a kingdom that stretched from Guinea to the Fouta Djallon in Nigeria. Samory opposed French efforts to build an empire in West Africa. Samory first fought the French in 1883, when they tried to occupy Bamako on the Niger River. In this case Africans banded together across tribal lines in order to repel foreign invaders. Samory's blacksmiths learned how to make ammunition for the guns that his army used. This enabled him to keep fighting even when Europeans cut off his supply of guns and ammunition. His blacksmiths also learned how to make crude guns. These achievements gave his army greater staying power than other African armies dedicated to resisting European colonial rule. (Barry, 1997) United opposition to French rule which transcended tribal loyalties helps to explain why Samory's resistance movement was among Africa's most successful.

EARLY NEW WORLD PAN-AFRICANIST

Africans who found themselves enslaved relearned this lesson of unity during Cinque's successful rebellion against enslavement, his capture of the slave ship the *Armistead*, and his subsequent successful bid for freedom and his return to Sierra Leone with his fellow shipmates who were Africans from many diverse tribes speaking many languages but united by their desire for freedom and their willingness to act in unison under Cinque's leadership to secure their freedom. Unity alone does not guarantee success but it is a great first step. (Kromer, 1997) Cinque was not the only slave who longed to return to Africa.

Nat Turner's slave revolt and Denmark Vessey's also relied upon a notion of Pan-African unity for their success, Herbert Aptheker's work noted that there were thousands of slave revolts and he paints a picture of slaves always on the barricades storming the plantation in heroic pursuit of their own freedom. (Aptheker, 1944) In South America the establishment of Zumbi's ex-slave kingdom known as Quilombo in Brazil, which welcomed all Africans regardless of tribe as long as they agreed to fight Portuguese efforts to re-enslave runaway former slaves, provides another example of the Pan-Africanism of resistance. This was true as well for the Palmare runaway slave kingdoms in Spanish territories and the Maroon colonies of Nana and Cudjoe in Jamaica.(Price, 1973) In each case the ability to transcend tribal divisions was essential for the success of these enterprises. (Robinson, 1969: Price, 1979) This was a reactive form of Pan-Africanism based upon a common reaction to being oppressed and discriminated against by Europeans.

Africans are very spiritual people. Slaves in the New World found European forms of worship stifling. Those who longed for the old African religions began to come together and for reasons that remain unclear Yoruba religious values and beliefs tended to form the core of the new religions that united Africans across tribal boundaries.

"Candomble," and its priests and priestesses administered to the spiritual needs of all of the Africans in Brazil. So strong is this faith that even Portuguese who are white become followers, and this remains true even today. Its followers worship gods known in Brazil as "Orixas." Their umbando centers blow cigar smoke on sick believers to cure them and they consume 70 percent of all cigars bought in Brazil. (Page, 1995:368) Of course, in Brazil African culture is fused into one single Pan African culture, as witnessed by the

development of a dance form that we in the USA know as “brake-dancing,” but which in Brazil is a martial art form developed by slaves seeking to escape captivity known as “capoeira.” (Almeida, 1986, and Downey, 2005)

By combining fighting techniques of the Ashanti, Yoruba, Ibo, and many other ethnic groups Africans in Brazil were able to invent a new style of fighting that allowed them to defeat an opponent even if their hands were bound. As a result, many escaped captivity and made it to quilombo where under the leadership of a famous African warrior named “Zumbi” they formed an independent state within Brazil, which was governed by rules imported from Africa. Zumbi allowed polygamy for instance, and ancestor veneration was encouraged. Africans from every tribe not only felt free in quilombo, they felt at home. They used their African names freely, if they could remember their former languages Zumbi encouraged them to speak it, as well as Portuguese, they practiced their ancient beliefs and revived their old gods, and off course they practiced capoeira together for their mutual defense.

In Haiti, Africans seeking to maintain their own culture and values and to resist slavery created a new Pan-African religion, which today is known as “voodoo.” (Deren, 1953) They have a pantheon of gods whom they call “Loa.” This religion is very similar to Santeria in Cuba and Candomble in Brazil. All three have pantheons of gods to whom one prays for specific purposes. All three religions united African slaves from very diverse backgrounds. In the case of “voodoo” a leader named Boukman used “voodoo” to galvanize the slaves on Haiti to revolt against their French slave masters. Eventually the unity that this religion engendered helped Toussaint L’Overture to lead the only successful slave revolt in the New World, which made Haiti the second independent

republic in the Western Hemisphere. (Metraux, 1959) Voodoo taught its followers that when they died their spirits would return to Africa. Many saw this as a reward, which made them fight harder and fearlessly. Africa represented a “safe haven,” an idealized place where everything was perfect. People there were free, prosperous, and happy. This idyllic notion is common in New World Black populations and it is one reason why observers say that we have a “romantic” vision of Africa that is unrealistic, yet it unites us and gives us hope for better tomorrow’s whenever things are going wrong for us here.

In Cuba a similar religion emerged, but Africans there called it “Santeria.” Again they worshiped the old gods whom they called “orisas” in Spanish. Fellow followers were considered friends so they were known by the Yoruba word for friend “Lucumi.” (Murphy, 1998.) Africans on the island of Cuba formed a single culture and a single social identity rooted in their common experience of enslavement.

The master-class on plantations did not care what tribe an African was from or what language he or she formerly spoke. What mattered in the Americas was that the person was Black and could easily be enslaved at great profit to the white master. Slaves found that this environment reinforced their own sense of Pan-Africanism. Moreover, the colonial powers reinforced this concept too by discriminating uniformly against all of the Africans under their rule except those who supported the colonial system and betrayed the interest of all other Africans, who became known as “Uncle Toms.” African unity in the Americas was rooted in their common experience of unrelenting oppression by white masters and by all but the Quakers and abolitionists in American society. Common mistreatment and suffering created a bond among the rank and file of Africans who were enslaved, the only exception were a handful of opportunistic Blacks who came to be

known as “Uncle Toms” because of their willingness to betray their fellow Africans if they saw a chance to gain personally. (Stowe, 1966) Africans in North America initially gave their churches and schools Pan-African names such as the African School of New York or the African Methodist Church. Later they identified as a single group under various names such as Afro-American, Colored, Negro, and Black. In each case former Muslims and Christians, light and dark skinned, and people from a multitude of tribes banded together for mutual aid and support. After gaining their freedom they built schools and even universities in common to train their young. As a result of segregation they built Fisk, Howard, Spellman, Tuskegee, Morris Brown, Talladega, and hundreds of other colleges and universities to train Black youth and help them to advance, regardless where they originated in Africa.

LIBERIA BEACON OF HOPE IN A TROUBLED WORLD

In 1822, many freed African-Americans banded together and returned to West Africa where they established the state of Liberia in that year. They used the U.S. dollar as their currency and modeled their government on that of the United States. Some called this the “Black Zion.” Their constitution granted automatic citizenship to any and all returned former slaves from the Americas and the Caribbean. Few Blacks were ever aware of this so not many took advantage of this provision. Ignorance has long been one of the greatest enemies of the Black race, along with disease and poverty. Booker T. Washington was the leader of the African-American community between 1890 and 1915 when he died. He was inward looking and obsessed with keeping Blacks alive during a

rising tide of racial hatred and animosity so he took little or no interest in Africa. After his death, however, two outward looking leaders emerged in the African-American community, W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey. Both of these leaders desired closer ties with Africa. Each man was a Pan-Africanist in his own manner.

