

Walter Rodney and Pan-Africanism Today

By

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Welcoming Remarks: Professor Salah Hassan, Director, Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University

Salah Hassan:

It is with pleasure that I welcome Horace Campbell and also welcome my colleague Professor Locksley Edmondson, who will be introducing Horace Campbell. Both of them were part of the latest conference on Walter Rodney, which, actually proved to be very fruitful in terms of altering the investigation on the life and work of Walter Rodney. I guess we will hear about that from both of them. Professor Edmondson will now introduce Dr. Horace Campbell, Professor Edmondson ...

Introduction of Dr. Campbell: Professor Locksley Edmondson, Professor, Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University

Locksley Edmondson:

In introducing Horace, my good friend for many years; we had connected in Africa, here in the United States, and original connections were discovered, in that we were both born in the same country of Jamaica, and is, therefore, a personal privilege and honor to introduce him, as it is personally and professionally to be at this symposium celebrating the life of a distinguished political activist, a distinguished scholar, thinker, a committed person named Walter Rodney, who was assassinated at a very young age of thirty-eight, back in 1980, in his native land Guyana, in the Caribbean. It was also my personal privilege to have met Walter.

A number of times over the years, he stayed at my home in Uganda when I was teaching there. I stayed at his home in Tanzania when he was there. We connected in the United States, the Caribbean and other places. We also have to mention to our audience that Ali Mazrui is here, because, Ali too knew Walter, very, very, well.

There was a major debate which took place back in East Africa, back in the late sixties. When I taught there, Ali happened to be the Head of the Department of Political Science of Makerere University in Kampala at that time. There was a very famous debate between Ali Mazrui and Walter Rodney. You can imagine these two intellectual giants coming from very different ideological perspectives, but, enriching the academic lives of students and colleagues in East Africa. Horace is going to deal with an analysis of Walter's life and impact on the Pan African world. He has agreed that I should give a very brief biographic background snapshot, to situate Walter for those who may not know that much about him.

Walter Rodney was born in Guyana in 1942. He was assassinated in Guyana in 1980, at the age of thirty-eight and remarkably, he accomplished so much in so little time. It is a very central feat that Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Bob Marley, Frantz Fanon, none of whom reached the age of forty. If you look at it _ at what they accomplished before the age of forty, to some of us is remarkable. To some of us the age of forty is very young, to some students it may seem a little old, but, believe me when you get up to that age, I think you will understand how come so much remains lessons for the age, is in itself remarkable.

A distinguished scholar-activist in the tradition of W.E.B.Dubois, C. L. R. James, Marcus Garvey, or, George Padmore; he is a very important figure in the context of the Caribbean contribution to Pan-Africanism. I want to say one more thing about some of his work: the library has put on a display of some of his major work and I would like you to go visit it. They have a sign-up sheet, a spread sheet with information about their web-site where you can gain access to his work. His first major publication, actually, was: ***The Groundings With My Brothers***, which he published in 1969, while he was an academic in Jamaica. It was based on a number of speeches and statements he made, when grounding with the working class and the underprivileged in Jamaica; so much so that he became a threat to the Jamaican government. They eventually banned him from returning

to Jamaica. He could not go back there for many years, because, they saw his activities as subversive and dangerous and you know that in certain polities, if you hook-up too much to the underprivileged, the oppressed and the working-class, your identification becomes 'a subversive'.

His first major academic work was: ***The History of the Upper Guinea Coast***, which was published in 1970. It was the outcome of his PhD thesis from the University of London. He completed his education at the age of twenty-four _he had no time to waste at all.

A third major work he did was: ***How Europe Underdeveloped Africa***, which was published by Howard University Press, in 1974. I saw on a web-site recently that it remains Howard University's best seller over the years _ no book has sold more copies from Howard University Press as has Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.

A fourth publication I want to mention briefly is a monograph which was published by the Africana Studies Department at Cornell University. This, as part of the Research Publication Monograph Series, when he was a distinguished visiting professor, in the mid 1970s. It is called: ***World War II and the Tanzanian Economy***.

A fifth important book was: ***A History of the Guyanese Working People***, which was published after his death. So, you can see where Walter Rodney stood in terms of the research that he did.

