

Africa In America And America In Africa: The Politics Of Cultural Reciprocity [1](#)

by

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The intellectual and systemic process of the historical patterning of the cultural reciprocity between Africa and America is a movement of diverse configurations determined to a large extent by the economic development and the sociological structures of America . It is the position of the African-Americans within these sociological structures that has impelled and compelled them to pose some fundamental questions about their world. Not only has American society brutalised and oppressed black Americans, it has equally sought also to amputate and obliterate their past. The historical of black America has its origins in Africa . In fact, as archaeology has taught us today, the origins of humanity are located in Africa . For black Americans, the recovery of his or her past can only be through an identification with Africa . In an essay, "Stranger in the Village", James Baldwin has graphically portrayed this attempted obliteration of the past of African-Americans. Baldwin writes: ". . . the American Negro slave is unique among Black men in the world in that his past was taken from him, almost literally, at one blow. . . I am told there are Haitians able to trace their ancestry back to African kings, but any American Negro wishing to go back so far will find his journey through time abruptly arrested by the signature on the bill of sale which served as the entrance paper for his ancestor." [2](#) In this brilliant essay of the 1950s, Baldwin continues that ". . . The American Negro has arrived at this identity by virtue of the absoluteness of his estrangement from his past." [3](#)

It was in the late nineteenth century that the first major intellectual attempt was made to recover and establish the historical past and the cultural lineage of African-Americans. This was the first because it was politically motivated and intellectually informed. It was the great Edward Wilmont Blyden (1832-1912) who attempted this prodigious task.

In his writings, Edward Blyden, according to his biographer , advanced the view that blacks all over the world have a history and a culture of which they could be proud of, and that with the help of New World Negroes (African-Americans) a progressive civilization could be built in Africa . [4](#) Blyden was possessed of a vision of a regenerated Africa . This vision of Blyden was governed by the belief that although the American Civil War (1860-1865) had resulted in the emancipation of African-Americans, their treatment as despised second-class citizens by American society would compel them to emigrate to Liberia , which

was then seen as liberated Africa . This vision was to prove short-lived as the then recently emancipated slaves refused to emigrate to Liberia or to Africa generally. It was left to Marcus Garvey to undertake this project of encouraging African-Americans to move to Africa .

For Blyden, History and Culture were the fundamental concepts which governed his intellectual thematic structure concerning Africa: that the Negro race did have past achievements of which it could be proud; that it had special inherent attributes which it should strive to project in a distinctive "African Personality"; that African culture - its customs and institutions - were basically wholesome and should be preserved; and that Christianity had had a retarding influence upon the Negro, while that of Islam had been salutary - his most controversial theme, and one on which he wrote at length. [5](#) Indeed, the biographer of Edward Blyden, Hollis R. Lynch from Trinidad (presently Professor of History at Columbia University) has called Blyden the Vindicator of the Negro Race . [6](#)

As a vindicator, Blyden worked earnestly to recover the cultural greatness and to reconstruct some aspects of early African history. His first great essay of 1869, "The Negro in Ancient History", sought to establish and did prove that the ancient Egyptian civilization was constructed with the help of the African-Negro race. In order to establish this historical fact, he visited Egypt in 1866, and in his argument used the literature both for and against African-Negro participation in early Egyptian civilization. In support of his argument, Blyden depended on the historical evidence provided by the tenth chapter of the Genesis, using the original Hebrew version of the Bible, also on evidence from the works of Herodotus and Homer (in Greek original), as well as evidence from comparative philology. Though this is still a contentious issue, recent research and particularly archaeological evidence provided by the works of the great Senegalese historian, Cheik Anta Diop, has tended to support Blyden's thesis. But Cheik Anta Diop goes much further maintaining that the Egyptian civilization was the creation and construction of the African Negro, rather than constructed with the help of Africans as Edward Blyden had maintained. [7](#)

In his reconstruction of the African past, Blyden characterized the ancients Ethiopians as the "most creditable of the ancient peoples" who represented "the highest rank of knowledge and civilization." [8](#) Again he referred to the Bible, Herodotus and Homer. Ideologically, in his great book, **Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race** , correctly indicates that although Christianity and the Christian Church had originated elsewhere, it was in North Africa and through the African Church Fathers - Terullian, Cyprian and St. Augustine - that the early Christian theological thought was shaped. Blyden's intention in reconstructing and recounting the achievements of the African-Negro race and our outstanding

contributions to world civilization was to indicate that there was no reason why we should not be able to do so in the future again.

