ABSTRACT

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The Middle Passage of the Twentieth Century: The Trans-Atlantic Connections of Black Freedom Movements in Africa and the Americas
(Under the Direction of ROBERT A. PRATT)

Africans were taken from Western and Central Africa over 500 years ago, and today, many divisions exist between people of African descent as if they were never once members of the same great continent. It was hypothesized that, despite these clear divisions, black people have maintained interaction and shared experiences which are embodied in the social and political movements of the Twentieth Century. Research was conducted to determine whether or not the leaders of black liberation movements were engaged in a Pan-Africanist movement and to what extent. By reading primary and secondary sources, conducting interviews, and watching films on black freedom movements around the world, the results were evident. Leaders of black liberation movements in Africa and North and South America were continuously interacting with each other by reading each other's works, hosting multinational Congresses and visiting each other's respective countries. It was concluded that there was a Pan-African nature to the black freedom movements of the Twentieth Century which have in turn affected the ideas, ideologies, and identities of black people in Africa, Latin America and the United States today.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY:

THE TRANS-ATLANTIC CONNECTIONS OF BLACK FREEDOM MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA AND THE AMERICAS

by

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INTRODUCTION

More than five hundred years ago, Africans were taken from Western and Central Africa and brought as indentured servants and slaves in North and South America. Most of these Africans assimilated into a new culture, adopting new religions, new languages, and a new way of life in general. Today, many blacks in the Americas no longer identify with blacks in other regions of the world. It is as though having a different culture signifies that an African has nothing in common with an African American. While all blacks are not the same, a study of the black liberation movements of the Twentieth Century reveals that blacks across the Atlantic have remained in contact with each other. Indeed, it was the cross-cultural connections of the black Diaspora that fueled the black freedom movements of the last century and enabled them to achieve certain goals. Yet, there are still so many problems plaguing black people in Africa, Latin America, and the United States, and solutions to these problems require that citizens of the world recognize the similar history that we share so that we feel compelled to relieve the suffering of our brothers and sisters.

This paper is addressed to the members of the African Diaspora, but the information contained within it is only a small piece of world history. It is used as a specific example of the fact that we- all people- are related. There is only one race, humanity, and as members of the human race, it is our responsibility to protect and guarantee these human rights of every person everywhere.

CHAPTER 1
THE BEGINNINGS OF PAN-AFRICANISM AND BLACK NATIONALISM

From the beginning of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade until now, many Africans in the Americas have reflected on Africa with pride and, often times, a desire to return to their homeland. As early as the 1600s, the slave mariner Olaudah Equiano wrote about the pain of being torn from his country, but also the hope of one day returning to spread Christianity throughout the African continent. One of the earliest advocates for black emigration to Africa was Paul Cuffe, a free person of mixed African and Native American descent. He and many other African Americans became interested in immigrating back to Africa after the founding of the British colony Sierra Leone in 1787. After travelling to the West Coast of Africa in 1811, Cuffe began advocating for the emigration of African Americans from America back to Africa, arguing that "emigration would remove the 'yoke of oppression.'"[1] Despite many obstacles, he transported thirty-eight settlers to Freetown, Sierra Leone. Although the single venture was very expensive for Cuffe, he pioneered a back-to-Africa sentiment that would become a central characteristic of the African Methodist Church.

The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church was officially founded in 1816 by a group of free black ministers, namely Richard Allen. Allen, like many of the other free blacks in the North, was born a slave, and he saw Methodist Christianity as a way not only to save the black man's spirit, but also "as a formula by which blacks could lift themselves up from their impoverished, degraded state."[2] The desire to have an independent African church was in response to the racist and segregated Christianity of white American churches. Free black people in particular needed a place where they could freely

[1] James T. Campbell, *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 68.
[2] Campbell, 11.

worship God. Then, less than one year after the founding of the AME Church, Robert Finley created the American Colonization Society, and the United States government soon jumped on board. The Society was formed with the intention of returning free blacks to Africa. Both white slave owners and black abolitionists supported the organization for their own reasons. One popular reason, as Speaker of the House Henry Clay put it, was to "rid our country of a useless and pernicious, if not dangerous portion of its population" and to pursue spreading "the arts of civilized life, and the possible redemption from ignorance and barbarism of a benighted quarter of the globe."[3] Many free blacks, of course, saw it as opportunity to live a better life. While some thought that a black Africa would offer greater freedom than a racist America, many also held the idea that the only reason the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade occurred was so that Africans could be Christianized in order to bring Christianity back home to Africa. Daniel Coker, another one of the first members of the AME Church, considered African Americans "Ethiopia's sons" and travelled to Africa as a missionary in 1813.[4] After the American Colonization Society was founded, he took his wife and children and resettled off of the coast of present-day Liberia in 1820. Thousands of African Americans would relocate to Liberia in the 1820s and 1830s, and in 1847, when Liberia announced its independence from the United States, the first person elected president was Joseph Jenkins Roberts, a Virginia-born free person of color. From the same ideas started by the early supporters of the Back-to-Africa Movement and the AME Church, the ideology of Pan-Africanism formed.[5]

One of the first true Pan-Africanists was Edward Wilmot Blyden. Blyden was born in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands in 1832 and in 1851 emigrated to Liberia. Blyden became an academic, a brilliant classicist, theologian, historian, and sociologist. He edited and wrote for many newspapers, including Nigeria's

[3] Campbell, 68.
[4] Ibid., 12.
[5] The term Pan-Africanism in this paper is used in the broad sense meaning the unification of the global black descendants of Africa. It does not necessitate the unification of black people under one government in Africa, but simply the unification of all African peoples in some way or form. This paper, however, focuses on Pan-Africanism as a political tool of mobilization and liberation.

Lagos Weekly Record, Sierra Leone's *West African Reporter,* and *Negro,* "the first explicitly Pan-African journal in West Africa."[6] He also published several books, one of which was published in 1872 and entitled *Africa for the Africans*. This phrase "Africa for the Africans" was the most popular slogan of the UNIA under Marcus Garvey in the mid-early 1900s. Because of his writings for and from different countries within Africa, Blyden is regarded by many as the father of Pan-Africanism.

By far, the "American African" most credited with encouraging African Americans to return to Africa is the Jamaica-born Marcus Garvey. At the age of twenty-three, Marcus Garvey left Jamaica to work as a time-keeper on banana plantations in Costa Rica where he observed the harsh conditions that blacks were working under. The experience propelled him to do something to help his fellow black people. He travelled throughout Central America, to the Panama Canal Zone, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Colombia, and Venezuela, and his observation was that blacks in all of these places were experiencing very harsh living conditions. He published several newspapers, including *La Nación* in Costa Rica and *La Prensa* in Panama, and in 1914, he started the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association (UNIA-ACL) with the main objective of uniting "all the people of African ancestry of the world into one great body to establish a country and Government absolutely their own."[7] He moved to the United States in 1916, and by 1920, the UNIA had over 1,100 branches in over 40 countries, including Cuba, Panama, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Venezuela, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Namibia and South Africa. But Garvey was not the only Afro-Caribbean to become an activist for the African Diaspora.

Blacks in the Caribbean have been heavily involved in the more radical black movements, such as Pan-Africanism and Black Nationalism. Author Winston James explains why black West Indians were so predisposed to becoming radical and how they impacted black American movements of the early

[6] "Edward Wilmot Blyden," accessed July 23, 2009, http://africawithin.com/bios/edward_blyden.htm.
[7] "UNIA History," *UNIA-ACL,* accessed July 25, 2009, http://www.unia-acl.org/info/historic.htm.

Twentieth Century. Besides their history of slave rebellion in the Caribbean, they were radicalized by their experiences during World War I. Sixteen thousand black Caribbean men were recruited and volunteered to fight for Britain in the First World War. They were excited to go and defend the honor of their Motherland, but once they arrived, the men were shocked at the "head-spinning racism" they encountered.[8] They were denied their British heritage and treated as "niggers." Many of them were never allowed to fight and were instead expected to clean toilets, unload cargo ships, and bury the dead. They received segregated and substandard medical treatment, and most of those who died, died from sickness. Many of them returned to the Caribbean sad and angry, and this feeling reverberated throughout Caribbean communities. For these veterans and their friends and family, the new motherland was Africa, and their new brothers and sisters were people of African descent. It was with this attitude that many Afro-Caribbeans started and joined budding Black Nationalist organizations. Samuel Haynes and C.L.R. James, for example, both served during WWI, and both became avid Pan-Africanists following the war.

But even among those who had not served, the history and experiences of many black West Indians made them more likely to become radical upon their arrival in the United States. The Caribbean people who migrated to the United States were well educated. During the period of 1918 to 1932, only 1.1 percent of the adult black migrants to America were illiterate.[9] The illiteracy rates for white Americans in 1920 and 1930, however, were 5 percent and 3.4 percent, respectively and 27.4 percent and 20 percent for black Americans in the same years.[10] Many important Afro-Caribbean leaders were

[8] Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth Century America*, (New York: Verso, 1998), 52.
[9] James, 78.
[10] Ibid., 78.

very well-learned and constantly encouraged their followers to educate themselves. “Read history incessantly until you master,” Garvey told his listeners.[11]

Furthermore, Afro-Caribbeans had not been conditioned to racism and Jim Crow segregation; therefore, they were much less afraid of being bold in America than were native-born U.S. blacks. West Indians were stereotyped as being aggressive, and, especially in the past, they were at the forefront of political activism. There are so many Afro-Caribbean people who were well-known speakers, from Hubert Harrison, who was considered a black Aristotle, to Marcus Garvey and Stokely Carmichael. One story told by the Bahamanian Sidney Poitier shows the unconditioned Caribbean mindset and how it caused West Indians to be less afraid of white America. James quoted his story,

> I walked up into the police station, and the desk sergeant… says, “Take off that cap, nigger.” I turned around to see who was behind me and then suddenly realized he was talking to me. So I said, “Are you talking to me?” He said, “Yes, I’m talking to you.” I said, “Are you crazy?” He said, “What?” I said, “Are you crazy?” He said, “What did you say, boy?” I say, “My name is Sidney Poitier, you calling me names? Do you know who you’re talking to?” The room is full of lots of cops, and at this point they’re falling down on the floor with laughter. The guy behind the desk is looking at me- his mouth wide open- and he says, “What did you say your name is, boy?” I say, “My name is Sidney Poitier- it’s not boy.” 85

Many Afro-Caribbean immigrants had not yet been assimilated into the American way of life, and as a result, they did not know, like so many Afro-Americans did, the consequences of speaking boldly to a white person, especially a white police officer in the South. Author Winston James writes that “Their attitude reflected their ignorance of the history, of the frightening challenges Afro-America has had to face. It also reflected the smug hubris of those who have never had loved ones plucked from their midst and lynched with impunity…”[12] Indeed, their proud ignorance was a problem for some African Americans. During 1922-1923, there was a “Garvey Must Go” campaign, and New York’s oldest black newspaper wrote that the members of the UNIA were “undesirable aliens whose presence in this

[11] James, 79.
[12] Ibid., 3.

country is a dangerous intrusion".[13] But with this boldness, Afro-Caribbean people were able to accomplish a lot in the early Twentieth Century. Black West Indians had started the first Pan-African journals, and West Indian women were the first women of color to be allowed to enter the needle trades in the United States.[14]

Even in South Africa, Garvey and many other black West Indians and Americans had a huge influence during the early Twentieth Century. There were eight official UNIA chapters in South Africa in the 1920s, five of which were located in Cape Town. During this period, many blacks had left from the Americas, mostly the British West Indies, Jamaica, and Barbados. They were called "sea kaffirs,"[15] "kaffir" being a derogatory term used to refer to black South Africans during Apartheid. Most of the black West Indians and Americans came to work on the docks of Cape Town, but some of them managed to become property owners and professionals because the laws had not yet restricted the mobility of non-South African blacks. For a short period of time, they were considered "honorary whites." Indeed, the city's first black postman, first black doctor, and the first black person to be admitted to the bar were all from the West Indies.[16] In the Americas, Marcus Garvey was viewed as a Moses, as the divinely-ordained liberator of black people. In South Africa, therefore, it was 'American Negroes'[17] who spread the message of Garveyism, which became popular for many black South Africans because it taught that black people should unite themselves and pursue self-determination.