In 1770 a Black ship owner named Captain Paul Cuffe fought against “taxation without representation,” because as a free man he had to pay tax, but as a Black man he had no effective political representation in Massachusetts. Try as he might he found it extremely difficult to improve his condition and to improve the condition of free Blacks in the United States. He observed:

“The force of prejudice was operating so powerfully against them (Free Blacks) as to give but little encouragement to hope that they could ever rise to respectability and usefulness, unless it were in a state of society where they would have greater incentives to improvement, and more favorable opportunities than would probably be ever afforded them where the bulk of the population are whites.” (Quarles, 1967:76-77)

Cuffe petitioned the President of the United States for help in returning freed Blacks back to Africa, where they could live with “brethren of the African race in their native climate.” (Harris, 1972: 87-92) In the 1820’s the “American Colonization Society returned two thousand freed slaves to Liberia. There they established the nation of Liberia whose motto is “the love of liberty brought us here.” The Liberian Consul General in Chicago held a Liberian Independence Day celebration every year at the Chicago Defender News paper headquarters on Michigan Avenue. The entire African-American community was invited and I first learned to dance the meringue and the High-Life from my best friend Meredith Johns, whose grandfather was the Liberian Consul General. These guys taught us to love Africa and Africans ironically and we

looked forward to their annual Independence Day celebration because they made us feel included in African affairs. I was always impressed by the fountain from which flowed real champagne and their constant invitations for us to visit their nation. We grew up being very proud of Haiti, Liberia, and Ethiopia because they were independent Black nations. Dr. Condoleezza Rice's father's sister Dr. Teresa Love taught English at the university in Monrovia and this may have sparked Dr. Rice's interest in international affairs.

Dr. Martin R. Delany, a military physician declared that, "a great principle of political economy is that no people can be free who themselves do not constitute an essential part of the ruling element of the country in which they live." Seeing no future for himself in America, Delany returned to Nigeria and signed treaties with the Egba people who gave African-Americans the right to return to Nigeria and settle in western Nigeria. (Ulman, 1971: 272) From this point on two countries recognized African-Americans "right of return," Liberia and Nigeria. Delany believed that he was an African prince and that he father was a king before he was kidnapped and taken to America where he was enslaved. Yet, out of ignorance most African-Americans never realized that they enjoyed the rights that Delaney had secured for them in Nigeria.

When it became clear to African-Americans that Reconstruction had failed, Bishop McNeal Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) declared:

"There is no manhood in the United States for the Negro . . . I believe that two or three million of us should return to the land of our ancestors and establish our own nations, civilizations, laws, customs, styles of manufacture and not only give to the world . . . the benefit of our individuality, but build up social conditions peculiarly our own, and cease to be grumblers, chronic complainers, and a menace to the white man's country, or the country he claims and is bound to dominate." (Turner, 1896)

Just prior to W.W.I this “Back to Africa” idea was picked up by Chief Alfred Sam who remarkably raised \$100,000 to buy steamships with which to return African-Americans from the Mid-Western states to Africa. The scheme failed, but it did lay the groundwork for Marcus Garvey who would pick up this theme.

Marcus Garvey and Pan-Africanism

Garvey was aware more than most of the efforts that had preceded him by Delaney, Turner, Cuffe, and others to link the fate of Africa to that of Blacks in the Diaspora. Wisely he chose to build upon these past efforts rather than reinvent the wheel. He found that his efforts were well rewarded by thousands of African-Americans and Caribbean Blacks were just waiting for someone in their generation to pick up this torch and lead them to the Promised Land in Africa. Garvey spoke of Black people in worldwide terms. He declared:

“As far as Negroes are concerned in America, we have the problem of lynching, peonage, and dis-enfranchisement. 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 to us by our Divine Creator, we are determined to solve our own problems, by redeeming our “Motherland” Africa from the hands of alien exploiters, and to 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.” (Garvey, 1967: 38)

Garvey waged a fierce campaign in the United States against African-Americans shame at being dark complexioned and of African descent. He created Black nobility with titles; a Black Cross nurses corps, and black dolls for children to love and to play

with. He told his followers that Jesus Christ was Black and he created a church in which all pictures of Christ and God the father were depicted as Black people. He designed a flag with the colors “red” for the blood that was shed for the defense of the Black race, “black” for the color of the people, and “green” for the fertility of the land in Africa. Many independent African nations would incorporate these colors into their national flags, such as Ghana and Kenya. Garvey preached that Blacks should return back to Africa and there build a powerful, modern, industrial state, with a massive army, navy, and air force. This state would be proud of and maintain close ties with African-Americans, Caribbean Blacks and Blacks throughout Latin America and it would defend them against racism and discrimination... According to Tony Martin, to achieve this Garvey created a shipping line to transport New World Blacks back to Africa in large numbers. He called this the “Black Star Shipping Company.” Garvey sold shares in the company to raise enough money to purchase the ships and pay initial salaries of the crews. He actually bought a ship and it sailed from New York to Central America before it sank. With it sank the hopes and dreams of millions of African-Americans who shared Garvey’s dream. (Martin, 1976)

Garvey was born of full blooded Maroons in Jamaica. His ancestors had escaped from slavery and created an independent Black nation in the Blue Mountains, which followed many African traditions from Ghana. He was raised to be fiercely proud of his black skin color and African ancestry. In Jamaica, middle class mulattos had helped to keep the Black majority down so he developed a revulsion against mulattos which caused him to unnecessarily clash with Dr. DuBois. As a young man Garvey had apprenticed himself to a printer so he identified with the working classes. In 1912 he traveled to

England where he met a Sudanese radical journalist named Duse Mohammed Ali who perked his interest in Africa. Wanting to improve the condition of the Black person globally, Garvey formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association when he returned to Jamaica in 1914. He admired Booker T. Washington's efforts to improve the skills of Blacks by creating Tuskegee University and longed to create a similar school in Jamaica. So he traveled to America to meet with Booker T. to discuss how he could duplicate his educational success. Zulu leaders were also discussing how to build industrial college in KwaZulu-Natal with Booker T. at the same time. Inanda Technical College is the practical outcome of that dialogue in South Africa. Shortly after Garvey arrived in the USA Washington died. The two men never met and Garvey never built the school that he dreamed of, but he landed in New York City and in Harlem he found a ready audience for his message of Black pride and self-improvement.

By instilling black pride in African-Americans he began to restore black dignity and to heal some of the wounds caused by slavery and racism. Edward Blyden had first articulated Garvey's message of Black pride. Blyden felt that each race had a unique gift to offer the world. Blacks would teach the world to treasure its humanity and compassion. He believed that we would teach the world that humans could and should serve other human needs, return to spirituality, love and protect nature, and reflect a "simple and cordial manliness." (Lynch, 1971) Thus, Garvey projected Blyden's notion of "Pan-Negroness."

Garvey did not think that Blacks and Whites could ever live harmoniously together within one nation. He stated, "The white man of America will not, to any organized extent, assimilate the (black man) because in so doing, he feels that he will be

committing suicide.” (Garvey, 1967:21) Thus, Garvey concluded Blacks needed to return to Africa. He sent emissaries to Liberia to negotiate a massive return. (Martin, 1976) Garvey saw Liberia as a bridgehead for the liberation and unification of all of Africa. Garvey believed that independent African nations would not sit idly by and allow the mistreatment of Blacks in the Caribbean and the United States. He bluntly stated,

“And why do I say Africa when you are living in the West Indies and America? Because in those areas you will never be safe until you launch your protection internally and externally.” (Hill, 1984: 397)

While DuBois, like Frederick Douglass before him, objected to African-Americans returning to Africa in large numbers because he felt that we had fought too hard to build America and should stay to enjoy the fruits of our labor, but, by contrast, Garvey celebrated the return of Blacks to Africa. DuBois felt that we should educate a “talented tenth” who would win the respect of the white majority and make full integration into American culture and society possible. Garvey felt that no matter how we prepared ourselves whites would never accept us and staying here would only create frustration and self-delusion.

Garvey sent a Haitian associate named Ely Garcia and a UNIA delegation to Liberia to negotiate the purchase of million acres of Liberian land on which he hoped to settle millions of returning Caribbean and African-American Blacks. They negotiated with Liberian President King in 1920. Garvey agreed to transfer the worldwide headquarters of his UNIA group to Monrovia; to loan the Liberian government \$2 million to pay off its foreign debts; to help raise funds for the Liberian government so that it could build more schools, hospitals, and roads; and to resettle New World Blacks in

Liberia. The UNIA agreed to help modernize Liberian agriculture and commercially develop its natural resources as Germany had done prior to WWI. The Americo-Liberian settler elite hoped to use the incoming Blacks to strengthen its hold on power and to improve its finances.