I can say that a lot of things has been written about Walter, which is another example of his importance as a scholar, as a Pan-African activist, who transcended the black world and also lived in so many other parts of the white dominant world of North America, Europe and elsewhere.

We, therefore, want to welcome Horace Campbell. He is a professor of Political Science at Syracuse University. He has been a friend of Walter for many, many years. He is the Chair of the Walter Rodney Commemorative Committee. It was my pleasure, as it was Horace's pleasure to interact with Walter Rodney, in Guyana, in June, celebrating or commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of his assassination and I know he will have something more to say about that. Horace's most recent book is, ***Reclaiming Zimbabwe: The Exhaustion of the Patriarchal Model of Liberation***. He is working on a book called: ***War Against the Angolan Peoples***. Another work he is working on is: ***Seeing Through Terror: The Caribbean After 911***. He has also completed sections on a book: ***Reconceptualizing Peace in the 21st Century***. His most important book, undoubtedly is, his: ***Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney***. This book is going through its sixth edition, as of now. Professor Campbell will now make a presentation on Walter Rodney and Pan-Africanism today.

Dr. Horace Campbell:

Good afternoon everybody. I would like to first make a request, for those in the back, if they could come a bit forward so we could make this a more friendly audience ...

I want to thank the Africana family and I call it family, because, we go through family issues ... up and down ... in and out, so I want to thank the Africana family for providing this opportunity to reflect on the life and work of Walter Rodney. We, in the Syracuse Department of African American Studies, share with you the pain and the loss of our brother and colleague Professor Don Ohadike. I want to communicate from Syracuse, that, although many of us were not here for the ceremonies to say goodbye to Professor Ohadike, that we share with you the loss and we mourn with you. We want you to continue to, as you have done on your web-site, to celebrate his work and to promote the kind of scholarship that he stood for. I want to thank Professor Salah Hassan and the Africana Center, for

making this, one of the events in the series of international celebrations of the life and work of Walter Rodney.

Professor Hassan, Professor Mazrui, Professor Locksley Edmondson, helped us when we were (and still are) in the fund-raising mode to raise funds for holding this commemoration. The commemoration, basically, has been to end the silence relating to the ideas and work of Walter Rodney, and, not only to end the silence, but, to regenerate interest in the life and work of Walter Rodney. Professor Mazrui was the patron of our international committee and as we speak, he is working with Professor Abdalla Bujra for another major conference on Walter Rodney, in Africa.

There have been many commemorative events all over the world, centered on Walter Rodney. Tomorrow, there is going to be a conference on Walter Rodney at Howard University and they will bring together scholars from the Caribbean and from the United States. For those who can make it, on October 21st, there will be another commemorative event at the Schomburg [Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Library], which is part of the New York Library System. Howard Dodson, who was associated with Walter Rodney and the *Institute of the Black World*, (Previously of Atlanta), will be hosting that event. What we are hoping you will do here, is to consider how you can carry forward the work of Walter Rodney, in terms of a scholarly agenda.

Those of us, who are associated with a section of the Pan-African movement, would like to focus on the question of Walter Rodney and Pan-Africanism today. To consider the question of, what is Pan-Africanism today? And, how would Walter Rodney relate to Pan-Africanism at this juncture? Already, Professor Locksley Edmondson has given us a biographical sketch of Walter Rodney, telling us where he was born, where he studied, where he worked and what he published, hence, we will not go through all the details of his life, here. Instead, we want to be able to look at how one would conceptualize a different Pan-

Africanism in the Twenty-first Century, and for you, as students in the academy, what does it mean to you, in terms of a new research agenda? We want to consider, how did Walter Rodney intervene in the Pan-African discussions and debates?