In South Africa, the newspaper *The Black Man* was published during the first few years of the 1920s as a direct effect of Garveyism in Cape Town. Although they focused on non-white South African laborers and organizations, the articles were frequently about Marcus Garvey, the UNIA, and African

[13] James, 4.
[14] Ibid., 84.
[15] Robert Trent Vinson, " 'Sea Kaffirs': 'American Negroes' and the Gospel of Garveyism in Early Twentieth-Century Cape Town," *The Journal of African History,* 2006.
[16] Vinson, 284-285.
[17] The term 'American Negroes' refers to black men and women born in the United States and the Caribbean which is also part of the Americas.

Americans in general. One section entitled “American Notes” stated, “At the Convention of the Negro Race in New York Hon. Marcus Garvey was elected Provisional President of Africa.”[18] In the middle of page three of the November 1920 issue is the picture of two girls, the daughters of African American parents newly migrated to South Africa, whose children were denied admission into a school that only enrolled white students. Also on this page is an article entitled “Negro Movement in America,” which states,

> The whole Bantu Race of South Africa, your brethren in America, who 250 years ago were carried away over the seas… are demanding their immediate release from the fetters of bondage back to the land of their progenitors, Glorious Africa, where nature, together with you, put them. To achieve this end, they have formed themselves into a single body, known throughout the world as the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League… We further learn… that all enterprises initiated by the O.N.I.A [sic.] and the A.C.L are manned and managed by the negroes themselves.
>
> What a splendid record to the credit of the black race as a whole! What are we going to do? Shall we come to their assistance? Every man and woman who has a spark of native fire in him or her should make a sacred resolution to make the failure of this movement a practical impossibility. It is better to suffer hardships that are imposed on you by members of your own race, rather than suffer under the tyrannical rule of the selfish foreigners.
>
> After such a bitter experience, our final conviction is that the white race has failed to rule the black man.
>
> *The Black Man,* 3

This article shows that black South Africans were able to take pride in the accomplishments of blacks in other parts of the world. They too felt an inherent connection to their “brethren” in America simply because they were black and had endured similar hardships. It seems that the accomplishment of a black anywhere is significant for all blacks because it proves that the black race as a whole is not inferior to whites, that they are just as capable of succeeding. The article ends with a discussion on the convention in New York, presided over by Marcus Garvey, where representatives of black states from across the world signed a bill on the rights of the black man. It was called, the Magna Charta of the Black Races, and the article advised that every “true patriot of the African cause” purchase a copy of the Bill of

[18] *The Black Man, (*Cape Town, South Africa), October 1920, 3.

Rights to have in their possession. Certainly, Marcus Garvey was very influential for South Africa and for Pan-Africanism in general, but he was not the only person to spread the message of a united black race.

W.E.B. Du Bois was also very influential in establishing Pan-Africanism, and is regarded as another one of its fathers .Du Bois helped organize the 1900 Negro exhibition in Paris, France which was to show the contributions that African Americans had made to the United States. He published thousands of literary works, including books, articles, and essays, some of which dealt specifically with Africa and African peoples. In 1909, along with Mary White Ovington, Du Bois co-founded the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP). The NAACP has maintained its objective of full racial equality, and although Du Bois is remembered as an activist for African Americans, he was certainly an advocate of black Africans. He organized the First Pan-African Congress in 1919 to address appropriate solutions for the needs of the time.[19]

The Pan-African Congress of 1919 was attended by 57 delegates from 15 countries, and it proposed reform in five areas: Land- the natives "shall have as much ownership of the land as they can profitably develop;" Capital- exploitation of the natives should be prevented, and "the profits taxed for social and material benefit of the natives;" Labour- "slavery and corporal punishment shall be abolished and forced labour except in punishment of crime;" Education- every native child should "learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense;" and the State- "the natives of Africa must have the right to participate in government as fast as their development permits… and this participation shall gradually extend… to the end that, in time, Africa is ruled by consent of the Africans."[20] While the Resolution may have been radical for 1919 by simply having black Socialists from around the world unite and discuss political issues, it was not as radical as it could have

[19] There were also second, third, and fourth Pan-African Congresses in 1921, 1923, and 1927, respectively. Information on these congresses is limited, and Du Bois contributions' were most visible in the first and fifth congresses, the two considered most influential.
[20] Asante and Abarry, "Pan-African Congress Resolution, Paris 1919," *African Intellectual Heritage: A Book of Sources,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 517.

been. It did not call for the independence of African countries or even for the unity of Africa without the new artificial boundaries. It did not call for armed self-defense or even chastise Europeans for their brutal treatment of the Africans. Perhaps because the Congress hoped to be supported by the League of Nations, it simply asked for a reformed system of white rule in Africa. The Pan-African Congress Resolution of 1945, however, made more pressing demands.

In 1945, Du Bois hosted the fifth and final Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England, which was attended by 90 leaders from 40 countries and organized by George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah.[21] There, the attendees discussed issues plaguing blacks in the West Indies, Ethiopia, Britain, and South Africa. They addressed the fact that colonial powers had been exploiting Africa for its resources and criticized the artificial national boundaries that had been created as "deliberate steps to obstruct the political unity of the West African peoples."[22] The resolution called for the end of political enslavement and the redistribution of the land into the hands of Africans. The 1945 Pan-African Congress was much more assertive than the first Congress in 1919, and one scholar noted that this Congress was especially significant because it took place at the end of World War II in an attempt to voice its opinion on what should be done with Europe's colonies in Africa.[23] The Resolution declared that the African people should have the right to elect their own Governments without interference from foreign imperialists which, as noted by scholar Derrick Alridge, was a major influence on the African independence movements that followed. In the "Declaration to Colonial Powers," the Resolution called for peace, but it asserted,

[21] Both Padmore and Nkrumah were ardent Pan-Africanists and would not only gain independence for Africa in 1957, but would recruit countless people of African descent for the cause of Pan-Africanism.
[22] Asante and Abarry, 518.
[23] Derrick Alridge, Director of the African American Institute at the University of Georgia, Personal Interview, November 20, 2009.

> Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.
> We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible in this One World for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation.
>
> Asante and Abarry, 520

During 1955-1961, Du Bois wrote several articles and essays on Africa which he compiled into a book that he titled *The World and Africa.* In this book, he discusses Africa's history, its colonization, its people, and its current situation during the late 1950s to early 1960s. One particular article "The Giant Stirs," begins by discussing the extent to which American Negroes have not assisted Africa. He writes that considering how European emigrants, especially Jewish ones, have helped their counterparts in Europe, "it is tragic that American Negroes today are not only doing little to help Africa in its hour of supreme need, but have no way of really knowing what is happening in Africa."[24] From here, he goes on to mention the Council of African Affairs started by Paul Robeson and to educate the reader about African countries and their crises. The following chapter is dedicated to praising Kwame Nkrumah and Ghana for their persistence in achieving a united and liberated Africa. When Ghana received its independence in 1957 under Kwame Nkrumah, Du Bois wrote in the *National Guardian* his desires for the new Prime Minister and country. "Ignoring the old sources of division and lack of knowledge… Ghana should lead a movement of black men for Pan-Africanism," he wrote.[25] It should host a new series of Pan-African Congresses in which there would be "a program of peace and with no thought of force, political control or underground subversion."[26] Du Bois's plan for the program of Pan-Africa included periodic conferences where black men and women from around the world could meet and learn about each other and discuss resolutions for their problems. It also included socialism.

[24] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The World and Africa,* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), 265.
[25] Ibid., 296.
[26] Ibid., 296.

For Du Bois, Pan-African socialism was a necessary component for a united Africa. Pan-African socialism meant refusing "to be exploited by people of other countries for their own benefit."[27] It meant no longer "permitting the African majority to be governed against its will by a minority of invaders."[28]In his address to the All-African People's Conference (Accra, Ghana) in 1958, he explained these ideas further and specifically why he cared about Africa. Although he was too ill to attend, his wife Shirley Graham Du Bois read the address: "Fellow Africans: About 1735, my great-great grandfather was kidnapped on this coast of West Africa and taken by the Dutch to the colony of New York in America, where he was sold in slavery." With this introduction, he illustrated his personal ties to Africa, and he would go on to describe how he became interested in studying Africa and why he viewed socialism as necessary for African liberation. Because capitalism was seen as the exploiter of colonial subjects and people of color, according to Du Bois, socialism was the only option. Socialism was defined as "a disciplined economy and political organization to which the first duty of a citizen is to serve the state; and the state is not a selected aristocracy, or a group of self-seeking oligarchs who have seized wealth and power. No! The mass of workers with hand and brain are the ones whose collective destiny is the chief object of all effort."[29] He ends the speech in a truly moving way, to inspire Africans to continue in their fight for justice, "Africa, awake! Put on the beautiful robes of Pan-African socialism. You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a continent to regain! You have freedom and human dignity to attain!" In 1961, Kwame Nkrumah invited W.E.B. Du Bois to direct the *Encyclopedia Africana*. He was denied a passport from the United States, but at the age of 95, in 1963, he and his wife finally relocated to Ghana and became citizens, where he died the same year.