In 1923 another UNIA delegation was sent by Garvey to finalize arrangements. This team was led by Robert Poston. He proposed settling an initial twenty thousand families on Liberian soil. The settlers were to arrive within two years. By 1924 Garvey had dispatched a team of engineers to Liberia to survey the land and demarcate it for settlement, but on July 31, 1924 the *Liberian News* stated that President King had decided not to allow Garveyites to settle in Liberia on the grounds that this was a movement, “which tends to intensify racial feelings of hatred and ill-will.” (Cronon, 1969: 129) The Liberian ruling class seems to have decided that Garvey intended to compete with them for power and control rather than follow their lead and strengthen their position. To defend themselves against this new threat they simply prohibited him from establishing a foothold in their country. Since Garvey spoke openly of overthrowing British and French rule in neighboring colonies, perhaps these colonial powers put pressure on Liberia to shun Garvey or the Liberian elite may have feared that Britain and France would use Garvey’s presence in Liberia as a pretext to invade and conquer Liberia. (Martin, 1976) Historian Frank Chalk believes that Garvey sought to improve the conditions of the indigenous Liberian Africans. The settlers numbered a mere five thousand and they ruled 500,000 Africans. They held on to power by ruthlessly suppressing the Africans, so Chalk argued,

“Once the Liberian elite understood Garvey’s aims, even if there had been no threat from Britain or France, it was inevitable that Garvey’s movement would be banned from Liberia.” (Chalk, 1967:141)

Before launching his Liberia project, Garvey in a speech in New York had declared:

“We shall organize the 400,000,000 (Blacks) of the world into a vast organization to plant the banner of freedom on the great continent of Africa . . . If Europe is for the Europeans, then Africa shall be for the black people of the world. We say it and we mean it.” (Garvey, :xviii)

At this same UNIA convention in 1920 Garvey was declared the “Provisional President of Africa,” and an eighteen member Provisional Council was created as the “Provisional Government of Africa.” No African head of state or government was consulted. Rather, much like the Berlin Conference people outside of Africa had determined what they deemed was best for the future of Africa without including Africans in this process. This condemned the project to failure before it got started in my opinion. The entire process was flawed and undemocratic. It is little wonder that the Liberian elite were disturbed by Garvey and his plans for Africa. Garvey’s intentions to establish himself as the new hegemonic power in the region alienated the Americo-Liberian and African elites. As a result, his plans boomeranged upon him and they failed. Liberia gave his five million acres to Firestone to develop a rubber plantation for the creation of pneumatic tires in the USA.

Despite failing to establish a staging area in Africa for his racial revolution Garvey did succeed in one important regard, he altered the psyche of the African American community because he:

“set in motion what was to become the most compelling force in Negro life - - race and color consciousness which is today that ephemeral thing that inspires ‘race loyalty’; the banner to which Negroes rally; the chain that binds them together. It has propelled many a political and social movement and stimulated racial inter-nationalism. It is indeed a philosophy, an ethical standard by which most things are measured and interpreted.” (Ottley, 1943: 68)

Elliot Skinner astutely pointed out that diasporic population, whether they are Jewish, Chinese, East Indian or other, seldom return in large numbers to their place of origin.)Skinner, 1982)

At the First Pan-African Congress in London DuBois noted that the main problem of the twentieth century would be the problem of the “color line.”

DuBois and Pan-Africanism

W.E.B. DuBois became directly involved in African affairs through a Trinidadian lawyer named Henry Sylvester Williams, who organized the first Pan-African Congress. DuBois was torn by his

“One feels his twoness – an American, a Negro: two souls, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.” (DuBois, 1903: 3)

DuBois joined forces with Williams to protest the treatment of African chiefs and to fight to end their humiliation and grant them higher salaries, and more autonomy in decision making. He later began to fight for the independence of African former colonies so that they could become independent states. He was influenced by his star pupil from Lincoln University, Kwame Nkrumah. Nkrumah won the independence of Ghana from Great Britain and DuBois was invited to the independence celebrations. DuBois became involved directly with African nation states when Liberia was on the brink of bankruptcy because it supported the U.S.A. during W.W.I. This forced Liberia to cancel all of its

trade contracts with Germany, which was the largest purchaser of Liberian goods at the time. Liberia requested a five million dollar loan from the U.S. government. The U.S. Senate voted against this loan, and it encouraged Firestone Rubber Company to pay five million dollars to Liberia for land to establish a large rubber estate. The US government wanted to contest a British monopoly on the international rubber trade to protect the growing US auto industry. President Taft wanted the US to practice “dollar diplomacy” rather than fight wars to gain influence worldwide. Liberia’s treasury was put under the trusteeship of the US government, much as Haiti’s had been earlier, with assistance from the U.S. Marine Corps.

DuBois objected to the return of African-Americans to Africa. DuBois believed that African-Americans had too large a stake in the United States, having made what he considered to be remarkable contributions to American society in the sciences, in the arts, and in business. Despite supporting the independence of African states DuBois believed that African-Americans were better off living in the United States. Perhaps he saved us from a conflict like the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. DuBois felt that the major problem of the twentieth century was the problem of the color line and what better place to learn to deal with it than in a racist United States of America. He believed that the only way to deal with whites was to learn how to compete with them on a level playing field by developing a “talented tenth” of African-Americans who went to the best schools and could hold their own against any race.(Gates, 1996: 133-77: and Aptheker, 1973) With this very talented leadership Blacks would gain respect from whites that they deserved reasoned DuBois. DuBois wanted to delay full independence for Africans until they were “fully modernized.” (Robinson, 1990: 39-50) DuBois felt that this talented tenth could

also help Africa to modernize and develop. DuBois believed firmly in racial integration not racial separation. To him the future of African-Americans depended upon their ability to integrate into mainstream American life and culture. His double consciousness made him want to integrate into American culture and support African independence at the same time. DuBois envisioned a “unity of mankind” growing out of a “unity of the Negro race.” (DuBois, 1915: 241-42) DuBois believed that Africans

“should have the right to participate in . . . government as fast as their development permits in conformity with the principle that the government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the government.” (Aptheker, 1963: 251)

DuBois was appointed “envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary” by the U.S. government to represent the American government at the January 1924 inauguration of Charles D.B. King to a second term in office as president of Liberia. (Kilroy, 1995: 248) The Republican Party hoped that DuBois appointment would attract the Black vote since he edited the ***Crisis*** Magazine and helped to shape African-American voters opinions nationwide. DuBois hoped that his appointment would promote the Pan-African cause. DuBois found that local politics were froth with tensions since the settler Americo-Liberian population dominated the indigenous African population and had no concrete plans for sharing power.

DuBois was captured by the settler community immediately upon arrival in Liberia. An Americo-Liberian Senator met him at the airport and lodged him in his home and hosted parties for DuBois. Making sure that he only heard the settler side of power politics in Liberia, DuBois never had a chance to talk with representatives of the disenfranchised indigenous African majority such as Henry Too Wesley, a Vai, who was

Vice President under King, or Dr. B. W. Payne, a Bassa, educated in the United States, or Momolu Massaquoi, another Vai, who was acting Secretary of the Interior and later became Liberian Consul to Germany. The majority would have swept the settler power elite from office if given the vote for sure, but DuBois did not investigate this relationship despite a scandal involving the government selling Liberian indigenous laborers into virtual slavery on the island of Fernando Po. King's regime was harsh and used the Liberian Frontier Force to repress indigenous aspirations to share power. DuBois described his host as a "curious blend of feudal lord and modern farmer." And he was impressed with his host trappings of an aristocratic life. (DuBois, 1924: 247-51) DuBois let himself be duped, just as Farrakhan would later be taken in by the dictator Sunni Abacha, on what came to be known as the "African-American tour circuit," which dictators used to show influential African-Americans what they wanted them to see without allowing them to talk to oppressed opposition groups whose rights were being trampled. Victims of these frauds were the laughing stock of Africa, because they returned to the U.S. and to from the truth. Even otherwise knowledgeable Senators, like Carol Moseley-Braun were taken in by such frauds. Upon his return home DuBois defended the settler elite. DuBois had little or no direct contact with indigenous Africans, thus, did not really understand Liberian politics. Despite this he adamantly defended Americo-Liberians, just as some Jews defend Israel without knowing much about Israeli-Palestinian politics.