In these Pan-African discussions, one of the important essays that Walter Rodney wrote was, "Toward the Sixth Pan-African Congress: Aspects of International Class Struggle in Africa, the United States and the Caribbean." Professor James Turner was one of the leaders of the 6th Pan African Congress movement in the 1970s. And thirty years ago, in the spring of 1975, Professor Turner, who is here today, facilitated Walter Rodney as a visiting professor here at the Africana Center. As Professor Edmondson already said, the publication of "World War II and the Tanzanian Economy," was a monograph that Walter Rodney produced and was published by the Africana Center. I would encourage all of you to read this monograph, in so far as; this monograph locates the impact of wars on African peoples. In so far as there is a major war being prosecuted at this very moment. The leaders of the United States call this a war on terror, they say that this is a war without borders; how does the Pan-African movement relate to the present war? What are the issues of Pan-Africanism today relative to this war? How do we define Pan-Africanism? _What are the research agendas? Is the Pan Africanism of today the same as the Pan-Africanism of the Nineteen-hundred _the Pan-Africanism of states, or is there a re-definition of Pan-Africanism? What lessons can we learn from the history of the Pan-African movement?

In my writings, I have a major monograph on Pan-Africanism of the 21st Century. (***Pan-Africanism, Pan Africanists, and African Liberation in the 21st Century***). ¹ We are beginning to speak about Pan-Africanism from above, that is, Pan-Africanism of the intellectuals, the Pan-Africanism of Congresses. Pan-

¹ Horace G. Campbell, *Pan-Africanism, Pan Africanists, and African Liberation in the 21st Century: Two Lectures* by Horace Campbell, Rodney Worrell, New Academia Publishing, Washington DC 2006

Africanism from below is a Pan-Africanism that manifest itself in the daily lives of the people, and that Pan-Africanism from below goes back to the simple definition of Pan-Africanism.

Pan-Africanism is a search for dignity by African peoples. That search for dignity has gone through many different iterations in the past five-hundred years. It had many different meanings for the enslaved, who were one of the first articulators of Pan-Africanism in the new world. The enslaved wanted to elevate their humanity on a plane which used their spiritual essence, their spiritual being, to maintain their humanity. That spiritual essence, that spiritual being manifested itself in the diversity of religious observances, religious reflections, and it erupted from time to time in an emotional and spiritual voice, which is what is called the music of the African people. At any moment that the enslaved wanted to rebel, that spiritual essence was manifested in spiritual-religious movements, whether it was Candomble or Voodoo, or the uprisings in Jamaica, or the uprisings in the United States of America, whether Hoodoo, Voodoo or Rastafari. The spiritual essence of the people meant that the enslaved were asserting that aspect of the Pan-African movement which dealt with the question of the cultural, psychological and historical unity of the African peoples. It is Cheikh Anta Diop who dealt with this question of cultural unity. Cheikh Anta Diop went into three aspects of this cultural unity, that is: historic unity, cultural unity and psychological unity.²

What Patrice Malidoma Some has brought to the Western world, was an understanding of the importance of the relationship between spirit and matter and the way in which the African spirit was at the foundation of the life and the consciousness of the people.³ This ideation system serves to illustrate how, while the bodies of the enslaved was captured, they never captured the spirit of the

² Cheik Anta Diop, *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa: The Domains of Patriarchy and of Matriarchy in Classical Antiquity*, Karnak House, London 1989

enslaved. So, our conception of Pan-Africanism goes back to the enslaved person having their spiritual essence to validate their dignity. Pan-Africanism has been through many iterations. At the time of enslavement, Pan-Africanism meant freedom from slavery, freedom from bondage. And at the time of colonialism and the partitioning of Africa and the Pan-African Congress, Pan-Africanism meant independence, the struggle against Jim Crow discrimination. At the time of apartheid, Pan-Africanism was the struggle for the dignity of the African people. And at that moment, the leaders of Africa articulated a vision of Pan-Africanism leading to the unification of the continent of Africa. But, that vision of the leaders of Africa was different than the vision of the people. So, within Pan-Africanism today, we have accomplished one major task of the Twentieth Century, that is, the task of ending apartheid, the task of having African unity. But, that was Pan-Africanism from above, the Pan-Africanism of states. How do we look at Pan-Africanism today _that is, the Pan-Africanism of the people?