In the essays, "Africa and the Africans" (1878) and "Race and Study" (1895), which evidence a profound influence on Edward Blyden of the writings of European philosophers and nationalists like Herder, Fichte, Hegel and Mazzini, he sought to establish the 'African Personality', by distinguishing the African character from the European character. He saw the European character as harsh, individualistic, competitive and combative; the European society was highly materialistic, and the worshipping of science and industry was replacing that of God. The African character, for Blyden, is characterized by sympathy, empathy and the fact that the special contribution of Africa to human civilization would be a spiritual one. [9](#)

It was this concept of the 'African Personality' which was to have profound influence on Kwame Nkrumah's understanding and championing of Pan-Africanism and on his struggle for the liberation of Africa from imperialist domination and neo-colonial enslavement. For, for Edward Blyden, it was the great historical personality like Toussaint L'Ouverture, the principal force behind the Haitian Revolution of 1803, that the true qualities of the African personality were embodied. In the cultural sphere, Blyden, in his book, **African Life and Customs** (1908), sought to defend African culture against the impact of European culture which was destroying African customs and institutions. He argued that the African social system was socialistic, cooperative and equitable. [10](#) It was in this context that Blyden supported the Islamic penetration in Africa, which he felt was supportive of African customs and socio-cultural systems. This is a contentious issue which is beyond our immediate concern here. Towards the end of his life Blyden worked for the unification of West Africa under British protection, in opposition to the partitioning of Africa which was to be enacted at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85.

It was Edward Blyden who planted the Pan-Negro vision in the intellectual perspective of W.E.B. DuBois. While Blyden belongs to the nineteenth-century, and one of its foremost thinkers and writers, W.E.B. DuBois (1868-1963) belongs to the twentieth-century. Whereas the intellectual formation of Edward Wilmont Blyden lies in the era between the American Civil War (1860-65) and the Reconstruction (1870-80), that of DuBois lies beyond that of the Reconstruction era. DuBois, in relation to Africa, saw his task as the continuation of the legacy of the great Blyden, whom he considered as the "prophet of the renaissance of the Negro race." [11](#) DuBois sought to dispel the notion that Africans and Africa had no history worthy of serious consideration. Secondly, he sought to remove the disrespect of Africa among certain African-

American intellectuals of his generation, who thought that there was little knowledge to be gained from direct acquaintance with Africa . In parenthesis, of course the Harlem Renaissance represents a profound rediscovery of the historical significance of Africa . Towards this goal of re-awakening the commitment of African-American intellectuals to Africa , DuBois published three books: **The Negro** (1915), **Black Folk, Then and Now** (1939), and **The World and Africa** (1947). Whereas in the **The Negro** , DuBois was seeking to reconstruct the African past, in **The World and Africa** , he sought to show the integral role that black people played in human history from pre-historic times to the present.

The Negro is composed of a series of twelve short but penetrative essays, in which DuBois succinctly and comprehensively draws together all the elements that go into the making of African history. What is clear is that DuBois is not merely drawing an outline of African history in this book, but goes further, for he attempts to formulate categories and concepts which he considers to be of the utmost importance towards sketching "the general history of the Negro race." In effect, DuBois was attempting a comprehensive synthesis of the complex history of the African continent and of the blacks in the African diaspora, taking into consideration also the slave trade systems and various forms of imperialism. Indeed, it was a formidable undertaking. The importance of **The Negro** lies not so much in epistemology, given the then present state of knowledge in 1915, but rather, in its progressive political vision of attempting to integrate to each other the African world and the various societies in the African diaspora. It sought to establish the indissoluble unity of these two spheres which form the African world. It was part of a resolute struggle on the part of the great DuBois against imperialism in all its forms which had fractured and dislocated the African world. What is so endlessly fascinating and exhilarating about this book, is the attempted reconstruction of the universal history of the African world . It ought to be emphasized though that the book was not only concerned with establishing the elements of African history, but also concerned to indicate particular structures and unique strands which form the complex mosaics of African cultures.