DuBois even went so far as to suggest to the U.S. State Department that President Coolidge and the Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes should extend freedom to other Africans "on the same terms as Liberians." DuBois claimed that Liberia never had

a revolution or serious internal disturbances except for a few war-like native tribes. He did not analyze the long standing conflict that led to antigovernment outbreaks like the Kru and Grebo revolts of 1915 and 1919. (Sullivan, 51-71) DuBois ignorance of African politics was appalling. Being Black does not confer knowledge of African politics on African-Americans. We must carefully study local politics before seriously commenting upon such matters and this takes time and careful study to achieve. As we shall soon see Marcus Garvey was guilty of the same mistake. Africans need to study African American and Afro-Caribbean history, culture, and language and vice versa to build a sound foundation for future Pan-African cooperation.

DuBois discovered Harvey Firestone's plans for developing a rubber plantation in Liberia and he wrote to Firestone that, "he must avoid . . . taking capital into a small country and putting under the control of officials who despised the natives and organized ruthless exploitation." (Chalk,1967 :138) DuBois was a complex person and perhaps we will never know precisely what he thought of the Americo-Liberian elite that ruled the country until recently. His written record shows ambivalence and he contradicts himself repeatedly. Ibrahim Sundiata states that DuBois lobbied for Firestone to place a facility in Liberia because he wanted Mr. Firestone to employ African-Americans in Liberia. (Sundiata, 1980) DuBois supported Firestone to the extent that he felt this venture would supply jobs for fellow African-Americans, but at other times he condemned Firestone as an example of the worse racist exploitation of an African government by white capitalist. He agreed with Raymond Buell's assessment of the Firestone venture when it conflicted with his Pan-African beliefs. DuBois easily sidestepped his Pan-Africanism when American interest was involved. His double consciousness haunted him.

In response to accusations that King's government was selling indigenous Africans into modern slavery DuBois stated, "It is absolutely necessary for the Government to take a high hand with them (the indigenous people) in order to assure them that it really was a government; otherwise the tribal chiefs would take matters into their own hands." (Williams, 1974: 62) DuBois downplayed the conflict between the settler population and the indigenous Africans legitimate demands for power sharing.

Despite many contradictions in his position on Liberia, DuBois and George Padmore, a West Indian from Guinea who was a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, and Namdi Azikwe all criticized Belgium for the awful atrocities committed against Africans in the name of profit in the Congo. (Hochschild, 1998) They knew of Liberian Vice President Allen Yancey's exportation of Liberian labor to Fernando Po. DuBois seemed to sincerely desire to see Liberia "modernize," but under Americo-Liberian leadership. He did not seem interested in lifting the indigenous Liberians unfortunately for Pan-Africanism.

DuBois greatest legacy with regard to Pan-Africanism came from the Pan-African Congresses that he hosted. Let us now turn to an examination of these Congresses.

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES

Although DuBois attended the First Pan-African Convention held in 1900 at Westminster Hall in London, together with 35 other delegates, the meeting was actually organized by a young lawyer from Trinidad named William Sylvester Williams. DuBois was, however, elected chairman of the meeting and he was appointed as the official representative of the group to address the Nations of the World. His address was sent to Colonial Powers that presided over Africans and people of African descent. This

conference was the first to use the term “Pan-Africanism” and the term became part of the English vocabulary shortly thereafter. In his address DuBois noted that, “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.” (DuBois 1903: 68) He went on to state:

“let the nations of the world respect the integrity and independence of free Negro states of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), Liberia, and Haiti, and the rest, and let the inhabitants of these states, the independent tribes of Africa, the Negroes of the West Indies and America, and the black subjects of all nations take courage, strive endlessly, and fight bravely, that they may prove to the world their incontestable right to be counted among the great brotherhood of mankind.” (Foner, 1970: 124)

The first convention fought to help preserve the freedom of Black nations that had achieved independence, because colonizing powers were closing in on them and wanted to snatch their freedom from them and subjugate them to white supremacist rule and foreign domination. Fortunately the Emperor of Ethiopia “Menelik the Second” had acquired modern canon guns and weapons and he defeated the Italian army at the “Battle of Adowa” in 1896, much to the shock and surprise of the entire civilized world. Blacks danced in the streets of Harlem, Kingston, and Monrovia. Garvey would admonish Blacks to look to Ethiopia for their salvation and a new religion sprang up in Jamaica that worshiped emperor Haile Selassie as God or “Jah Rastafari.” The Rastafarian religion still mesmerizes anthropologists and social scientists. Ethiopia became an international symbol of Black power and freedom. The mere mention of the name “Ethiopia” sent pride through the bodies of black men and women and gave them hope for a better future. Europe coveted Africa’s land, its natural resources, and the labor of its industrious people, and its pristine markets which they hoped to monopolize. DuBois and the Pan-Africanists called for an end to external exploitation of Africa and an end to imperialism.

Immediately after W.W.I. both Garvey's UNIA and DuBois NAACP debated the fate of former German colonies in Africa. Garvey sent a delegation to the Paris Peace talks to request that these territories be ceded to the UNIA for repatriation of New World Blacks to Africa. (Martin, 1976) DuBois statement on this matter was read for him at the NAACP conference at Carnegie Hall in New York City in 1919 on the eve of the Paris Conference. DuBois stated:

“The barter of colonies without regard to the wishes or welfare of the inhabitants or the welfare of the world in general is a custom to which this war should put an end, since it is a fruitful cause of dissension among nations, a danger to the status of civilized labor, a temptation to unbridled exploitation, and an excuse for unspeakable atrocities committed against natives.” (Aptheker, 1993, vol. 3: 251)

DuBois called a meeting of all of the “thinking classes of the Negro world” to discuss the issue of self-determination and the future of Germany's former African colonies. Blaise Diagne of Senegal and M.E.F. Fredericks from Sierra Leone helped DuBois to organize this meeting. Diagne became Vice President of the French Republic and was the most powerful French speaking African of his generation so he wheeled enormous influence both in Africa and Europe. From this statement arose the “First Pan-African Congress,” held at the Grand Hotel in Paris on February 1919. Fifty-seven members showed up from fifteen African nations. This congress drafted a document that called for “justice before the courts and economic and social equality according to ability.” (Aptheker, 1993: 250) One portion of this document reads:

“The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the government as fast as their development permits in conformity with the principle that the government exists for the natives and not the natives for the government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government according to ancient usage, and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience

proceeds, to the higher office of state, to the end that, in time Africa be ruled by consent of Africans.” (Aptheker, 1993: vol. 3:251)

They appealed to the newly formed League of Nations, but to little avail. In later congresses they would become more strident and insist on nothing less than full independence for all Africans. It became clear to DuBois that European powers would continue to colonize Africans forever, unless that won their freedom and total independence.

The second Pan-African Congress met simultaneously in three locations: London, Brussels, and Paris, between August and September of 1921. DuBois representing the 113 delegates who attended wrote,

“The crime (of colonial exploitation) is one in which white labor is a participant criminally with white capital. Unconsciously and consciously, carelessly and deliberately, the vast power of the white vote in modern democracies has been cajoled and flattered into imperialistic schemes to enslave and debauch black, brown, and yellow labor” (Aptheker, 1993: 250)

Using what we call today “critical race theory” DuBois surmised that white labor had been deluded into against its own economic interest by a blinding form of virulent racism. Thus, “brotherhood” with white workers was impossible to achieve in that environment. DuBois demanded that either the free world absorb completely Africans into one or two European super states and make them full and equal citizens thereof, or grant Africans their total independence.