During the mid-Twentieth Century, Leopold Senghor and Aime Césaire began a new movement which had its own Pan-African elements. Leopold Sédar Senghor and Aime Césaire met in Paris, France,

[27] Du Bois, 297
[28] Ibid., 297.
[29] Ibid., 307.

where they both had shocking revelations. French-speaking West Indians had been raised in a French culture which taught that blacks, or Negroes, were Africans and, therefore, inferior. To be a black Negro, therefore, was not an option for West Indians. They were French. It was only in France, however, that the identity of West Indians was forced to change. Although they were French-speaking people, they were not treated as French people, and they became consumed with the question, *Who am I?*[30] Author Janet G. Vaillant wrote that, "The fact that Parisians lumped together all Negroes regardless of their place of origin, education or social position influenced blacks themselves to do likewise."[31] Césaire and his Guyanese friend Léon Damas grew "dissatisfied with their total immersion in French culture, and had grown curious about Africa," a curiosity which was appeased in their meeting Senghor.[32] Senghor, in turn, became familiar with West Indians and also black Americans at the apartment of the West Indian family the Achilles[33] where countless black Americans visited during their stay in Paris. At the Achilles' apartment, Senghor learned about the Harlem Renaissance and the New Negro Movement in the United States. Some of the West Indians and black Americans that he had met began publishing a journal called *La Revue du Monde Noir* (The Review of the Black World) in 1931 which stated the belief that all black people, regardless of differences, had common interests that could be expressed in particular ways.[34] The statement of purpose printed in the first issue was,

> … to give to the intelligentsia of the blak [sic] race and to their partisans an official organ in which to publish their artistic, literary, and scientific works. To study and to popularize… all which concerns NEGRO CIVILIZATION and the natural riches of Africa… [and] to create among the Negroes of the entire world, regardless of nationality, an intellectual and moral tie which will permit them to better know each other, to love one another, to defend more effectively their collective interests and to glorify their race.
>
> Vaillant, 92

[30] Janet Vaillant, *Black, French, and African: A Life of Leopold Sédar Senghor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 90.
[31] Ibid., 98.
[32] Ibid., 91.
[33] Achilles is the last name of a West Indian family that had become well-known scholars within the African-American community. In France, they served as a home and resource for many visiting African Americans.
[34] Vaillant, 92.

Senghor became so influenced by the literature of Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, and Alain Locke, that he began to use the term *le negre nouveau*, the new negro, to refer to the new person he wished to see among French-speaking blacks.[35] Thereafter, Senghor and Césaire developed the term "Negritude" as the noun form of the adjective "black," *négre* in French. Césaire defined Negritude as "recognition of the fact of being black, and the acceptance of that fact, of our destiny as black, of our history and our culture."[36] Senghor, on the other hand, defined the concept as "the manner of self-expression of the black character, the black world, black civilization."[37] One definition is the acceptance of one's global black identity while the other is the way of expressing that global black identity. Regardless of how the two men defined the term, however, the common underlying belief of Negritude is that black people everywhere have a shared history, a shared culture, and a shared race.

Later in life, Senghor published what Langston Hughes called "the definitive anthology of black poetry," which included an introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre who argued that race is the primary factor in the oppression of the black man. Inspired by Marxism, Negritude was intended to focus black energy toward condemning the oppressor and pursuing revolutionary change. Indeed, although it was a racial ideology, the ultimate goal was non-racialism, where after French racism ceased to exist, there would be no need for Negritude, and, therefore, no more race. Senghor continued to uplift the black race, describing its characteristics as beneficial to society, and in some cases, better than the contributions of Europeans. Indeed, the concept of Negritude became racialist, stereotyping blacks and whites as two very distinct groups of people, but Senghor believed, that although people were different, synthesis, or mixing, was the way to social development. The Negritude Movement served the purpose of giving

[35] Vaillant, 93-94.
[36] Ibid., 244.
[37] Ibid., 44.

blacks a source of pride and belief in the possibility of liberating themselves in order to freely express their Negritude, their "real black values," as Senghor wrote.[38]

[38] Vaillant, 270.

CHAPTER 2
PAN-AFRICANISM IN MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Ghana

Ghana, like Harlem and Paris, was a refuge for radical black expatriates in the Twentieth Century, and Kwame Nkrumah was their asylum-giver. After receiving a bachelor's degree and two master's degrees from universities in Pennsylvania, Nkrumah began working avidly for the decolonization of Africa and the unity of Africans and the African Diaspora. He encountered the ideas of Marcus Garvey and met C.L.R. James and George Padmore, two Trinidadian Pan-Africanists, with whom he discussed Pan-Africanism, alternatives to communism, and underground movements of liberation. In 1947, he returned to the Gold Coast and began organizing people for the cause of African independence. His tactics to bring independence to the British colony of the Gold Coast included educating people and staging non-violent protests, and in 1957, Nkrumah became the first Prime Minister of Ghana.

When Ghana achieved independence, it was a symbol of hope for black people all over. Other African colonies and oppressed peoples, such as those in the Congo and South Africa, were compelled not to give up their fight for independence, and African Americans were inspired to keep struggling for full citizenship in the US South. One news story gives an illustration of some of the sentiments of the time when President Nixon attended the independence celebration in Ghana. During the festivities, Nixon asked a group of people, "How does it feel to be free?" To which they responded, "We wouldn't know. We're from Alabama."[39] This awkward situation illustrated not only the President's own ignorance about the degree to which members of Africa and the African Diaspora were interwoven, but

[39] Kevin Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 5.

also his government's hypocrisy in failing to address the racial oppression at home while celebrating a black achievement abroad. For the first time, in Ghana, Nixon was also obliged to meet with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to discuss the situation of black Americans back home. The interconnection between black Americans and Africans was highly discouraged by the US government. The government did not want to draw attention to the harsh treatment of blacks in America during a period when it was trying to promote democracy by portraying the US as a great supporter of human rights and justice. Kevin Gaines points out that instead of actually conceding civil rights and justice to black Americans, the government opted to ignore the demands of the non-violent Civil Rights Movement and to imprison any African American that posed a threat to the government's idealized view of America. Furthermore, while the government told African American leaders not to get involved in African Affairs, the US continued to be a supporter of white racist regimes, such as the one in South Africa. Pan-Africanism, then, was not only reinforced by the success of Ghanaian independence, but also by the perpetuation of globalized racism and neo-colonialism.

While not all members of the African Diaspora linked themselves with Africa, there were a few who passionately advocated for Pan-Africanist liberation movements. George Padmore was one of Pan-Africanism's most ardent proponents. He recruited countless black men and women to work towards global black liberation, insisting that "black's most natural allies were other black people."[40] While he encouraged people to educate themselves by learning the ideologies of leaders like Marx and Lenin, he taught that non-blacks could not be trusted to liberate the black man.[41] Padmore, like some of the other black "radicals," was a communist who viewed capitalism as outdated an unjust and believed that "black exploiters must not be allowed to replace white ones."[42]

[40] Gaines, 45.
[41] Ibid., 45.
[42] Ibid., 45.

While it may seem that Pan-Africanism was structured along racial lines, Nkrumah's brand of Pan-Africanism was not as radical or racial as may be assumed. Nkrumah most certainly believed in the racial solidarity of Africa with the African diaspora. By hosting Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., whom he had never met, Nkrumah sought to create a Pan-African alignment with the African American Civil Rights Movement. Numerous African Americans had sought refuge in Ghana during the mid-Twentieth Century, working as journalists, cabinet members, and in other non-political careers. Nkrumah's Ghana had also held the first All African People's Conference in 1958 and aligned itself with the Afro-Asian[43] nations as well. And in 1960, Ghana held the First Conference of African Women and Women of African Descent. Nkrumah was very progressive on extending political rights and power to women. It is unquestionable that Nkrumah supported the freedom struggles of black people across the world, but the extent to which he promoted racial solidarity was limited.

Padmore's redefinition of "African" was non-racial. For Padmore and Nkrumah, an African was "anyone born on the continent, regardless of race, color, or religion, who believed in 'one man, one vote' and in political, economic, and social equality."[44] As the leader of a newly independent state, it was important for Nkrumah to create allies across racial boundaries. Nkrumah walked a very fine line in order to keep the support of the United States government and the governments of other Western and Eastern European countries. Particularly in the later years of his administration, Nkrumah "subordinated his pan-African opposition to American racism to what he perceived as his own and Ghana's political self-interest." He would be slow to make a fuss about demonstrations of racism against black Americans and also refused to meet with Malcolm X for extended periods of time in order not to appear in favor of X's radical anti-white and anti-American rhetoric. Nkrumah, although he was a Pan-Africanist, was also a politician and very pragmatic in his words and actions. Despite his pragmatism, Nkrumah's Ghana

[43] Many Pan-Africanists have considered the dark-skinned people of India, the indigenous people of Australia, and other dark-skinned and oppressed peoples "black." The Palestinians were also sometimes included.
[44] Gaines, 78.

continued to serve as a refuge for black activists and Nkrumah as a source of inspiration for liberation movements in America.

The United States

The general sentiment that existed prior to the Civil Rights Movement and still sometimes today is that Africa is backwards and in desperate need of civilization and Christianity. Even the founders of the AME Church and other Back-to-Africa Movements looked at Africa more as a child that needed to be taught rather than as a mother who held her own wisdom. But by the time the Civil Rights Movement started, more African Americans and Africans were able to see how truly similar their experiences were. Both had African origins, both had been exploited by whites because of their skin color, both continued to suffer under a racist system, and they both needed to fight back.

The Civil Rights Movement started after black veterans returned home from World War II. They returned angry because while they were fighting for freedom and democracy abroad, they knew they did not have freedom or democracy at home. Similarly to the West Indian veterans after WWI, African American veterans returned in the 1940s and voiced their anger and grievances. Whole black communities were affected and began to organize on a local, grassroots level. In 1954, the Supreme Court issued its famous decision in *Brown v. the Board of Education* that schools that were separate were inherently unequal and should therefore be integrated. From this moment forward, the Civil Rights Movement took off, and growing frustrations from the slow progress of this movement led to the more militant Black Power Movement.