In the chapter on "African culture" DuBois surveys the different and complex artistic creations all over Africa : from pottery through basketry to gold ornamentation. He equally examines African customs and cultural institutions. DuBois emphasizes the sculptural creations of the African genius. In fact African sculpture and design are unique creations in the history of the world. (See the recent two-volume catalogue of the major 1984 Museum of Modern Art exhibition on the influence of African sculpture and art on Cubism, Surrealism, Suprematism, etc.: on Picasso, Leger, Giacometti, Malevich, etc.). [12](#) DuBois ends his book with a call for the creation and establishing of a Pan-African

movement which will establish particular unities: ". . . a unity of the working classes everywhere, a unity of the colored races, a new unity of men. The proposed economic solution of the Negro problem in Africa and America has turned the thoughts of Negroes toward a realization of the fact that the modern white laborer of Europe and America has the key to the serfdom of Black folk, in his support of militarism and colonial expansion. He is beginning to say to these working men that, so long as Black laborers are slaves, White South Africa and the United States of the beginning of understanding between the two classes." [13](#) This it should be remembered was written in 1915. Remarkable. Its validity for South Africa today still holds.

Whereas *The Negro* is a compressed but detailed examination of the synthesis between Africa and the African diaspora, *The World and Africa* on the other hand, is ". . . a history of the world written from the African point of view; or better, a history of the Negro as part of the world. . . ." [14](#) The book examines the economic, political and the cultural interrelations between Africa and the world. What is of immediate importance to us concerning this book, are the added chapters concerning Pan-Africanism which were appended to the later editions. In these essays of the late 1950s and early 1960s, DuBois celebrates the independence of African countries as the triumph of Pan-Africanist philosophy and ideology. He sees Kwame Nkrumah as the latest and most brilliant exponent of Pan-Africanism, a philosophy whose foundation stone was laid at the Second Pan-African Congress in Paris in 1919. DuBois was among the participants at that Congress which included among others, Blaise Diagne, the Senegalese deputy in the French National Assembly.

It was in the context of the Pan-Africanist movement and in the transition from W.E.B. DuBois to Kwame Nkrumah, that a shift occurred in the relationship between Africa and America, in that more African intellectuals came to the fore than had previously been the case. This shift was partly because West Indian intellectuals like C.L.R. James, George Padmore, Marcus Garvey, Ras T. Makonnen and Henry Sylvester-Williams and American intellectuals like W.E.B. DuBois who had participated in the Pan-African Movement with the intention of liberating Africa from colonial domination, had achieved part of their aim with the coming of independence to the African countries. It was now up to us Africans to realize concretely within national contexts aiming at African unity the ideals and aims of Pan-Africanism.

Even if we glance schematically at the evolution of Pan-Africanism, it can be noted that its aims have always included the following: to act as a forum of protest against the aggressiveness of white colonists; to bring the people of African descent throughout the world into closer touch with one another; and to

start a movement which could secure to all African races living in civilized countries their full rights. [15](#) It was at the Fifth Pan-African Congress of 1945 in Manchester that consolidated and concretized the Pan-Africanist aims. What was unique about this Congress was the relatively contingent of Africans: Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya); Peter Abrahams (South Africa); Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana). The participants included also most of the intellectuals from the Americas already mentioned. Among the principal resolutions and declarations passed at this Congress, the following is of historical importance: "We affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic. . . The Fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on workers and farmers of the colonies to organise effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against imperialism. . . We also call upon the intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. . . Colonial and peoples of the world, Unite!" [16](#) This was a call to political action which Nkrumah was to carry through to Africa. For DuBois, this was to bring about the unity of thought and action, or in fashionable contemporary terminology, the unity of theory and praxis. Indeed, it was at the Manchester Congress that the decision was made to make radical Pan-Africanism the ideology of the new liberation movements throughout colonial Africa. [17](#) This was to bring about its own complications as we shall later have occasion to see. As an aside note: the Pan-Africanism of Marcus Garvey was of a different strain and resonance from what we are considering here.