Though memorable, the first three Pan-African Congresses were but a prelude to the magnificent Fourth Pan-African Congress held in 1927. At this forth congress the delegates laid out in unequivocal terms their demands for:

1. A voice in their own government.

2. Native rights to the land and its natural resources.
3. Modern education for all children.
4. The development of Africa for Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
5. The reorganization of commerce and industry so as to make the main object of capital and labor the welfare of the many rather than enriching the few.
6. The treatment of civilized men as civilized people despite differences of birth, race or color. (Aptheker, 1993: 548)

The manifesto drawn up by these delegates demanded that U.S. troops withdraw from Haitian soil immediately and restore self-government to Haiti, they also condemned South African whites for monopolizing land that belonged to the African natives of that republic.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress was held in 1945 in Manchester, England. Among the delegates were the future fathers of two independent African nations: Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta. DuBois was unanimously elected President of this Congress and given recognition as the “father of the Pan-African Movement.” At this meeting Nkrumah, a star pupil of Dr. DuBois at Lincoln University, declared :

“We affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from all foreign imperialist control whether political or economic . . . We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must fight for these ends by all the means at their disposal. . . The Fifth Pan-African Congress, therefore, calls on the workers and farmers of the colonies to organize effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front lines of the battle against imperialism . . . Today there is only one road to effective action --- the organization of the masses. Colonial and subject peoples of the world, unite.” (Nkrumah, 1973: 43)

The momentum generated by this Fifth Congress gave rise to the freedom and independence of Ghana and then Kenya, when Ghana achieved its independence in 1957, Pan-Africanism found its way back home to Africa. Nkrumah was the golden child of the Pan-African movement. He declared that “no African nation will be free until all Africans are free,” and he stood up for African-Americans by protesting the outrageous

treatment meted out to them routinely in America. He let the U.S. State Department know that he found this offensive. He invited African-Americans to help him to rebuild Ghana and many responded, DuBois went there and lived in Ghana until his death. Dr. DuBois is buried in Ghana and for many of us Ghana remains a bright shining symbol of hope and redemption. Ghana's chiefs formally apologized to African-Americans for their role in the slave trade and this has been greatly appreciated here. Nkrumah allowed freedom movements from across Africa to set up offices in Accra and Kumasi and the prosperity of Ghana was postponed so that Africans across the continent could more rapidly win their freedom. This led to frustration and discontent at home among the Ghanaian elite who were eager to enjoy the fruits of independence including prosperity. The same was true for Tanzania, where Nyerere supported every freedom movement that came to his attention at the price of material prosperity for Tanzanians. We appreciate and laud the sacrifices made by the good people of both Ghana and Tanzania so that their fellow Africans could also be free and independent. This was Pan-Africanism in action and it worked. Many Caribbean Blacks contributed a great deal to this movement, such as George Padmore of Guyana and Makonnen (his nom du guerre). Padmore was a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and as such funneled money to freedom movements in the hope of swinging them into the Soviet orbit during the Cold War. (Padmore, 1956)

Like his star pupil Nkrumah, DuBois returned to the USA following this meeting and declared to a meeting of the NAACP:

“We American Negroes should know that . . . until Africa is free, the descendents of Africa the world over cannot escape their chains . . . The NAACP should therefore put in the forefront of its program the freedom of Africa in work and

wage, education and health, and the complete abolition of the colonial system.”
(Skinner, 1965: 384)

Like Nkrumah, DuBois did not believe that any African or person of African descent’s freedom could be secure until all were free and secure.

Nkrumah organized a Pan-African meeting in Cairo, Egypt in 1960. He wrote a book titled Africa Must Unite to help him lobby for a powerful United States of Africa. Nyerere argued for first building regional unions and then using these as building blocks to later create the United States of Africa. Nyerere later had regrets about this as the regional units like the East African Community feel apart. Today Dr. Salim Salim of Tanzania is leading the effort to build the African Union which may eventually become Nkrumah’s United States of Africa. If this happens then the dreams of Garvey, DuBois, Nkrumah and all Pan-Africanist everywhere will finally be realized in its most potent form. Nkrumah married his son to the daughter of Gamel Abdul Nasser, then leader of Egypt to demonstrate in concrete terms that Africans accept the Arabs and Berbers who live on the continent as blood brothers with a single fate. Regardless what one may think of Gaddafi, he has stepped into Nasser’s shoes in helping to give birth to the African Union and for this we thank him.

DuBois and his allies asked the world to put an end to racism everywhere and to end colonialism and support the idea of “self-determination,” that President Woodrow Wilson so eloquently demanded for whites. DuBois asked that this principle be extended to all of the people on earth. In numbers Black people globally were rediscovering strength. DuBois and Caribbean Blacks hoped that free African nations would provide safe havens into which New World Blacks could retreat whenever racism and white

supremacy became too much to bear. He also hoped that these nations would demand an end to discrimination against Blacks in the New World.

COLONIALISM AND PAN-AFRICANISM

Colonial efforts to introduce efficiency in the operation of their African colonies also fostered Pan-Africanism. The French made Dakar the headquarters for all of their French West African colonies; JUST AS THE British used Nairobi as the center for their East African colonies. All of the Africans who came to Dakar began to discover just how much they had in common. The French forced them to work together on projects that benefited France and they soon discovered that they could work together on projects that they identified for themselves, like the struggle for independence. Having a common language, French, also made communication between ethnic groups throughout the region easier. An old retired former French African soldier in Dakar told me that he and his fellow soldiers concluded that if they could ban together to fight and die for France they could also do the same thing to help win their own independence.

The British also inadvertently introduced this same idea in their colonies by creating the King's African Rifles and staffing this army with Africans from across the continent. Africans in these colonial armies soon began to meet African American and Caribbean soldiers on various battle fields in Europe and elsewhere and they discovered that their common desire for freedom from oppression created a strong bond among them. Some Africans in the America's longed to be reunited with their families in Africa. This led to various back to Africa movements. A Black ship owner named Cuffee shipped thousands of former slaves back to Liberia. This episode has been recounted earlier in this paper.

At about the time that Liberia was established as an independent state U.S. President Monroe encouraged people of African descent to return to Africa and resettle there. Many African-American families such as the Thompson of Abeokuta went back and became prominent lawyers and doctors in Nigeria. Fumolani Kuti Ranson, the mother of Fela Kuti Ranson led a women's rebellion against excessive taxation of Yoruba market women, which was successful. She was also the alleged first woman in Africa to drive her own car in public, leading the way for other women to do so. The family of Fela is of African-American origin and they represent the successful replanting of such families within African communities and their full acceptance by these communities. The historian Vincent Thompson is another such example. Bishop Samuel Crofters who translated the Bible from English into Yoruba in the 1800's is another such example as is the historian Samuel Johnson who wrote one of the first definitive histories of Nigeria. In a spirit of Pan-African unity the so-called "Creoles" or returned African-Americans of West Africa have been making remarkable contributions to the growth and development of African nations for a long time now. Perhaps this is the time to recognize and celebrate those accomplishments.

The "Been To's" who studied in London, Paris, New York, Moscow, and who formed a united image of themselves as a privileged new elite who were entitled to rule Africa by virtue of their foreign education. Colonial "straw chiefs" as well as traditional chiefs who worked for European colonial administrators became increasingly frustrated at the humiliating and demeaning treatment that they received from their bosses. They banded together and hired a Caribbean barrister (lawyer) named Sylvester Williams, a Black lawyer from Trinidad to represent their interest. William's called a great meeting

of the chiefs from across the African continent in Paris. This is how the first Pan-African Convention evolved.

MALCOM “X” AND PAN AFRICANISM

Of course, no discussion of Pan-Africanism would be complete without mention of Malcolm “X’s” contributions to the subject. Malcolm X saw Pan-Africanism as part and parcel of the anti-colonial struggle. He disliked Western imperialism in general and American imperialism in particular. Elijah Mohamed was ambivalent about Africa and Africans, but Malcolm X saw Africans as part of a larger international struggle against oppression. He embraced a philosophy that promoted the use of arms in defense of life. He advocated “freedom by any means necessary.” Malcolm X divided people into two types; first there are white people, next anyone who is not white is black in his view of the world. Malcom noted, “There are two kinds of people, the white and the black, so if you are not white you must be black.” (DeCaro, 1996 : 121-122) Thus, “Chinese Reds are not Communists but are black people.”(Carson, 1991:114-115) Thus, Malcolm encouraged African Americans to celebrate the rise of China, India, and Japan because they were “emerging Black nations.” Steve Biko’s “Black Consciousness” movement in Kwa Zulu Natal Province of South Africa made it possible for East Indians to consider themselves “Black” and to join the struggle for equality as Pan-Africanists. People like “Ahmed Kathrada was sentenced along with Mandela, Mbeki, Sisulu and other freedom fighters in South Africa to 26 years in prison on Robben Island. (Kathrada, 2005 and Buntman, 2005) Everyone knows that Pinto, an East Indian from Goa, was the man who bought all of the guns used by the Mau Mau of Kenya and Kenyatta during Kenya’s war of Independence. This reinforces the notion that Indians and many Arabs should be

treated as “Blacks” because they were in many freedom struggles alongside Blacks. This was good, but it raised the issue, “What should we do with whites who are on our side and risk all for us?”