The differences between the two movements are always highlighted, and the former movement is often given more validity because it was less threatening to mainstream America. The Civil Rights

Movement had a different approach than the Black Power Movement. It was committed to non-violence and saw integration as the vehicle of progress for African Americans. Organizations such as the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were heavily involved in staging sit-ins to desegregate restaurants, buses, schools, and other public spaces. They sought to reform an unjust system through its own politics. They registered black people to vote and they formed political parties such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. They had some success. They had begun to integrate white-only schools and they had achieved the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. But many African Americans had grown frustrated with America's slow pace of change and were enraged by American racism and violence, and they believed that more radical action was needed. The Civil Rights Movement and Black Power Movement were part of the same movement to empower African Americans; the only difference between them, according to Dr. Alridge of the Institute for African American Studies, was that the Black Power Movement sought "the acquisition of black wealth, black political power, and black social power as opposed to only civil rights."[45]

The Nation of Islam (NOI) was a pioneer of the Black Freedom Movement. The NOI had taken pride in reforming African American convicts into leaders within their family and community. In 1934, Elijah Muhammad became the Minister of the new religion which sought to "lay the base for a New World Order of Peace and Righteousness on the foundation of Truth and Justice; to put down tyrants and to change the world into a Heaven on Earth."[46] It was originally intended to reeducate and restore people of African descent in America, and it was very popular in the mid-1900s for black men and women who had grown tired of the alternatives. El-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz, formerly known as Malcolm X, became the spokesperson for the organization in 1960 and is most remembered for his oratory

[45] Derrick Alridge.
[46] Mother Tynetta Muhammad, "A Brief History on the origin of The Nation of Islam, A Nation of Peace and Beauty," 1996, accessed Nov 18, 2009, www.noi.org.

denouncing white people and the pacifist Civil Rights Movement down South. In his opinion, the "Uncle Tom Negroes" were brainwashed into thinking that times were getting better and were seeking to belong to a white world that did not want them. Passivity, in his opinion, was not going to get them anywhere; therefore, justice should be sought by any means necessary. Malcolm X felt that as long as whites were using violence to suppress the blacks, blacks were entitled to use violence to defend themselves. In one speech, Malcolm X said to the crowd "Those of you who came here expecting us to say, 'Love the white man,' you have come to the wrong place. Those of you who have come here expecting us to tell you to turn the other cheek to the brutality of the white man, again I say, you have come to the wrong place."[47] As people stood in the rain listening, X advised them to defend themselves against violent racism: "We teach you to obey the law, but if he [the white man] puts his hand on you, we expect you to see to it that he doesn't put his hand on anybody else."[48] What is often overlooked, however, is that Malcolm X fervently encouraged African Americans to act with self-control and, as the years passed, his opinion of the passive Civil Rights Leaders down South changed. In another speech, he said that he had forgotten the negative comments made by other African American leaders and that he hoped they could all forget their differences. "I am praying," he continued, "that they will also be able to forget the many bad things that I've said about them so we can sit down and try to find some common approach to solve this problem that is of common and beneficial use to all of us."[49]

Although their approaches were different, the Civil Rights and Black Power leaders shared one goal. Both groups of people had endured the racism and inequality of life in America and sought to end white racism and to gain rights and opportunities for African Americans. They wanted to curb poverty in their communities and to create an environment where black people could get a good education and attain political and economic power. Both movements were two halves of one very important Black

[47] *Like it is,* Dir. Dan Fanelli, WABC-TV News and Public Affairs, 1975, VHS.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*

Freedom Movement which lasted from the 1940s until the 1980s. And while both of them had started out as national movements, seeking gains for African Americans, both of them had expanded their philosophies to incorporate the world, and especially people of African descent.

Both Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X had traveled to Africa and returned to the United States changed men. King had been invited to Ghana to celebrate its independence in 1957, and when he returned to his congregation in Atlanta, his speeches were about Nkrumah's vision of African nationalism and Pan-Africanism. He began to use evidence of successful liberation struggles in Africa as support for the desegregation movement in America. He taught his congregation about the history, geography and economic exploitation of Africa and the Gold Coast. He discussed Nkrumah's good will and humble origins, and his desire to see justice rule in Africa and the United States. Furthermore, King expressed his wish that "Americans by the hundreds and thousands would emigrate to Ghana to lend their technical support."[50] He recalled to his congregation the "beautiful experience" of seeing American civil rights activists and African "children and elderly alike yelling 'Freedom!'… as he eased into a now familiar peroration: 'Free at last, free at last, Great God Almighty, I'm free at last.'"[51]

Similarly, Malcolm X returned from his world travels advocating from a different perspective. He not only converted to the traditional Sunni Islam, but he also began trying to forge Pan-African connections. He attended a Civil Rights Conference in the South where he met with King in an attempt to forge a mutual relationship of combating American injustice. He also formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), modeled after the Organization of African Unity (OAU). It is important to mention that Malcolm X was the son of an ardent Garveyite, someone who had followed the Pan-African movement of Marcus Garvey. It should not be surprising, therefore, that in 1964 Malcolm X and Pan-Africanist John Hendrik Clarke formed the OAAU with the intent of uniting not only African

[50] Gaines, 84.
[51] Ibid., 83.

Americans to African Americans, but also of uniting African Americans to the African continent. He had travelled to Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Egypt, and Senegal telling Africans about the plight of African Americans, and he had seen the effects of white racism in these countries as well. Despite the ignorance of many African Americans about Africa, he firmly believed that the struggles of Africans and African Americans were linked, and he told the people, "You can't hate the roots of a tree and not the hate tree. You can't hate your origins and not end up hating yourself."[52] The OAAU was his main vehicle for driving all people of African descent closer together to achieve their common goal. The OAAU encouraged self-reliance among African Americans by supporting the creation of black-only businesses and refusing donations from non-black sources. It also held the Pan-Africanist idea that African rulers were more legitimate for African Americans than the American government.[53] Indeed, X took on an international mindset. Following in the example of South Africa, he wanted to bring charges against the American government for human rights violations because he now believed that "Our problem is not a Negro problem; it's a human problem. It is not a problem of civil rights; it's a problem of human rights."[54] American legislation alone would not solve the problem, and Malcolm continued to look to the international community for support until his assassination in 1965.

Inspired by the more radical movements of the Twentieth Century, in 1966 Huey Newton and Bobby Seale created the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. It started in Oakland, California one year after the Watts Riot in August 1965 when black people looted and rioted for six days in protest of police brutality and the poor conditions of their community in South Central Los Angeles. Newton, Seale, and many of the new Panthers had educated themselves by reading the works of socialists and communists worldwide like Marx and Lenin. They were also heavily influenced by Malcolm X and Robert F. Williams. Both X and Williams had preached a message of self-defense and were known to own a gun for

[52] *Like it is.*
[53] "Organization of Afro-American Unity, *Black Past,* accessed Nov 15, 2009, http://www.blackpast.org/?q=aah/organization-afro-american-unity-oaau-1965.
[54] *Like it is.*

protection. Both had criticized the Civil Rights Movement for being too passive and for trying to achieve integration instead of something closer to Black Nationalism. The Black Panther Party outlined its vision and ten-point program which had its origins in the ideologies of X and Williams, but were suited to meet a new generation. Their ten-point program called "What We Want" included things such as: freedom and self-determination, housing, exemption from military service, justice, "an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people," and "an end of robbery by the white man of our Black Community."[55] The style of speaking about and writing about important people and places changed with the Black Power Movement. In this ten-point program, the Panthers intentionally capitalized "Black Community." Members of the Black Power Movement refused to submit to the Americanized education and culture. America was spelled "Amerika" and sometimes "Amerikkka," and Africa was spelled "Afrika" in the way that it has been spelled in many African countries. This rejection of Westernized culture was not only evident in the writings of the Black Power Movement, but also in dress and style of black Americans.

In the 1960s many African Americans began to reclaim their blackness, their African roots. Scholars have written about the inferiority complexes of black Americans as a result of them believing that white was beautiful and black was ugly. From Du Bois to Toni Morrison, writers throughout history have shown how black people did not want to look black and especially not "call us an African, and" Malcolm X continued, "in hating Africa, we ended up hating ourselves."[56] The Black Power Movement took blackness and made it a source of pride. Artists like James Brown, the Chi-Lites, and Gil Scott-Heron began producing music that publicized the movement, particularly with "Say It Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud" and "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised." Supporters of the movement and the popular aesthetic stopped putting chemicals in their hair to make it straight, and instead starting wearing Afros

[55] Jennifer B. Smith, *An International History of The Black Panther Party,* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), 32-33.
[56] *Like it is.*

and braids. They developed "soul" handshakes and "soul" talk which were only shared by truly "righteous" brothers and sisters.[57] Some wore stylish bell bottoms and silk shirts, while many others adopted a more Afro-centric style with dashikis and big beaded necklaces. They took on various African hairstyles from the Yoruba, the Amenhotep, the people of Kenya and from all of Africa in the art of cornrowing.[58] "We have to stop being ashamed of being black," began Stokely Carmichael in a speech in 1966, "A broad nose, a thick lip and nappy hair is us and we are going to call that beautiful whether they like it or not."[59] Even soul food had its origins not in Southern slavery, but in Africa. From gumbo, to chitterlings and yams, soul food survived centuries and distance and became a proud element of blackness during the Black Power Movement.

This desire to culturally reconnect with Africa was also evident in the creation and practice of Kwanzaa. Kwanzaa was created in 1966, in the middle of the Black Freedom Movement and at the beginning of the more radical Black Power Movement. Maulana Karenga started it in Los Angeles with the purpose of allowing black people to express African culture in a restorative and uplifting way. The entire cultural practice is heavily rooted in Pan-Africanism. It is celebrated by millions of people living in continental Africa and the Diaspora, and its stress on the relationship between the two groups has been "from its very beginning part of its central meaning and message."[60] The language that celebrants of Kwanzaa greet each other in is Swahili because Swahili is considered a Pan-African language, not specific to a single ethnic group or country. The colors of the Kwanzaa flag, the bandera, are black, red, and green based on the colors chosen by Marcus Garvey for the flag of all African people. Karenga writes

[57] William L. Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon*: *The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).
[58] Ibid., 201.
[59] Ibid., 201.
[60] Maulana Karenga, *Kwanzaa: A Celebration of Family, Community, and Culture,* (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 1998), 31.

that black is for the people, red is for their struggle, and green is for the future that they achieve after the struggle.[61]

Kwanzaa was created during a time when black, especially Africa, was denigrated. Africa was considered savage and black was ugly. Kwanzaa's goal was to create pride for African descendants in their African roots by calling for "ingathering of the people, reinforcing their cultural values and the bonds between them as a people, and sharing the beauty, richness and meaningfulness of African culture."[62] The seven basic values of Kwanzaa are deeply embedded in the ideals of not only Africa, but also of the African American Black Freedom Movement: Unity, Self-Determination, Collective Work and Responsibility, Cooperative Economics, Purpose, Creativity, and Faith. Kwanzaa encourages cooperation over competition as in the traditional African way of life, and it is practiced after Christmas in order to allow people to buy presents outside of the commercialized holiday season. Furthermore, Kwanzaa's values and practices are "selected from peoples from all parts of Africa, south and north, east and west, in a true spirit of Pan-Africanism."[63] While Kwanzaa was a cultural expression of blackness, the Black Panther Party wanted to restore political power for black people.