Although the definition of Pan-Africanism among scholars is a matter of dispute and contention, the following can be accounted among its major component ideas: ". . . Africa as the homeland of Africans and persons of African origin, solidarity among men of African descent, belief in a distinct African personality, rehabilitation of Africa's past, pride in African culture, Africa for Africans in Church and State, the hope for a united and glorious future of Africa." [18](#) Probably it can be safely said that at the time of the Manchester Congress of 1945 Kwame Nkrumah fully subscribed to these principles of Pan-Africanism.

Paradoxically, as Nkrumah himself states, in his book, **Revolutionary Path**, It was in the United States that he became aware of the forms of exploitation and political oppression of Africans. [19](#) It was his move from America to England in 1945, a country then possessing a vast colonial empire, that consolidated Nkrumah's determination to wage a struggle against colonialism and imperialism. [20](#) From his earliest work **Towards Colonial Freedom** (1947) to his last works written in exile in Guinea like the **Class Struggle in Africa** (1970), there have been two fundamental consistencies in the thought and political action of Nkrumah: his clarion call for the political and economic unification of Africa,

and his unrelentingly anti-imperialist position. He believed in the unity of Africa as the only possible means of constructing socialism and as a way of forestalling imperialist intervention. Kwame Nkrumah writes: "While the independent African states hang so tenaciously to their separate identities and interests, the enemies of the African people, the imperialists and neo-colonialists and their local agents, strengthen the hands that unite them. . . ." [21](#) It was also with the intent of forestalling and preventing imperialist intervention in Africa that Nkrumah suggested the organizing of the African High Command by the Organization of African Unity. Needless to say, his suggestion was never taken up. The consequences of the failure of heeding Nkrumah were the many politically dubious military coup d'etats in the late 1960s and the early 1970s which besetted Africa.

Nkrumah's anti-imperialist was strengthened by the events in the Congo (today Zaire) in 1960-61 which resulted in the death of the great Patrice Lumumba. It was this very crisis which moved Frantz Fanon to write in the essay, "Lumumba's Death: Could We Do Otherwise", an eulogy for Lumumba which was in actual fact also a political lesson for Africa: "Africa's great crisis, for she will have to decide whether to go forward or backward. She must understand that it is no longer possible to advance by regions, that, like a great body that refuses any mutilation, she must advance in totality, that there will not be one Africa that fights against colonialism and another that attempts to make arrangements with colonialism. Africa, that is to say Africans, must understand that there is never any dishonor in saying what one is and what one wants and that in reality the cleverness of the colonized can in the last analysis only be his courage, the lucid consciousness of his objectives and of his alliances, the tenacity that he brings to his liberation." [22](#) It was only the incomparable Frantz Fanon who could have drawn such a profound political lesson from such a grave political crisis.

But back to Kwame Nkrumah. It was this Congo Crisis which compelled Nkrumah to analyse the concrete mechanism of imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa in two studies: **Challenge of the Congo** and **Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism**. In **Neo-Colonialism** Nkrumah defines neo-colonialism as a mechanism through which a State subject to it has trappings of independence, whereas in actual fact its economic system and its political policy and decisions are directed from outside. It is directed from outside through imperialist mechanism by a State like the United States in various Latin American countries, or by a financial concern in a consortium like the Dredner Bank and Deutsch Bank in South Africa. [23](#) Neo-colonialism, Nkrumah goes further, results in foreign capital being used for the exploitation rather than the development of Third World countries. In fact, it exports the social conflicts of the capitalist countries to the Third World countries.

It was Lumumba's unrelenting hostility and challenge to neo-colonialism and imperialism which resulted in his death. This in fact was the challenge of the Congo of which Nkrumah writes. Lumumba himself was conscious of this challenge as indicated by a portion of a great letter he wrote to his wife at the hour of his death. It reads in part: "Neither brutality, nor cruelty nor torture will ever bring me to ask for mercy, for I prefer to die with my head unbowed, my faith unshakable and with profound trust in the destiny of my country, rather than live under subjection and disregarding sacred principles. History will one day have its say, but it will not be the history that is taught in Brussels, but the history which will be taught in the countries freed from Imperialism and its puppets. Africa will write her own history, and to the north and south of the Sahara it will be a glorious and dignified history. . . Long live the Congo! Long live Africa!"