Malcolm “X’s” prediction of a racial Armageddon was based upon growing tensions within the US as the Civil Rights struggle heated up, and internationally as the anti-colonial struggle led to the liberation of more and more independent nations of color in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In his mind this all came together at the Bandung Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in 1955. In 1957 the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell invited Ahmed Sokarno, the leader of the “Bandung Conference” to visit the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. This is the largest Black church in the United States and the most powerful. By the summer of 1959 Malcolm was calling for a “Bandung Conference of Negro Leaders” in the USA and meeting with leading African Pan-Africanists that same year in New York.

The Muslim world was beginning to take an interest in Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam. Egypt’s government extended an official invitation to Elijah Mohamed to visit Cairo as their guest in May of 1959. Elijah could not go at that time so he sent Malcolm X. In Egypt he met with Gamal Nasser and Anwar Sadat among others. Malcolm traveled to Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Sudan, Ethiopia, and finally ended in Saudi Arabia where he made the obligatory Hajj to Mecca and Medina like a good Muslim. This opened his eyes. Upon returning to the USA he denounced the Nation of Islam as racist and said that it was out of touch with the teachings of Islam and the Muslim world. Shortly after doing this he announced the formation of a new group, “The Organization of Afro-American Unity” or (OAAU) much like the Organization of African Unity

(OAU). Malcolm declared that the philosophy of his OAAU would be of “alignment with Africa.” Malcolm X began to form gun clubs to teach African Americans how to use guns properly. He cited Kenya’s Mau Mau or armed struggle of the Land and Freedom Army of Kenya to justify these clubs. Membership in his OAAU would not be limited to African Americans.

“Once we saw what they {Africans and the OAU} were able to do, we determined to try and do the same thing here in America among Afro-Americans who have been divided by our enemies. So we have formed an organization known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity which has the same aim and objective --- to fight whoever gets in our way, to bring about the complete independence of people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, and first here in the United States, and bring about the freedom of these people, by any means necessary. That’s our motto. We want freedom by any means necessary

So the purpose of the Organization of Afro-American Unity is to unite everyone in the Western Hemisphere of African descent into one united force. And then, once we are united among ourselves in the Western Hemisphere, we will unite with our brothers on the motherland, on the continent of Africa. “ (Perry, 1965: 152)

Malcolm X had long admired Patrice Lumumba of the Congo and lamented his killing at the hands of the C.I.A. and Mobutu Sese Seko. Malcolm liked Lumumba because he was young, outspoken, and held nothing back. Malcolm loved the way that African leaders treated him as if he were a Head of State. He hated Mosihe Tshombe, the leader of a secessionist movement in Katanga as a “sell-out” who aided Europeans in the quest to dominate Africa. He said in a 1964 speech,

“ Also, brothers and sisters, you know Tshombe. You’ve heard of him. From what I understand, Tshome arrives in the United States on Tuesday. He has got a whole lot of nerve This is the worst African that ever was born. The worse African that ever was born. This is the man who in cold blood, cold blood, committed an international crime - - murdered Patrice Lumumba, murdered him in cold blood. The world knows that Tshombe murdered Lumumba. And now he is in bed with Lyndon B. Johnson. . . . It is the Lyndon B. Johnson administration, the man you voted for -- you were insane, out of your mind, out of your head, to vote for a man like that; drunk. But, I don’t blame you, you were

tricked. I told you that a fox will always get business.” (Breitmann, 1964: 147-148)

Malcolm was becoming increasingly concerned about bringing African Americans closer to Africans. In one of his last speeches at the Audubon Ballroom in New York, he said:

“You waste your time involving yourselves in any kind of organization that is not directly connected with our brothers and sisters on the African continent Just as a strong China has produced a respected Chinaman, a strong Africa will produce a respected black man anywhere that black man goes on this earth. It’s only with a strong Africa, an independent Africa and a respected Africa that wherever those of African origin or African heritage or African likeness go, they will be respected.” (Brietman, :136)

Just before gunmen ended his life in 1964 Malcolm X set out for Africa for the last time. African Heads of state added a new title to his name “al-hajj Omowale,” literally “the one who has successfully completed the obligatory hajj” and “the one who has come home” a Yoruba term for the prodigal son. April 13, 1964 Malcolm X made the hajj as the official guest of the Saudi Arabian government and he was escorted by Prince Faisal. Malcolm flew to Beirut, Egypt, then Lagos, Nigeria, followed by Accra, Ghana. In both Nigeria and Ghana Malcolm appeared on TV and he addressed university students in Ibadan and Accra. After Ghana he flew to Senegal, then Morocco and Algeria. On July 9th he attended the “African Summit Conference and patterned his OAAU after the OAU. He spoke to 600 Egyptian students in Alexandria and an equal number of students in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He met with Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Milton Obote of Uganda. After spending half of the year 1964 traveling in Africa, Malcolm returned to New York to host the first meeting of his OAAU. On June 28, 1964 in New York City he addressed his followers saying, “There

are more Africans in Harlem than exist in any city on the African continent. Because that is what you and I are ----Africans.” (Carson, 1991: 298-299)

Jessie Jackson has christened us “African-Americans,” thereby giving us a group identity that Malcolm would have been delighted with for us brings us closer to identifying with Africa, which was his dream.

MODERN PAN-AFRICANISM

When Fidel Castro overthrew the dictator Batista Afro-Cubans overwhelmingly supported him. They have been rewarded with seats on the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. They have been groomed by the Cuban military and many are now general officers and in a host of other ways Castro has made them materially better off, better educated and given them more opportunities than any other leader in Cuban history. Their Pan African united stand has served them well in modern Cuba. Out of solidarity with Africans they have fought in wars of liberation in Angola and Mozambique, as well as in wars in Ethiopia. As a result, many Africans on the continent today can dance the “pachanga” and swear that they love their brother Black Cubans and their danceable music. Because black Cuban doctors treat sick people across Africa for free and they fraternize with them and clearly love them, Africans feel close to them. They feel a sense of brotherhood and solidarity that is both spiritual and material.

The same holds true for many African-Americans who relate well with Africans and truly love them. African-Americans have long operated in Africa as Christian missionaries, doctors and lawyers. Some, like Thurgood Marshall helped to frame the constitutions that guaranteed freedom for emerging African nations such as Nigeria and

Tanzania. Caribbean freedom fighters like Franz Fanon contributed to the independence struggle in Algeria against French imperialism. His books, such as *The Wretched of the Earth* advanced the struggle as much as actual fighting did. Jamaican attorney Dudley Thompson related to me how he would loan Julius Nyerere his typewriter and help Nyerere make legal arguments for the Meru Land Case, which Nyerere took all of the way to the United Nations when making his case for Tanzania's independence. Both men bonded because of their common Pan-African ideology.

Nyerere's government would later hire African Americans, such as John Manning, who officially worked for the National Development Corporation of Tanzania, to design Dar es Salaam's new Central Market, as well as allow Captain Samuel Jerry Hunt known to us as "Babalou" to operate a private charter airline to shuttle people all over Tanzania. (1) Together with Leonard Reed, whom we called "Shubidou" they operated a "chicken cooperative," since eggs and chicken meat were in demand in Dar es Salaam. Later they owned and operated a beef slaughter house and other businesses as well. These men were part of an African-American commune established in Dar, along with a Black businessman known as Joseph Brown but most people simply called him "Brown" who conducted an import-export business. Many former "Black Panthers" found refuge in Dar when the F.B.I. was hunting them down and assassinating their leaders in the USA., through the "Co-Intelpro" program.

Nyerere stood firm and refused to repatriate them. As former US fighter pilots some members of the African-American Cooperative are alleged to have trained members of the Tanzanian Air Force including Nyerere's son to fly combat missions. When his son was shot down over Uganda in a border dispute with Idi Amin, these guys

allegedly flew combat missions clandestinely against Idi Amin's air force to even the sides since Amin had Libyan pilots flying combat missions for him. The US government allegedly turned a blind eye to this because they wanted Amin out. African-American soldiers and pilots fully supported Nyerere and were enraged by Amin's blatant attempts to grab Tanzanian land in the Kagera Salient illegally. At times Pan-Africanism wears the face of the militant warrior.