The term "Black Power" was coined by Stokely Carmichael, a man who traversed the many different forms of black activism during the mid-Twentieth Century. The Trinidadian Carmichael became a leader within SNCC, a non-violent Civil Rights organization, but by the mid-1960s he had shifted his allegiances to the more militant Black Panther Party. Between 1966 and 1967, Carmichael began using the phrase "black power" in speeches and at rallies throughout the nation. "Black Power" not only necessitated armed struggle, but it necessitated a struggle for greater political and economic power. It meant, as Carmichael wrote in the Preface of his first book, *Black Power,* "that black people see themselves as part of a new force, sometimes called the 'Third World;' that we see our struggle as

[61] Karenga, 9.
[62] Ibid., 6.
[63] Ibid., 15.

closely related to liberation struggles around the world."[64] Carmichael had traveled to Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guinea, Ghana, and later South Africa. Although he is often remembered as the outspoken Black Panther, he was a Pan-Africanist. For Carmichael, Pan-Africanism was the "highest political expression of Black Power," and Pan-Africanism was necessary because black people had suffered as members of a group, and therefore, they should liberate themselves as a group.[65] He studied with Kwame Nkrumah and within one year declared his position that African Americans' sole ideology should be Pan-Africanism, and the first step toward achieving Pan-Africanism was restoring the deposed Kwame Nkrumah to power.[66] Carmichael was not a well-known leader of Pan-Africanism, but he was heavily influenced by the cultural re-Africanization of black America during the 1960s and 1970s. Like so many others, Carmichael denounced his American name and chose an African name, Kwame Toure. He married Miriam Makeba, the South African singer who went into exile in the United States during Apartheid. Even when he was 57 years-old, when he was dying of cancer, he traveled to South Africa, inspiring many of the leaders of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, especially the members of the Pan-African Congress. Carmichael wanted to reconnect with Africa in every possible way. Even though he started his political career focused on the conditions of life in black America, he spent the last years trying to unite African Americans and the African continent as a whole. Like Carmichael, the Black Panther Party began to internationalize, and it started with Cuba.

The Black Panthers had studied Cuba and its policies of creating a racially tolerant country. As a result, throughout the mid-Twentieth Century, many African American radicals fled to Cuba in order to escape being arrested and possibly killed by the United States government. Robert F. Williams went there and broadcasted his radio program Radio Free Dixie to blacks throughout the United States.

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[64] Donald J. McCormack, "Stokely Carmichael and Pan-Africanism: Back to Black Power," *The Journal of Politics,* Vol. 35, No. 2, (Cambridge University Press, May 1973), 391.
[65] Ibid., 396.
[66] Ibid., 406-407. In 1964, Nkrumah declared himself the President of Ghana for life. He was overthrown by the military in 1966 and died in exile in Romania in 1972.

Assata Shakur, a Black Panther, went to Cuba to avoid being wrongfully convicted by the US government for killing a cop.[67] Eldridge Cleaver also spent some time in Cuba.

Cleaver and the Black Panthers planned to start their own radio program and use Cuba as a base for distributing information to the United States. He said, however, that "not only did these things never take place, the Cubans never had any intention of allowing them to."[68] Cleaver soon realized that Cuba was not as he had dreamt it would be. His black police guard was taken away from him, and when he had tried to do research on Antonio Maceo, the Afro-Cuban liberator, the National Library prevented access to materials on him. Jose Martí, however, was displayed everywhere and proclaimed to be the liberator of Cuba. Against the government's will, Cleaver had baptized and inducted people into the Black Panther Party. He continued to meet with African American migrants to the country and to question the activities of the Cuban government. He learned that racism still functioned in the country. The highest ranking officials in government were almost all white, and the justification for this was that, "there aren't enough educated black people or 'they ain't ready yet,'" and for Cleaver, this was racism.

It wasn't long before Cleaver relocated. Cleaver resented being kept in seclusion. He wasn't allowed to freely walk and talk to people; he had to do these things in private. Other Black Panthers were supposed to join Cleaver in Cuba, but the government had lied and told him that they did not want to visit anymore. Eventually, the Cuban government made plans for Cleaver to go to Algeria and visit his wife. He was only supposed to go for one or two weeks, but when arrived, he was greeted with a much friendlier government and found what he had expected to find in Cuba.

Having received independence from France in 1962, Algeria was a major center of liberation movements during the mid-Twentieth Century. There were liberation movements from all over the

[67] Assata Shakur still lives in Cuba today because she if she returns, she will be arrested.
[68] Eldridge Cleaver and Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Eldridge Cleaver on Ice," *JSTOR*, accessed June 16, 2009, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2935422.

world, and, for a few years, the Algerian government was particularly supportive of the Black Panthers. While Cleaver was there, the Organization of African Unity held the first Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algeria. Leaders of member countries and liberation movements came from all over Africa and Palestine to display information and art about their respective organizations and movements. The Black Panthers were personally invited to the festival, and were later given official recognition and sanctuary in Algeria along with many other liberation movements. The Algerian government, unlike the Cuban government, was authentic about its commitment to liberation and decolonization, and because of this, Cleaver believed that "Algeria waged what was probably the most admirable war of liberation in Africa."[69] Cleaver became committed to the cause of Pan-Africanism, and the Black Panthers began to internationalize their movement. Even though the party ended in the 1980s, its legacy of self-determination and armed self-defense lived on among African Americans and Africans.

South Africa

The interesting case of South Africa is that while the rest of the colonized world, Latin America, Asia, and Africa, was moving towards independence, in 1948 the South African government reinforced its segregationist policies. With the hope inspired by liberation movements in places like Ghana and the United States, however, black[70] people in South Africa continued their fight for liberation.

In 1912, three years after the founding of the NAACP, the African National Congress (ANC) formed in South Africa with the primary goals of abolishing the Pass Laws and the Land Act and of achieving equal rights and opportunities with whites in order to establish a racially unified South

[69] Cleaver and Gates.
[70] The term "black" in South Africa sometimes refers to all people who were not white: Indians, Coloureds, and Blacks.

Africa.[71] In 1935, the government created a white organization to represent the voice of the black African population called the African Representative Council and established a separate election for black Africans to vote on these members. Originally, the ANC permitted its white members to serve on the Council, but when the All-African Convention formed, it boycotted both the separate elections and the Council. The All-African Convention sought to organize African and, eventually, non-white organizations against discriminatory laws. It joined with coloured organizations in the Cape in what was called the Non-European Unity Movement. It demanded that blacks, coloureds, and all people be treated equally regardless of race. Despite the relative success of the movement, the ANC retained far more support and endurance.

In the early 1950s, the ANC joined with other organizations to begin passively resisting the Apartheid laws. Along with the South African Indian Congress, the ANC launched the Defiance Campaign which consisted of recruiting and sending out volunteers from each of South Africa's racial groups: African, Coloured, Indian, and White. They deliberately disobeyed the unjust laws such as riding in separate train cars and using separate facilities. They were taught to expect imprisonment, and, indeed, 8,000 of the volunteers were imprisoned. They also went out into rural and urban communities to write down the people's demands and expectations of their government. All of the demands would be comprised in the 1956 Freedom Charter which was considered the ideal constitution of the people and is used in the current Constitution of post-1994 South Africa.

A current representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) spoke about how in 1959, the PAC formed after the Freedom Charter was drafted in 1955.[72] The ANC, initially called the South African Native National Congress, was formed to help liberate the native African people by other native Africans. In 1949, the ANC abandoned the Program of Action and, with it, they abandoned the idea that

[71] Gwendolyn P. Carter, "African Nationalist Movements in South Africa," *The Massachusetts Review,* Vol. 5, No. 1 (The Massachusetts Review Inc.,1963), 147-164.
[72] Pan-Africanist Congress representative, Personal Interview, June 22, 2009.

Africans need not be liberated by Africans themselves. The Freedom Charter, the representative said, diluted that point and made whites not only liberators, but victims who deserved to share access to the land. The Freedom Charter, then, altered the "entire objective of the struggle- that in essence the struggle has been about the dispossession of the land of the African people and their subjugation to being sub-human."[73]

The Pan-Africanist Congress formed in 1959 under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe. Its goal was to fight for the total liberation of the African people, which included the redistribution of sources for the benefit of the African people and the total integration of the African socially, economically, and politically. It also included the unity of the African people throughout the continent- not the unity of governments, he specified, but the free movement of people which necessitates the total dismantlement of the artificial boundaries that were created. The improvement of education and a redress of health issues, especially HIV/Aids and malaria, were also noted. In general, the PAC hoped to better the general welfare of the African people so that they could live with dignity and have a decent standard of living.[74]

As its name implies, the Pan-Africanist Congress is an organization which supports Pan-Africanism. In some cases, especially in the past, the term Pan-Africanism has applied to the unity of the African continent, and other times it has meant the unity of the African people, including the global diaspora of people of African descent. The Pan-Africanist Congress originally had the goal of uniting the African continent. Indeed, it was heavily influenced by West African liberators such as Kwame Nkrumah and the independence of Ghana because they gave black South Africans hope that they too would become independent. Today, the PAC still maintains these goals. The representative failed to mention, however, that Kwame Nkrumah was heavily influenced by other black people such as W.E.B Du Bois,

[73] PAC representative.
[74] The PAC is a parliamentary organization now. It currently holds one seat in the Parliament but its goals have not changed, and are not likely to change because the PAC believes that it can best accomplish these goals.

George Padmore, and Marcus Garvey, which means that the PAC was inevitably influenced by a global spectrum of black people. After the PAC was banned in 1960, the organization would continue to operate in other African nations such as Tanzania and Nigeria and would train members of its liberation army in these places as well.

Particularly throughout the 1960s – 1980s, all people and organizations that were against Apartheid were either banned, imprisoned, sent into exile, or all of the above. Gwendolyn Carter wrote that during Apartheid the regime "justifies this trend as a response to the growing militancy of non-white demands and actions and by pointing to what it calls 'the South African solution to the racial problem.'"[75] Unfortunately, these restrictions, made it very difficult for organizations to operate within South Africa, but they also led to the establishment of relations with people and organizations in other countries. Many South African political activists were exiled and forced to live in neighboring African countries, Europe, and often times, the United States, helping Pan-African relationships to develop abroad.

As blacks became more aware of each other, the Black Consciousness movement began to take a stronghold, especially in South Africa and the United States. The belief that the Pan-Africanist Congress held, that Africans should liberate themselves, was the very same message that became the basic ideology of Black Consciousness in South Africa. Steven "Bantu" Biko, who is considered the founder of Black Consciousness in South Africa, galvanized this idea among young black South Africans. Biko wrote that Black Consciousness is "an attitude of mind and a way of life… Its essence is the realization by the Black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression- the blackness of their skin- and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that

[75] Carter, 147.

bind them to perpetual servitude."[76] Steve Biko consulted Robert Sobukwe on every aspect, but he was also an avid reader of the texts of prominent African American intellectuals.