[24](#) It was this tenacity, courage and dignity of this great man which inspired Jean-Paul Sartre, to write one of his many outstanding essays, in which he called Lumumba a modern Jacobin, a Robespierre without a revolution. Nkrumah was to write that the final battle for Congo's (Zaire) emancipation will spring from the blood of Lumumba. [25](#)

The legacy of Pan-Africanism as embodied in its great representative in Africa, Kwame Nkrumah, has still to be historically evaluated. For the failure of Nkrumah was not merely his personal failure, but equally the failure of Ghana, Africa and the progressive forces in the world. In his book, **Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution**, James compares the tragic failure of Nkrumah to that of Lenin and Cromwell, in that all three achieved a phenomenal feat in destroying a regime in decay, but failed in creating a new society. This judgement, to say the least, is very controversial and extremely contentious. To put the position of James (a Trinidadian from the West Indies) in perspective: he was a close friend and co-worker with Nkrumah, Padmore, DuBois, Makonnen and others for over twenty years. James and this group of great men succeeded in expelling imperialism from Africa in the form of classical colonialism, but unfortunately imperialism has returned in the form of neo-colonialism. But then that is our task not theirs.

C.L.R. James quoting Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, indicates the structural problems facing the developing African countries, in that the State and Executive power control, regulate, enmesh and command Civil Society and the National Assembly. [26](#) For its material and political interests, the national bourgeoisie institutes repressive measures against democratic forces. Equally, James quotes the famous 1880 Address on Pushkin by the great but deeply reactionary Dostoyevsky, in which he criticizes the failure of Russian intellectuals. James feels that there has been a similar failure of African intellectuals in questing for truth rather than merely seeking salvation in external things. [27](#) Though what C.L.R. James has to say about the crisis in Africa is very

profound and deeply troubling, the question of the crisis of the African Revolution is still open to examination.

It is plausible to suggest that while Nkrumah was still President of Ghana there was a tension in his political vision and perspective between Pan-Africanism and Marxism which deflected his political practice, hence the mistakes of this great son of Africa. It was only in exile in Conakry Guinea, that Marxism dominated and superseded the receding Pan-Africanist element. In the Conclusion to one of his last books, **Class Struggle in Africa**, written just before his death, Nkrumah writes: "The African revolutionary struggle is not an isolated one. It not only forms part of the world socialist revolution, but must be seen in the context of the Black Revolution as a whole. In the USA, the Caribbean, and whenever Africans are oppressed, liberation struggles are being fought. In these areas, the Black man is in a condition of domestic colonialism, and suffers on the grounds of class and colour. . . Africa is one continent, one people, and one nation. The total liberation and the unification of Africa under an all-African socialist government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world. It is an objective which, when achieved, will bring about the fulfilment of the aspirations of Africans and people of African descent everywhere." [28](#) The complicated dialectic between class and race is an intractable relationship whose formidable nature is at the center of the crisis and the up-coming revolution in South Africa. The tasks awaiting us blacks in Africa and in the African diaspora are still enormous.

While the political storm was gathering in Africa, a cultural and political conference of historic importance took place in 1956 in Paris. Among the participants at this 'Conference of Black Writers and Artists' were: James Baldwin and Richard Wright (USA); Alioune Diop, David Diop, Leopold Sedar Senghor (Senegal); Aime Cesaire and Frantz Fanon (Martinique); Gerald Sekoto (South Africa); and many other writers and artists. It was at this Conference that Frantz Fanon gave his well-known lecture, "Racism and Culture", in which he said in effect that through national liberation struggle of the oppressed and dispossessed against colonialism and all forms of domination, not only is racism and the prejudices of the colonizers eliminated, but the suppressed dominant indigenous cultures are revived and begin to flourish in their profound authenticity. But the real center piece of the Conference which dominated all its proceedings, was the intellectual clash between Richard Wright and Aime Cesaire as to the importance and nature of African national cultures and traditions.