Women of African descent keep track of family and Ebony magazine ran an article in the 1970's about an African –American family from South Carolina whose women discovered that they were of Yoruba descent. Using documents discovered in Charleston, South Carolina they were able to trace their family members and they began writing to their relatives in Nigeria. They eventually began missionary work among their Yoruba kin. Then they moved to Nigeria, where their family lives today reunited with their kin who help them to convert people in one of the largest churches in Lagos. Sometimes you can go home and reconnect and be accepted. (2)

Ambassador Johnnie Carson began his career as a Peace Corps volunteer in Tanzania and later served as US Ambassador to Uganda and Kenya. He is beloved by Africans who know him and by Americans as well. Other African American diplomats have helped to forge strong friendly relations between the USA and the African countries in which they served as ambassadors. In this regard I offer Dr. Elliott Skinner and Dr. Wilbur Lemelle as examples of trans-Atlantic cooperation. Both are Pan-Africanist while also protecting the interest of the USA. They created win-win scenarios in the countries where they served, i.e. Burkina Faso and Kenya. African-Americans generally love the Africans in whose countries they serve and work hard to genuinely help them. There are

exceptions, such as the African-American ambassador to Ghana who ordered the C.I.A. overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah. Such negative behavior is the exception not the rule.

Ambassador Charles Stith became a beloved US Ambassador in Tanzania and still maintains good relations with the Tanzanian government through his position as head of the “African Presidents Project” at Boston University. People who speak of mutual suspicion and mistrust between Africans and African-Americans and Caribbean Blacks should have been in East Africa to witness the opposite unfold. Pan-Africanism was and is alive and well and lives on in the hearts and minds of people on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. African-American and Afro-Caribbean people have created viable communities in many African nations where they serve as bridges between Africans and New World populations of African descent. We are one people and will remain so. (3)

We are not insensitive to real cases of abuse which create legitimate suspicion. I will mention only one such case here. The former Stokely Carmichael, known in Africa as Kwame Toure, responded to an invitation by Idi Amin for all African-Americans to return and resettle in Amin’s Uganda by saying more or less that African-Americans had a “right of return,” like the Jews in Israel and that this is our birthright and furthermore that any African head of state of denied us this deserved to be removed from office by force of arms. Needless to say, Amin withdrew his offer to African-Americans upon hearing this and Nyerere of Tanzania rounded up the entire African-American community and detained them while he investigated rumors that they were importing weapons for the purpose of overthrowing his government and taking over Tanzania. It was discovered that they were indeed importing rifles (for hunting), but no military type weapons so they were released. My point is that some of our leaders do occasionally say

undiplomatic things which do fan the flames of “mutual suspicion.” African governments react by defending themselves as best they can. Who can blame them? No one wants to face enemies either internal or external. Despite the occasional African-American who spies for the C.I.A., in general the veil of “mutual suspicion” has lifted across Africa and we are in a new era of mutual trust and cooperation. The soil has been prepared for greater mutual benefit, founded in trust and Trans-Atlantic cooperation.

THE BIRTH OF THE AFRICAN UNION

Goals for the African Union include an African parliament and a central development bank. As with its predecessor, the OAU, the African Union is based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The Pan-African Parliament opened officially on March 18, 2004, in Midrand, South Africa.

The current Chairman of the Commission, H.E. Alpha Oumar Konare, leads the African Union.

The AU's first military intervention in a member state was the May 2003 deployment of a peacekeeping force of soldiers from South Africa, Ethiopia, and Mozambique, to Burundi, to oversee the implementation of the various agreements. The mission was known as AMIB and has since been taken over by the United Nations, which has designated it ONUB.

The African Union originated in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was established on May 25, 1963. Critics argued that the OAU did little to protect the rights and liberties of African citizens from their own political leaders, often dubbing it "The Dictators Club".

The idea of an African Union, separate and apart, from the OAU began with the vision of a "United States of Africa" of Libyan leader Muammar al-Qaddafi, who, frustrated by developments in the Arab world, has in recent years largely given up his long-held ideologies of Arab nationalism and Pan-Arabism, even publicly forsaking identity as an *Arab* and he now identifies himself and his nation as African. He has assumed the Pan-African mantle of Nasser. (Browne, 2003) I have written elsewhere about Libya and the African Union. (Browne, 2003) The stated goals of the African Union are as follows.

The goals for the African Union include an African parliament and a central development bank, as well as an African Military High Command. As with its predecessor, the OAU, the African Union is based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The Pan-African Parliament opened officially on March 18, 2004, in Midrand, South Africa. The current Chairman of the Commission, Alpha Omar Konaré (H.E. Alpha Omar Konaré), leads the African Union.

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The heads of state and heads of government of the OAU issued the Sirte Declaration on September 9, 1999, calling for the establishment of an African Union. The Sirte Declaration was followed by summits at Lomé in 2000, when the Constitutive Act of the African Union was adopted, and at Lusaka in 2001, when the plan for the implementation of the African Union was adopted. Most heads of state signed the NEPAD agreement,

which allows other African heads of state to monitor their performance and request that they step down and relinquish power if they abuse their own people.

The African Union was launched in Durban on July 9, 2002, by its first president, South African Thabo Mbeki, at the first session of the Assembly of the African Union. The second session of the Assembly was in Maputo in 2003, and the third session in Addis Ababa on July 6, 2004.

Its Constitutive Act declares that it shall "invite and encourage the full participation of the African diaspora as an important part of our Continent, in the building of the African Union." The African Union has defined the African diaspora as

"[consisting] of people of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union."

CONCLUSION

When Salim Salim and Gaddafi, and 53 of Africa's 54 independent nations, formed the new African Union they created six districts. District One is North Africa, District Two is East Africa; District Three is Southern Africa; District Four is Central Africa; District Five is West Africa; and District Six includes African-Americans, Afro-Caribbean people and Afro-Europeans. Thanks to the work of DuBois, Garvey, Padmore, Delaney, Cuffee, Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Kenyatta, Nasser, and others we now have a formal position in the continent-wide organization that will direct Africa's future. This is the realization of a dream that people of African descent have cherished since we were taken from Africa in chains; we have sought recognition, acceptance, and a legitimate place in African affairs and finally this has become a reality. Most of us do not want to dominate Africans or African affairs, rather we seek to play a healthy and

useful role in helping to uplift the continent and people of African descent worldwide. Having the honor of doing this will be our greatest reward. All men love their mothers and it is not surprising that we love “Mother Africa.” Africans in the Diaspora can now participate in decisions with their African brothers as equals. Hopefully, we will invest in the development of Africa’s resources and her markets. There is much that we can learn from Africans and there is much that they can learn from us. In such exchanges both will benefit.

Diaspora population do not want to “run” Africa, rather we want a seat at the table so that we can help in legitimate ways to advance Africa. Diaspora Africans are like the “prodigal sons” returning home to help develop their father’s land and to expand his wealth and uplift all of his children. The African Union’s first two president’s Thabo Mbeki and Lusegun Obasanjo have gone out of their way to make Africans living in the diaspora feel included in the new union. This is very welcomed.

Why has Pan-Africanism had such enduring appeal? Simple, whenever we have united to overthrow tyranny or oppression, or to pursue prosperity, we had done better than facing these perils as individuals. Whenever we seek to realize our full potential as people, banning together and uniting helps us to achieve these goals and to become prosperous faster than if we go it alone. The fact is that throughout history whenever people of African descent have united they have become stronger, more intelligent, freer, and more prosperous than when they go it alone. United we have always been more secure from internal and external threats of all kinds and our material fortunes advance toward prosperity and beyond rather than just surviving by the skin of our teeth. The lessons of history have not been lost upon us and this is why we are so hopeful that the

African Union will succeed. It will mean a brighter future for our children and the children of Africa.

I think that I speak for all Diaspora people when I say that we are very happy with the way that the African Union is developing up to this point. There remains much work to be done. For instance, it is not clear how representatives for District Six will be chosen or how we will finance our division. Independent African nation states finance the other districts. This is a topic that requires serious debate and thought because it could have a profound influence upon our collective futures, which remain linked in powerful ways.