As described by author Themba Sono, the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa was heavily influenced by African American people and ideas. The movement's leaders had read *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, where they realized how similar the African American experience was to their own, specifically, with regard to the racism of whites. They had read *The System* by H. Rap Brown and had begun to use the term "the system" themselves to refer to every aspect of that intangible structure which sought to keep black people oppressed. Indeed, Sono drew direct parallels between Shirley Chisholm's article "Black is an Attitude" and the subsequent South African definition of Black Consciousness as "as attitude of mind." The writings of Stockely Carmichael and Eldridge Cleaver were also avidly read along with several articles published in *Ebony* magazine. Before listening to the recording of Malcolm X or reading *Black Viewpoints, Black Power*, the leaders of the movement did not refer to themselves as black. Individually, they were Bantu (black African), Indian, or Coloured, and as a group, they were "non-whites." But they began to call themselves "black" after becoming familiar with the discourse in America. The current President AZAPO explained that they learned that they must define themselves in positive terms, "black," instead of as negatives of other people, "non-whites." For these South African leaders, black people were defined as those "who are by law or tradition… discriminated against."[77]

Steve Biko's beliefs on Black Consciousness were the basis for the organization that he formed, the South African Student Organization (SASO). SASO was very instrumental in organizing young black people to resist the apartheid regime. They had participated heavily in the Soweto march on June 16,

[76] Themba Sono, *Reflections on the Origins of Black Consciousness in South Africa,* (Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1980), 108-109.
[77] Ibid., 42. This definition of black people was printed in the SASO Policy Manifesto of 1971 and remains the definition of black people within AZAPO.

1976, which is always remembered as the incident that sparked the beginning of a period of violence between the government and the people. The event was exceptional because it involved the marching of thousands of young students, those in middle and high school who were later attacked by the police. Steve Biko later died while in police detention and is remembered as one of the great South African leaders who died so that the dream of Black Consciousness might be realized. SASO was banned in 1977.

The ideas of Black Consciousness, however, lived on. They lived on partly in the underground operations of the Pan-Africanist Congress, but especially in the more recent AZAPO- Azanian People's Organization. AZAPO[78] was formed as a continuation of the many Black Consciousness organizations that had been banned, including SASO and the Black People's Convention (BPC).[79] Many members of AZAPO had been members of the previous Black Consciousness organizations and had read a plethora of literature in order to develop a structured philosophy for South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement. From Franz Fanon and Leopold Senghor, they had learned to embrace their blackness as a positive thing. "The apartheid regime has been so brutal, especially on the psychological level. The regime taught that 'everything black was negative' and that black people were 'a worthless people.' "[80] So the readings of the Negritude Movement gave South Africans pride in being black. And when asked about how Malcolm X and Stockely Carmichael affected them, the President of AZAPO responded, "They are the heroes of Black Consciousness because of their militancy and courage to challenge the system." "The system," he said, "radicalized most of us" because it was so repressive that it required them to be militant in order to "dislodge the system."

During the final years of apartheid, South Africa declared itself in a state of emergency as violence continued to escalate between the apartheid regime and its resisters. The organization most

[78] The term Azania comes the historical Arabic term for this part of Africa, meaning land of the black people.
[79] Mosibudi Mangena, President of AZAPO, Personal Interview, June 29, 2009.
[80] Ibid.

influential in South Africa during the 1980s was the United Democratic Front (UDF) whose objective was to make South Africa ungovernable, and thereby, force a change of power in the country. The UDF was formed by countless young people as an off-shoot of the ANC. It was composed of teenagers and young adults of all racial backgrounds who joined together in protest against the ANP in marches and demonstrations. But violence also became a tool of protest. Between the ANC's liberation army Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the PAC's army Azanian People's Liberation Army, AZAPO's army, and the new UDF members, there were numerous commissions of arson, sabotage, and physical assaults. And as the prisons filled, the prospect of achieving freedom became closer and closer.

The global community was also taking steps by this period to force the apartheid regime to leave power. Members of organizations within South Africa had lobbied hard to compel international sports associations not to allow South Africa to compete. In the United States, there was a nation-wide Anti-Apartheid Movement supported by college students and businesses in every state. It was called the Divestment Campaign. In one case, African American workers refused to work for Polaroid as long as the company conducted business with South Africa.[81] Initially, Polaroid made only a few concessions, but eventually, Polaroid pulled its business from South Africa completely. The Congressional Black Caucus was also very influential in convincing the United States government to place economic sanctions on South Africa. Jesse Jackson became an ardent opponent of apartheid, and spoke not only to leaders within the United States but traveled to South Africa to lobby with citizens there. One young woman, a current worker of the ANC, recalled seeing Jesse Jackson speak at her high school, a coloured high school in a suburb of Cape Town. He had told the children that they must educate themselves before they could achieve liberation. Indeed, she said, this changed the way that they looked at the anti-apartheid struggle. Previously, the UDF's goal was to achieve liberation and then attain education, but

[81] Milfred C. Fierce, "Selected Black American Leaders and Organizations and South Africa," *Journal of Black Studies,* Volume 17, No. 3. (SAGE Publications Inc., 1987), 305-326. This section is from a paragraph of her article on the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement.

the new motto of the movement quickly became “Education before liberation.” With the crumbling economy and the escalating violence, freedom was imminent.

In 1990, after being transferred from Robben Island, Nelson Mandela exited Victor Verster Prison in Cape Town. The government began negotiating with Mandela on a transition away from apartheid, and although the regime was reluctant, it eventually ceded control of the government to the African National Congress. In 1994, Nelson Mandela became the first black African President of South Africa.

Brazil and Cuba

Out of 11 to 12 million Africans that were brought to the Americas during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, only 500,000 went to the United States. The rest went to Latin America and the Caribbean. They endured slavery which ended in Brazil and Cuba in 1888, later than in any other countries in the Americas. Today, blacks and mulattoes make up 30% of Cuba’s population and 40-60% of Brazil’s population. In fact, Brazil has the second largest black population in the world, second only to Nigeria.

Cuba was often cited as a racially harmonious country. Many of the fighters in Castro’s Revolution were Afro-Cubans. During slavery, some Afro-Cubans had escaped from the plantations and formed palenques in the hills. Many of them were then recruited to fight for Cuba’s independence from Spain in the late 1800s and were again recruited from the hills to fight along Fidel Castro and Che Guevara to overthrow Batista. Not only had whites and blacks fought together, after his successful revolution in 1959, Castro’s government announced that racism no longer existed in Cuba. During his visits to New York, Castro had intentionally travelled to Harlem to be surrounded by African Americans. He claimed to support the Black Power Movement and all socialist and anti-capitalist revolutions, and black radicals believed him. But although many black radicals fled to Cuba during the mid-Twentieth

Century, they were shocked to find that racism still existed. Despite the government's proclamation in 1962 that racial discrimination had been eliminated, the reality was quite different. Certainly, the government had made socio-economic concessions to black Cubans, but any political black activism was discouraged and eliminated.

Despite the Revolution's intention to prevent black political movements from forming, Afro-Cubans experienced a small Black Consciousness Movement in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1972, Angela Davis visited Cuba just one month after the concert tour by Miriam Makeba, the South African singer and wife of Stokely Carmichael. Angela Davis was a Black Panther, but she was also a Communist and a picture of black beauty. "She was beautiful, like Makeba, not in spite of her *pelo malo* or bad hair, but because of it."[82] She was introduced to a mass of Cubans with her huge Afro, a natural hairstyle that encouraged Afro-Cuban women to take pride in their natural beauty as well. During Fidel Castro's introduction of Angela Davis, the people continuously applauded and cheered. "We just want to see Angela Davis," they said.[83] Although many black and white Cubans were opposed, afros were made legal in Cuba and black Cubans were no longer arrested for styling their hair naturally.[84] But the Castro regime had still forbidden any political organizations that were formed outside of official party structures, and this especially applied to political groups organized along racial lines.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the government continued to dismantle black political movements. But unlike the tactic they had used in the 1960s of complete repression and elimination, they had begun the "divide and conquer" technique. Most people were arrested and interrogated. Those who renounced their loyalties to the movement were given government jobs and allowed to re-enter Cuban society. Those who did not, were given prison sentences and/or fled the country. This happened with the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN), the "Black Manifesto," and the "Afro-

[82] Carlos Moore, *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa,* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1988), 302.
[83] Ibid., 303.
[84] Ibid., 303.

Cuban Study Groups." Beginning in 1974, a small group of black intellectuals began to meet, not realizing that "by coming together to listen to music- jazz, soul, funk, salsa, Fela's Afro-beat- we unconsciously were fulfilling a need to talk about ourselves as Blacks."[85] They discussed African and African American literature and studied the African roots of Cuba. Small study groups began appearing in different cities throughout Cuba, and the government soon became suspicious of these "meetings" and arrested all of its leaders and interrogated anyone affiliated with the "meetings." The study groups were dissolved and never re-formed.

During the mid-Twentieth Century, there was an increasing black consciousness among Afro-Latinos who were becoming inspired more and more by the liberation and civil rights movements being fought in the United States, South Africa, and Portuguese Africa (Mozambique and Angola). Beginning in the 1970s, Afro-Latinos began creating "new 'black' movements aimed at combating the racial barriers that prevented the full integration of black and brown people into national life."[86] By the late 1980s, Brazil had as many as 343 of these groups, many of which were cultural organizations that had politicized by combining "music and merrymaking with a message of community uplift, self-reliance, and rededication to promoting African and Afro-Brazilian culture."[87] The groups began looking towards the international community for support, which they found in Western foundations for racial justice, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the Catholic Church through organizations called *Pastorales Negros* (black missions). In 1977, black Latino activists began hosting international conferences to discuss the situation of Afro-Latin America, achieving international recognition of their situation.

Although black consciousness did take shape to some extent in Brazil, the movement largely failed. De facto racial barriers still existed for most Afro-Brazilians in the form of poverty, lack of education, crime, etc. Most of the political black activists were well-educated middle or upper class

[85] Moore, 313.
[86] George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 182.
[87] Ibid., 184.

men. Not only were women largely excluded, but the movements' their targeted audience, the poorer and working class blacks, were never successfully recruited. Poor blacks could not identify with the discrimination that upper class blacks faced and were too concerned with "immediate issues of survival-food, work, medical care" than with embracing a political black identity. Black political organizations were also too weak to provide protection that larger, government-run organizations could provide. In the end, the risks of joining these black movements far exceeded the benefits for most Afro-Brazilians. Furthermore, even among upper class blacks, there had been a history of not wanting to be black. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the majority of the Afro-Brazilians newspapers chastised anything that was African. *O Bandeirante* published an article saying, "Let us not seek to perpetuate our race, but yes, to infiltrate ourselves into the bosom of the privileged race, the white race, because, we repeat, we are not Africans but rather purely Brazilian."[88] Many upper class blacks would try to avoid being identified with political black activism and most would, in fact, identify themselves as brown or white rather than black. The activists insisted that brown people were also subject to discrimination and should accept their "true identity as *negros"* and take up the cause of racial equality.[89] Some people joined, but the vast majority did not, and this is at least part of the reason why racial inequality in Brazil is so pervasive today.