In his presentation, "Tradition and Industrialization", Richard Wright characterized African traditional cultures and religious structures as being backward, irrational, primitive, stagnant, and that European colonization and

modernization had done a correct and useful thing in destroying them. Richard Wright concluded his presentation with these rhetorical and ironical remarks: "Thank you, Mr. White man, for freeing me from the rot of my irrational traditions and customs, though you are still victims of your own irrational customs and tradition." [29](#) Though a great writer he was, Richard Wright had misapprehended the nature of African traditional cultures and the impact of colonialism on them. Frantz Fanon, in his essay "Racism and Culture" which had been presented in the same forum as the one in which Wright had presented his controversial position, wrote: "The setting up of the colonial system does not of itself bring about the death of the native culture. Historic observation reveals, on the contrary, that the aim sought is rather a continued agony than a total disappearance of the pre-existing culture. This culture, once living and open to the future, becomes closed, fixed in the colonial status, caught in the yoke of oppression. Both present and mummified, it testifies against its members. It defines them in fact without appeal. The cultural mummification leads to a mummification of individual thinking." [30](#) Richard Wright had never understood the horrendous nature of colonialism. In fact, in his book, **Black Power**, Wright had portrayed and analyzed the mosaics and patterns of Ghanaian culture in an extremely unfavourable light.

Aime Cesaire in his essay, "Culture and Colonization", responded violently to Richard Wright's thesis. [31](#) Also James Baldwin, in an essay on this Conference of Black Writers and Artists in his anthology of essays, **Nobody Knows My Name**, reacted negatively to the thesis formulated by Richard Wright concerning the supposed irrationality of traditional African cultures. [32](#) "Culture and Colonization" was in many ways a continuation of the thesis established in his polemical but brilliantly short book, **Discourse on Colonialism**, in which he had equated racial discrimination and neo-colonialism with Nazism. In this essay Cesaire argues that the culture of black people had been stifled, bastardized, corrupted by the nature of colonialism. Secondly, he argued for the necessity of preserving our traditional African legacies. He ended his presentation with these words: ". . . the shortest road to the future is always the one that goes through the study of the past. . . This Conference urges Negro intellectuals and all justice-loving men to struggle to create practical conditions for the revival and growth of Negro cultures." Indeed, the interconnections between History and Culture which Blyden had argued for, nearly a century earlier, was being continued by Aime Cesaire, naturally in different historical circumstances.

In the instances where this interconnection has been severed, as in the instance of Richard Wright in relation to African culture, the results have been untenable. In the opposite direction, John Pepper Clark, the Nigerian poet and playwright, exemplifies the same lack of emphatic understanding of African-American

culture, when he writes in his book, *America Their America*: "The real quarrel is that most Negro writers see their subject at one point and position only - that of protest and prayer. As a result and perhaps without the intention of so doing, they have helped to create and establish a fresh set of stereotypes figures and faces capable of expressing only certain simple emotions and gestures, none of which has to do with anything complex or cerebral, or with the mystery and permanence of the mask." ³³ The self-evident absurdity of such a judgement needs no further commenting.

These mis-understandings and mis-readings of each others' cultures, between us Africans and African-Americans, can be overcome through a deep historicization of our cultural structures and experiences. It is a question of connecting the struggles .

I would like to conclude by quoting part of an informal talk given by Amilcar Cabral to a group of African-Americans in New York three months before his assassination: "We think that our fight for Africa against colonialism and imperialism is a proof of understanding of your problem and also a contribution for the solution of your problems in this continent. Naturally the inverse is also true. All the achievements toward the solution of your problems here are real contributions to our struggle. And we are very encouraged in our struggle by the fact that each day more of African people born in America become conscious of their responsibilities to the struggle in Africa." ³⁴ It was this felt sense of responsibility to Africa by Edward Wilmont Blyden which motivated him to attempt reconstructing the total history of Africa and analyze its different and complex cultural mosaics and patterns.

Bibliography

¹ Presented at the 'First Black Cultural Festival' in West Berlin, March 1986 at West Berlin University of Art (Art Academy). The author organized the Festival together with an African-American modern dancer.

² Tony Tanner, "Rooted in rootlessness: a review of *The Price of the Ticket: Collected Non-Fiction 1948-1958* by James Baldwin", *Times Literary Supplement* , January 24 1986, p.75.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Hollis R. Lynch, *Edward Wilmont Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot 1832-1912*, Oxford University Press, 1967, p.vii.