END NOTES

1. Of course, everyone is aware that Nigeria gave refuge to the Black athletes who gave the Black Power salute after winning Olympic Gold Medals in Mexico City. The US government was angry with them so Nigeria offered them a safe haven and jobs training Nigerian runners.

Jomo Kenyatta offered many opportunities for African-Americans to do business and live in Kenya. Jack Butler was encouraged to build the multimillion dollar “Matumbato Estates” for middle-class Kenyan professionals. Jack’s wife Leslie Butler-Barron, and Eileen and Dr. Bernard Wasow (whose son Omar is a radio commentator on Blacks and technology for Tavis Smiley) were commissioned by President Kenyatta to choreograph traditional dances and train Kenyan dancers to perform them in a professional manner for tourists. This remains a major tourist attraction. Kenyatta loved traditional dancing.

Leslie was involved in training dancers for the now famous “Bomas of Kenya” and she and Eileen spent more than a year training its professional dancers. Leslie then returned to New York where she danced in the Broadway production of the “Wiz,” an African-American version of the “Wizard of Oz” story. She now lives with her second husband, Richards Barron, in Boston. Bomas of Kenya will continue to carry on her legacy and the legacy of Pan-African cooperation for decades to come.

Ernest Kalibala’s company TAW, leased General Motors heavy road building equipment to the Kenya government to build their section of the All Africa highway. This contract was worth millions of dollars. Ernie and his wife rode around Nairobi in hand-made Italian sports cars and were our version of royalty. Ernie organized basketball games every weekend and was our informal leader. Ernie and Evelyn now live in Brooklyn. Ernie has served as a consultant to Ambassador Robley Olhay of Djoubiti for the past 13 years and I want to thank he and Robley for inspiring this paper. Ambassador Olhay is Dean of the Diplomatic Corps and a committed Pan-Africanist. Lee DeCuir managed Trans World Airways Kampala and Nairobi offices and later went into business for himself. He currently lives in Houston, Texas with his Rwanda wife, Phillipa. Many African-Americans, like Wilbur LeMelle who was initially an officer with the Ford Foundation and later served as US Ambassadors, because Kenyatta expressed a preference for dealing with African-American government officials. I was offered a job teaching at Nairobi University along with Dr. Joseph Harris of Howard University and Dr. Edmund Keller now of UCLA.

A Black Panther immunologist named Dr. Curtis Powell worked at the University of Nairobi on a cure for sleeping sickness so that the Panthers could economically

develop vast areas of Africa where the land was fertile, such as Tanzania's Southern Highlands which could support a large dairy industry if tsetse flies could be eradicated, but which lay dormant because of the scourge of "sleeping sickness." Curtis also dreamed of the Panthers fighting alongside Freelimos in tsetse fly infested areas in Mozambique. Curtis claimed that he had developed a vaccine to permanently protect anyone against sleeping sickness, but that the Italian company that he sold the patent to would not produce it. Curtis believed that Black militants had to also become health workers because disease can fatally diminish a group's ability to fight its enemies.

Kenyatta made sure that we knew that we were welcomed in Kenya and many of us were even offered citizenship, land, and permanent residence. Throughout the 1960's and 70's East Africa, Ghana, Nigeria, and Senegal were Mecca's for Pan-Africanists. Today South Africa looks attractive to many.

2. Friends suggested that I speak with a man named Ras Makonnen from the Caribbean about Pan-Africanism because he once owned a restaurant in Manchester, England where Nkrumah and Kenyatta would often eat while they listened to Makonnen expose his theories of Pan-Africanism. He taught both future leaders a great deal and they rewarded him later. When Makonnen first met Kenyatta and Nkrumah and many others they were students in England and he was their informal tutor on Pan-Africanism. Nkrumah encouraged Makonnen to migrate to Ghana where he served as a trusted and loyal advisor until Nkrumah was overthrown and Makonnen was detained. Kenyatta arranged for his release and his extradition to Kenya, where he lived when I met him.

Makonnen was one of the principle planners of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, which was held in England. While interviewing Makonnen at his Nairobi residence we

were visited by an ANC delegation from South Africa. They discussed the liberation struggle in South Africa for hours, then one man said, “We must use the children, we have no choice.” At the time I did not understand what he was referring to. Later it occurred to me that what they may have planned in Makonnen’s living room, would later come to be known as the “Soweto Uprising” during which school children defied South African policemen and army officers by refusing to attend school because they did not want to be taught in “Afrikaans,” the language of the architects of “apartheid.” The children felt that it would cut them off from communication with the rest of the world Makonnen had once been a major advisor to Nkrumah in Ghana, and he remained active until his death in Nairobi years later. He fought and planned and strategized with Black freedom fighters worldwide until the very end. I also later met in Dar es Salaam Tanzania soldiers who swore that they had fought clandestinely in Angola, side by side with Cubans to help oust South African troops who tried to deny independence to that tragic country. For obvious reasons Nyerere and Tanzania never openly admitted to having troops in Angola.

3. Many of us married and created families with Africans. We united on many different levels simultaneously. Many African-Americans worked for USAID, such as Harold Jones who helped Kenya to modernize agriculture, and Maron Golding who was a gifted accountant, together with Ron Walker a Stanford MBA who worked for the Ford Foundation’s Nairobi and Lagos offices. It was a happy time for Africans and African-Americans and relations between the two communities were excellent. Kenyans considered us a tribe. Kenyans called us the “Wa-Negro.” This tribe included Terry Jones a venture capitalist with an MBA from Harvard, Carolyn and John Tyson (Vice

President Al Gore's roommate at Harvard), and Clarisse Edwards and her father Dr. Edwards who invented many items to help Africa. Terry Jones was appointed Director of the Small Business Development Fund for Southern Africa for several years under President Bill Clinton. He and John Tyson currently live in Washington D.C.

Dr. William Summerville, an African-American Swiss trained physician from Chicago, kept everyone healthy. He now resides in either DuBai or Saudi Arabia. Two African-American architects designed many of Kenya's new buildings, Stan Webb and Marcellus Collins. Collins later moved to Uganda where he died and is buried. In addition, many African-Americans were married to Kenyan nationals, such as Sharon Wanyee and Dr. Vertisteen M'Baya who taught Chemistry at Nairobi University. Kenyans attended our parties and we attended theirs. Fellowship and mutual affection were the norm.

Carolyn Okello-Odongo was married to Thomas Odongo a famous Luo union leader who was one of Tom Mboya's right hand men while he served as Kenya's Vice President. Odongo began as a Oginga Odinga loyalist and was prominent in Odinga's KDC party, which served as an opposition party until Kenyatta outlawed opposition parties. There was also Julius Kiano, a Kikuyu Minister from Muranga, who was married to an African-American woman who was so outspoken that President Kenyatta asked Kiano to put her on a plane and in effect deport her for her scathing criticisms of the government, which she made public despite repeated warnings. They later divorced and Kiano married Jane Kiano who is prominent in the Kenyan women's movement. Mrs. Margaret Muchori continues to teach generations of children in Kenya and to advise newly arrived African-Americans on Kenyan culture. Joseph and Dorcas Akech opened

their homes and hearts to us, as did Rialla Odinga and “Kijana,” Mike Wamalwa, who taught in the Nairobi University Law School and who threw the best weekend parties in Nairobi. We remember him as brother “Mike” the tennis man rather than by his later title Vice President of Kenya under Moi Kibaki. It may not be possible to name all of the African-Americans who lived in and worked in Africa during this period and I apologize to any whose names were inadvertently left out of this discussion. The point of all of this is that little “mutual suspicion” existed and a great deal of trust and love prevailed on both sides. Then Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Njoroge Mungai always had an encouraging word for us as did Dr. Philip Mbithi and Dr. Kivuto Ndeti. Anyone who ever saw Rocky and Sharon Wanyee together or met their children could not deny this. I should mention Al Amin Mazuri and Samira Fakir of Mombassa and Mohamed Sheriff Nuur, Mardney, Hassan and Mariam Marshard, the Sharpee family of Nairobi and many others who made cooperation and trust seem as natural as breathing. Muslim friends invited us to celebrate “Id il-Fitri” and we invited them to celebrate “Thanksgiving” and “Christmas” with us. Neither religion, nor skin color hampered unity.

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