Although black consciousness did not thrive as a political movement, there remains an overwhelming African presence in Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Cuban culture. The popular music and dance of present day Brazil and Cuba derive from African culture brought over by slaves in the 1700s and 1800s. Samba in Brazil and rumba in Cuba were musical styles and dances that were based in West African religious practices. Afro-Latinos blended African music with other musical styles- from Spain and Portugal- present in their cities. Both samba and rumba consisted of "call-and-response singing over

[88] Andrews, 125.
[89] Ibid., 189.

'batteries' of percussion" and "dancers' fluidity in the knees, hips, and upper body."[90] These new musical styles became very popular among the urban working class, but to the government, they represented the opposite of modernity and civilization. The government began suppressing every kind of African-based cultural practice, forcing African-based groups to adopt more "modern" names and to "civilize" their annual Carnaval. In 1925, Cuban President Machado placed a ban throughout the country on "'drums or analogous instruments of African nature' and 'bodily contortions that offend morality.'"[91] Capoeira, the martial art and dance form brought with Angolan slaves to Brazil, was outlawed in 1890. It ceased to exist in all Brazilian cities except for Salvador, where police continued to repress it through the 1930s. Although African forms of music and dance were being repressed, Afro-Cubans and Afro-Brazilians continued to practice them, often going underground.

Similarly, Afro-Cubans and Afro-Brazilians have maintained African religiosity despite government repression in the past. Cuba's practice of Santería is based on a Nigerian religion of the Yoruba. It consists of prayer, dance, and sacrifice to the orishas- the gods and goddesses of the Yoruba. It also involves divination, and, like the Conga, the religion brought by slaves from the Congo, "it was [is] a faith based on helping and healing the afflicted."[92] Santería is a blend of the Yoruba religion and Catholicism, just as Candomblé in Brazil is a mix of a Yoruba-based religion and Catholicism. Both were harshly suppressed during the late 1800s and early 1900s. It was believed my many Latino writers and intellectuals that these religions were contagious and that upper class white people were "constantly in danger of 'turning black.'"[93] Cuban newspapers actually reported that white women had been kidnapped and used for sacrifices in these Afro-Cuban 'cults.' The governments began to take on initiatives to eliminate African-based religions just as they had tried to eliminate African-based culture in general. But they failed.

[90] Andrews, 121.
[91] Ibid., 124.
[92] Ibid., 72.
[93] Andrews, 123.

Following the Great Depression, as Latin American countries were seeking to redefine national identity, the government's position on these cultural forms changed. In Brazil and Cuba, "a combination of commercial pressures and state support transformed these genres from black street music into icons of national popular culture." Both samba and rumba were adopted as popular "Latino" musical styles, and even capoeira was declared "'the only truly national sport' of Brazil" by President Vargas in 1953. Carnaval was encouraged to keep its African-based components and African-based religions were eventually tolerated. Blacks and a large of number of whites joined these religions, and they even spread to surrounding Latin American countries and major cities in the United States. With this new opportunity to freely practice their music and culture, Afro-Latinos deepened their connection to the black world.

In the 1970s and 1980s, a new generation of Afro-Latino artists and intellectuals began trying to regain their culture through a system of "reappropriation." In Brazil, Carnaval performers adopted African names, dress, and themes in their annual celebration. They insisted on the pure African form of Candomblé and preferred the Angola capoeira as opposed to the Brazilian capoeira that had been nationalized. But not everyone accepted these re-Africanized practices. Other Afro-Latinos thought that "black culture could best be reappropriated not by searching for African roots, but by experimenting with black cultural forms from the United States and the Caribbean."[94] Soul, funk, salsa, and reggae became very popular with Afro-Latino youth, even creating new genres in Brazil such as afro-reggae and samba reggae. Radio Favela opened its airwaves in 1979 with James Brown's, "I'm Black and I'm Proud." Over the years, Afro-Latinos have continued to be inspired by other members of the black Diaspora, even into the 1990s when hip hop and rap was the favorite musical genre of Afro-Latino youth.[95]

[94] Ibid., 172.
[95] Andrews, 172.

CHAPTER 3
AFRICA AND THE DIASPORA TODAY

As a result of the liberation movements fought throughout the Twentieth Century, people of African descent have achieved more political power, social inclusion, and economic equality. From the independence movements in Africa to the political and cultural movements in the Americas, black people have developed a source of pride in their history and proven their perseverance. Today, it is important to understand that people of African descent achieved success in their political movements because they were constantly interacting with each other, inspiring and being inspired by one another.

Without a doubt, people of African descent have achieved a lot in the last few decades. Only fifteen years ago, South Africa finally gained full independence with the election of Nelson Mandela as President. People around the world rejoiced at such an achievement of humanity, and three black South Africans- Nelson Mandela, Bishop Desmond Tutu, and Albert Luthuli- went on to receive the Nobel Peace Prize for their persistence and patient advocacy during Apartheid. In Cuba, the government instituted gradual reforms to reduce the structures of racism and discrimination, and in Brazil, affirmative action policies have guided schools and companies for many years. Most recently, the world, and especially people of color, celebrated the victory of Barack Obama. As the first black President of the United States, he showed how far not only black people have come, but how far humanity has come as a whole. Unfortunately, some people now think that race-related problems no longer exist. South Africa is painted as perfectly harmonious because Apartheid has ended. Brazil and Cuba have continued to claim that they are racial democracies and that they have eliminated racism. Many Americans believe

that they are living in a post-racial country because Obama is their President. These statements are simply not true. There are so many issues plaguing people of African descent, and it will require collective action to solve these problems.

Africa has the most clear-cut problems resulting from its history of colonialism and exploitation. War is pervasive throughout the continent. In Darfur, Sudan, the Arab minority of the country is in power and has taken on the objective of removing and killing the African population. They are committing this genocide against various ethnic groups simply because they are black. Further south, in the Great Lakes Region, war and human rights abuses continue to worsen. This area is home to many precious resources, and the greed over the resources has led to government corruption and constant war. Children are recruited to fight in these wars, and the international community has done very little to address the situation. To compound the problems, the genocide that occurred in Rwanda in 1994 has continued to simmer along the Western coast of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where Hutu rebels, Tutsi rebels, and Mai-Mai are engaged in tactics of looting, ethnic cleansing, and rape. Rape, of course, only worsens the growing rate of HIV/AIDS in the continent. Millions of people have died and millions of children have been orphaned, and because the poverty rate is so high, many of these orphans will not survive. Poverty is, in fact, what has kept Africa in this cycle of disease, war, misgovernment, and corruption. As long as people are poor, they cannot eat, cannot be educated, and cannot become leaders to change the crises in their countries.

Even in South Africa, one of the African countries that is doing considerably well economically, the poverty rate among the black population is extremely high. The end of Apartheid brought political rights, but the government has done very little to address the economic plight of its black citizens. Most wealth is still in the hands of the white minority, and the townships- where there is minimal running water, no sanitation, and no security- are still full of black South Africans. Furthermore, because South

Africa is viewed as stable and doing well, many Africans from across the continent come there for jobs or to escape political instability in their countries. Unfortunately, these African immigrants are faced with xenophobic violence and very little prospects for success. Roger Liwanga, who heads the Racism and Xenophobia Project at the Southern African Media and Gender Institute, came to South Africa from the Democratic Republic of the Congo a few years ago, but soon realized that South Africa was actually worse than his home country. The crime rate, especially in rape and theft, makes him feel much more insecure in South Africa, and the fact that black South Africans are attacking and killing black African immigrants only worsens the situation. "Afrophobia" is what it is called, and because so many black South Africans are poor and jobless, any outsider, especially a black foreigner, who is perceived to be doing well, is targeted. The solution to solving Africa's problems, Mr. Liwanga explained, along with instituting democracy and ensuring that the government is accountable to its people can be found in Pan-Africanism. The Pan-African movement, however, must change to meet the current situation in Africa. "Pan-Africanism," he said, "was a philosophical doctrine fighting for civic and political rights of black people. In Africa, it was about the political independence of African countries. But now, all African countries are independent. That means the movement has to change its approach. We are now in an era of 'economic colonization;' thus, we need economic independence."[96] People of African descent must now unite to address issues such as HIV and disease, poverty, and government corruption. If people don't come together to address these problems, the world will have to watch as the African people continue to suffer.

In Latin America, the challenges Afro-Latinos face are underestimated and often ignored, but they are many. Poverty is also very high among the black population. Although Africa suffers from extreme poverty, Latin America has the highest rate of income inequality in the world. This means that

[96] Roger Liwanga, Coordinator of the Racism and Xenophobia Project at SAMGI, Personal Interview, November 24, 2009.

certain groups, the white population, are getting richer while other groups, the indigenous and black populations, are getting poorer. Not only do they face economic issues, but Afro-Latinos' civil and human rights are not being protected. All of these problems exist in the case of Brazil.

Despite their overwhelming presence, blacks in Brazil are still disproportionately more marginalized than whites. They are poorer, less educated, and less represented in government. As of 2005, Brazil was rated a 56.7 on the GINI Index of income inequality, where the poorest 10% of households made 0.7% of the national income and the richest 10% made 31.27%.[97] In 1993, blacks in Brazil were "twice as likely as whites to be in poverty."[98] Brazil, though an industrializing nation, has an income inequality comparable to that of Sub-Saharan Africa. In the Brazilian town of Vasalia, there were 7,127 people living there in 1991, but the entire city was under the political and economic control of eight white land-owning families.[99] Brazil still has huge plantations, the largest coffee plantations in the world, and the same African and Italian slaves who worked the mines in the area have descendants working the coffee plantations today. As of 1992, the plantation workers did not receive wages; they received food, housing, and other services but no capital to allow them to leave the plantation. Similarly, the adopting practice of *criacao* by Brazilian elites keeps black women powerless and poor. Young black girls are 'adopted' by white families, but they serve primarily as maids, completely unequal to their white 'brothers and sisters.' At a young age, when the other white children go to school, the black adopted daughter has to stay home and cook and clean. She is not paid a wage, and she is kept until she marries or leaves and becomes a maid for a profession, since cooking and cleaning are the only skills she has learned. It is a vicious cycle because the daughters of the *criadas*, the adopted daughters, are raised

[97] "The World Factbook: Brazil", Central Intelligence Agency, accessed Nov 15, 2009, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/br.html.
[98] Charles V. Hamilton, Lynn Hamilton… et al, *Beyond Racism,* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Published, Inc., 2001), 300.
[99] France Winddance Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 17.

as housemaids just like their mothers. Most of these black women, along with the many other poor black Brazilians, do not receive an adequate education.