[5](#) *ibid.*, p.54-55.

[6](#) *ibid.*, title of Chapter 4.

[7](#) It was during this four-week Festival that a young Senegalese musician passing through West Berlin mentioned to us that Cheik Anta Diop had died a few weeks before. Upon hearing this, I immediately wrote an essay in memorializing Anta Diop: "Cheik Anta Diop: In Memoriam".

[8](#) *ibid.*, p.57.

[9](#) *ibid.*, p.61-62.

[10](#) *ibid.*, p.67.

[11](#) George Shepperson, "Introduction", **The Negro** by W.E.B. DuBois, Oxford University Press, 1970 (1915), p.xiv.

[12](#) William Rubin (ed.), "**Primitivism**" in the 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern , two volumes, Museum of Modern Art, 1984.

[13](#) W.E.B. DuBois, **The Negro** , op. cit., p.145-146.

[14](#) W.E.B. DuBois, **The World and Africa** , International Publishers Company, 1965 (1946), p.viii.

[15](#) Adenkule Ajala, **Pan-Africanism: Evolution, Progress and Prospects** , St. Martin's Press, 1973, p.4.

[16](#) Robert Chrisman and Nathan Hare (eds.), **Pan-Africanism** , Appendix 2 (The Pan-African Congress, Manchester 1945), The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1974, p.306.

[17](#) J. Ayodele Langley, **Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa 1900-1945** , Oxford University Press, 1973, p.13.

[18](#) P. Odisawule Esedebe, **Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement 1776-1963** , Howard University Press, 1982, p.3.

[19](#) Kwame Nkrumah, **Revolutionary Path** , Panaf, 1973, p.13.

[20](#) Moving from America to England, Kwame Nkrumah was carrying a letter of introduction written on his behalf by C.L.R. James to George Padmore. The letter had sharp things to say about Nkrumah's incorrect political position and theoretical formulations about imperialism. Thirty years after the fact, in a eulogy commemorating Nkrumah's death, James has written some extraordinary lines on this matter: C.L.R. James, "Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (1966, 1972)", **At the Redezvous of Victory** , Allison and Busby, 1984, pp.172-185.

[21](#) Kwame Nkrumah, **Revolutionary Path** , op. cit., p.368.

[22](#) Frantz Fanon, **Towards the African Revolution** , Pelican Books, 1970, p.202-203.

[23](#) Kwame Nkrumah, **Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism**, Nelson, 1965, p.94-95.

[24](#) Patrice Lumumba, **Lumumba Speaks: The Speeches and Writings of Patrice Lumumba, 1958-1961** , (ed.) Jean van Lierde, Little Brown, 1972, p.129. The great essay by Jean-Paul Sartre on Lumumba is an 'Introduction' to this text.

[25](#) Kwame Nkrumah, **Challenge of the Congo** , International Publishers, 1967, p.293.

[26](#) C.L.R. James, **Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution** , Allison and Busby, 1977, p.14-15.

[27](#) *ibid.*, pp.16-19.

[28](#) Kwame Nkrumah, **Class Struggle in Africa** , Panaf, 1970, p.87-88.

[29](#) Richard Wright, "Tradition and Industrialization", **White Man, Listen** , Doubleday and Company, 1957, pp.74-104.

[30](#) Frantz Fanon, **Towards the African Revolution** , op. cit., p.44.

[31](#) A. James Arnold, **Modernism and Negritude: The Poetry and Poetics of Aime Cesaire** , Harvard University Press, 1981, p.186-187.

[32](#) James Baldwin, "Princes and Powers", **Nobody Knows My Name: More Notes of A Native Son** , A Delta Book, 1962, pp.13-55. Eldridge Cleaver, in a vitriolic diatribe, misreads this important and historic essay of Baldwin on the historical problematics in the possible cultural unity of the black world: see, Eldridge Cleaver, "Notes of a Native Son", **Soul on Ice** , A Ramparts Book, 1968, pp.97-111.

[33](#) John Pepper Clark, **America Their America** , Heinemann, 1964, p.82.

[34](#) Amilcar Cabral, **Return to the Source** , Monthly Review Press, 1973, p.76.