Brazil has one of the lowest literacy rates in South America, with only 88.6% of the population over the age of fifteen able to read and write.[100] This is especially true for the black and Italian plantations workers. Twine stated that "most agricultural workers are illiterate" and that "it is common for them to reach adulthood without completing four years of primary education."[101] In 2000, blacks in Brazil achieved less education than blacks in Apartheid South Africa, and today, black professors still make up less than one percent of Brazilian professors, also lower than the corresponding number in Apartheid South Africa.[102] Furthermore, Afro-Brazilians may have a negative self-perception because of the way that they are portrayed and treated in Brazil. In 1980s' Brazilian textbooks, blacks were, "... (1) depicted as the social inferiors to whites, (2) not portrayed in families, (3) stereotyped as similar to animals, (4) excluded from references in history or social science texts, and (5) when mentioned in history textbooks, Afro-Brazilian contributions were limited to traditional Africans."[103] Even those who attend secondary school struggled to make it into college, evidenced in the fact that in the 1990s, whites were 5 to 8.5 times more likely than blacks to attend college.[104] To help address the educational disparity, affirmative action was implemented. For centuries, voting has been reserved for white males. Blacks, especially black women, were among the very last people to receive suffrage or enfranchisement, and now, because of various forms of racism, many blacks in Brazil still cannot hold political office. Both blacks and whites said that "they didn't think that blacks possessed the skills or intelligence to be an effective politician," and many whites said that they " 'wouldn't vote for a monkey

[100] The World Factbook: Brazil.
[101] Twine, 18.
[102] Mario Osava, "Brazil: Race Quotas- Accused of Racism", *Interpress Service News Agency,* July 26, 2006, accessed Nov 21, 2007, http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=34111.
[103] Twine, 55.
[104] Ibid., 60.

to represent them.' "[105] As a result, the black representation in the government is abysmal. In the 1990s, there were 6 black Congress members out of 559, giving blacks a congressional representation of 1% even though they composed over 40% of the population.[106]

In the rest of Latin America, the statistics are similar. Blacks are consistently excluded from the economic and political progress of the country. In Colombia where blacks are 20% of the population, they are overly represented among the victims of the country's violence. Both the rebel group FARC and the government's militia are fighting over control of resources and the profit from the drug trade. Many people have been displaced, and statistics have shown that Afro-Colombians along the country's southern coast are attacked, internally displaced, and forced to become refugees in Ecuador at a higher rate than white Colombians. In Ecuador, the black population is also marginalized. Although they are only 5-8% of the population, they still have significant numbers, and they government has done very little to include or promote this demographic. Also in Cuba, although the government announced that it ended racial discrimination in 1962, racism continues to plague the country.

Certainly, Castro's Revolution brought a lot of positive change for blacks, but it did not completely resolve their problems. Within the first two years of government, Castro had integrated beaches, parks, and restaurants. Private businesses were taken over by the state and forced to hire Afro-Cuban applicants. Afro-Cubans began to prosper. They attained jobs that they had never had before, graduated from high school at a higher rate than whites,[107] and their culture was officially incorporated into the national identity of Cuba. Blacks and whites started to believe that the races were equal, but within only a few years, it was evident that the Revolution was not so committed to ending racism after all. The open discussions that the government had previously allowed on race were ended,

[105] Ibid., 70.
[106] Twine, 29.
[107] Alejandro de la Fuente, , *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth Century Cuba,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 310. From the Cuban Census of 1981.

and anyone or anything attempting to 'divide' the nation along racial lines were considered an enemy of the Revolution. Afro-Cuban cultural and religious practices such as Santería and Abakuá were targeted, and its members stereotyped as social deviants.[108] Any political organization that tried to form along racial lines, such as the short-lived Movimiento Black Power or the Afro-Cuban study groups were dismantled. Today, blacks are still stereotyped in the media as poor and socially inferior to whites. They are passed over for jobs in tourism because they don't have a "good presence," a euphemism that they are not white enough.[109] And although they have climbed the educational and economic ladders towards success, Afro-Cubans are still fairing worse than whites when it comes to the number that have completed college or gained an administrative job.[110] The problems that Afro-Cubans face, however, are not unique to Afro-Cubans. Black people around the world face many of the same challenges, even in the United States.

African Americans continue to struggle with the effects of racism and poverty in America. Since the Neoliberal Revolution of the 1980s, a significant black upper-middle class has developed, but the overall rate of income inequality in the country has gotten worse. This means that poor people today are much poorer today than poor people were twenty years ago, and many of these poor people are black Americans. Most government housing facilities are full of black residents, and many black people still cannot survive without government assistance such as food stamps. Problems related to poverty also deepen other problems in the black communities. High school drop-out rates are much higher among black children than whites, and although it has been significantly reduced since 2005, the rate of teenage pregnancy among black American girls is still a big problem. For African American women ages 25-34, AIDS is the leading cause of death.[111] Theft, murder, and drug dealing are also major problems in

[108] Moore, 305.
[109] De la Fuente, 320.
[110] Ibid., 310-311. From the Cuban Census of 1981.
[111] "Women's Health: HIV/AIDS," *U.S. Department of Health and Human Services,* accessed Nov 28, 2009, http://www.womenshealth.gov/minority/africanamerican/hiv.cfm.

black communities that need to be solved. In addition to these socio-economic challenges, racism still affects black people in America.

For many people, the arrest of Henry Louis Gates Jr. is one example that racial profiling has not been eliminated in the United States. On July 16, 2009, Dr. Henry Louis Gates Jr., a black, 58-year old Harvard Professor and world-renowned historian, was attempting to enter his home, but the door was jammed. As he and his driver were trying to open the door, a white woman passing by reported that she suspected a robbery because she had seen two black men with backpacks trying to force open the door of the home.[112] He was arrested for disorderly conduct, and while Gates responded to the officer virulently, the officer had no right to arrest him because he had intruded on Gates' personal property based solely on a report that two black men had tried to enter the house. This incident sparked a lot of criticism of the police system, but one of the clearest examples of racism was in the incident at the Holocaust Museum. In June 2009, an 88-year old white supremacist shot and killed an African-American security guard at the Holocaust Museum. The perpetrator was a Holocaust denier and supporter of the Neo-Nazis, and it was clear that he had committed this crime as an act of racist terrorism. Still, the most shocking event in recent American history was the story of a small high school in Charleston, Mississippi. Although schools were ordered to integrate in 1970, Charleston High School had a separate white prom and a separate black prom until 2008 when the school accepted Morgan Freeman's offer to pay for an integrated prom. White students and their parents were fearful about what would happen; some of them still held a separate white prom and refused to attend the integrated prom, but the integrated prom went smoothly, and the students who went, enjoyed it. Although segregated proms had been the norm in this small town, it was mind-blowing for most people to think that Americans still organized themselves around blatantly segregated activities, that after so many movements fought and bills

[112] Melissa Trujillo, "Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Arrested, Police Accused of Racial Profiling," *The Huffington Post,* July 20, 2009, accessed Nov 23, 2009, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/07/20/henry-louis-gates-jr-arre_n_241407.html.

passed, black children and white children still could not dance together. But this was not the only case. Another high school in Montgomery County, Georgia does the same thing, and although the students claim to want an integrated prom, they continue to justify the segregated proms because, "It's how it's always been."[113] Just because something is tradition, does not mean that it should continue, especially when it deprives people of their civil and human rights.

[113] Sara Corbett, "A Prom Divided," *New York Times*, May 21, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/24/magazine/24prom-t.html?_r=1.

AFTERWORD

This paper has focused on Pan-Africanism because at least some of the solutions to the problems of people of African descent can be found in Pan-Africanism. Organizations like WADU, the World African Diaspora Union of Atlanta, Georgia is trying to address some of black people's challenges. The organization was founded in 2007 in response to the Organization for African Unity's declaration that the African Diaspora was to be considered the 6th region of Africa. One representative of WADU explained WADU's goals of joining Africa and the African Diaspora. Slavery and colonization are the same, he explained, and his organization seeks to unite all of Africa back together, because "once united," he said, "Africa can have one strong voice in the world" which will allow it to have power and influence over its own affairs.[114] Similarly, The Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (MXGM) has been trying to address the problems of African people. It is composed of "New Afrikans" who seek to attain liberation and human rights for "Afrikan people in the United States and around the world."[115] Although heavily influenced by the African American Malcolm X, it is very Pan-Africanist in its ultimate goals and recognizes that "our shared oppression and the interdependence of our liberation redefines our borders."[116] The only negative is that organizations like this can be very anti-organized religion and just as rigid and intolerant of different ideas as have been the systems of exploitation in the past. So, along with supporting these or starting one's own organization, there are many more ways to get involved in helping Africa and Afro-descended people.

[114] Kofi, representative of the World Africa Diaspora Union, Personal Interview, Nov 15, 2009.
[115] "About MXGM," *Malcolm X Grassroots Movement,* accessed Nov 22, 2009, http://mxgm.org/web/about-mxgm/putting-in-work.html.
[116] "About MXGM."

African Studies Departments now flourish in universities across the country. They started during the Black Freedom Movement as a result of people constantly pushing to learn about Africa and black people. Taking classes in African Studies is a great way to learn about Africa and its people because it is difficult to understand the complexities of the problems Africa is facing without studying it. And with the knowledge obtained from studying it, then, people must begin to take action to solve these problems. These problems that exist for African people are not specific to just Africa people. People of all ethnicities and language groups face similar problems, and technically, Africa is not just the motherland of black people, but the motherland of all people, and she needs her children's help. But as long as non-African people, black and white, continue to look at Africa as a completely foreign continent, we will all be worse off.

The best way to learn about and promote Africa is by going there. The most necessary prerequisite for the world becoming a better place is for people to embrace a global identity. History has shown that, in the words of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." As long as human rights abuses continue to occur in one country, it shows that humanity is still inhumane, and therefore, we are all at risk. From the many activists introduced in this paper, we have seen that their lives changed when they travelled. It changed for Marcus Garvey when he went to work in Latin America and realized that the problems black people faced in his native Jamaica were the same problems they faced abroad. Malcolm X changed after his travels to the Middle East and Africa where he was realized that not all white people were racists, that some of them supported racial equality. It is a proven theory that travelling abroad, outside of one's blissful ignorance, can lead to understanding and unexpected fulfillment. For this reason, W.E.B. Du Bois strongly encouraged African Americans to visit Africa in order to get a better understanding of their history and to proceed into the

future. But “Pan-Africanism,” Dr. Alridge asserted, “doesn’t just mean African Americans connecting with people in Africa, but it means connecting with people of African descent across the globe.”[117]

Travelling to Africa is especially important for black people because there are still so many divisions between black people, and no one can help us until we first help each other. This is not to say that all black people are the same, but there is a definite linkage between us and we must recognize our common history and humanity in order to truly love and support each other.

I hope that reading this paper has been as enlightening for you as it has been for me to write it. But more importantly, I hope that you now see the many ways that people of African descent have continuously helped each other so that you will continue this legacy of helping your brothers and sisters across the globe.

[117] Derrick Alridge.

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