What are the lessons to be learnt of how the people manifest their dignity in the era of bio-technology, the era of the war on terrorism, the era of stem cell technology and AIDS? What is the meaning of Pan-Africanism in the era of global warming and the era of Katrina? These questions are being posed at a moment when the tools that are available to us in the academy, cannot explain fully what is happening to us, because, societies have been mobilized around a concept of greed and a concept of human beings organized around profits. So, what happens to the environment, what happens to human beings is not the major priority.

The African ideation system, the knowledge system of Africa, helps us to retreat from the dominant ideas that are reproduced in the universities. And, the reason we are having this discussion, this colloquium, is not only to remember Walter

³ Patrice Malidoma Some, *The Healing Wisdom of Africa, Finding Life Purpose through Nature, Ritual, and Community*, Tarcher, 1999

Rodney, but, for us to assess where we as human beings can liberate our humanity at the moment when there is the devaluation of the lives of the majority of the peoples of the planet. If there are six billion people on the planet, the way that wealth is produced and organized, is for the benefit of ten percent of humanity, if that many. In reality, we have the one percent principle in operation. That is, in reality, the one percent that dominates the global economy; this dominant one percent uses the Neo-Liberal ideas to justify their hold on economic and political power. What Hurricane Katrina has taught us is the limitation of Neo-Liberalism when it comes to nature and the reality that, questions of the environment, health and disasters cannot be left to the private sector. So, our discussion on Walter Rodney today and Pan-Africanism is to be able to, not only venerate Walter Rodney as an icon and to canonize him. We need to remember his life to end the silence around Rodney, but, also, so that we can understand what he fought for and to introduce him to a new generation, that is, the generation of people who were born after 1980, which are not associated with the struggles against colonialism and the struggles against apartheid. I remember walking on the University of Dar es Salaam, campus in the 1990s and I asked a high school student who was Samora Machel. This student had no clue about who Samora Machel was, because, this new generation has not been taught and not been trained in the issues of the liberation movement. So, the objectives of the commemoration are, to promote and extend Rodney's ideas, the methods of inquiry that shaped them and their application, tactics and strategy for creating another world. The notion of creating another world is not just a slogan from the World Social Forum; it is the requirement of the majority of the peoples of the planet _that is, to find a way to go beyond the present forms of human economic and political organization. How can we draw out the implications for current politics, from the direction Rodney took over twenty-five years ago? These are the questions I want us to raise in our work, in terms of how we define the research questions and the issues before us today.

Groundings:

Why do we call the events groundings? Why do we call them Groundings?

Walter Rodney himself called them groundings, when he was in Jamaica in the 1960s and he spent his time among the Rastafari... This is how he sought to distinguish himself from his colleagues at the University of the West Indies.....

"There is no continuity in my life in respect of old acquaintances. We meet; I try to be pleasant; and I move on. For our generation too is adding its quota to the frightening sterility of the society. Living off campus is a great boon, for it reduces my contact with rum-sipping soul selling intellectuals of Mona..." I doubt whether the situation is explosive, and I doubt whether I will be here long enough to witness the explosion; but as a matter of integrity I must address myself to that question so long as I am here. Otherwise, what will distinguish me from the Philistines?"⁴

I am sure that if he was writing now, he would be clearer about the need for groundings with the brothers and sisters, and would emphasize the need for the black intellectual to attach himself or herself to the activity of the masses.

Because, grounding was that activity where, as an intellectual, you go into the community, you are part of the community, you have an organic link with those who are producing knowledge and that knowledge must have a direct impact on strengthening the dignity of the masses of the people. Walter Rodney was assassinated for extending that grounding in Guyana among the Indian and African working people. As Professor Edmondson said, he was assassinated on June 13, 1980, and what many intellectuals have been doing is to assassinate him intellectually.

There is a pamphlet that has been written by C. L. R. James about Walter Rodney called "Walter Rodney and the Question of Power."⁵ C. L. R. James would write in this pamphlet as a father who lost a child. But, intellectuals who have time to say this or that about Rodney, have been saying that Rodney was adventurous, or, that he was a romantic. What we would like them to do is to be

⁴ Quoted from Nigel Westmass as commentary from what Rodney told fellow Guyanese, Gordon Rohlehr of his disgust with academic life at the Mona campus in the 1960s.

⁵ C.L. R James, *Walter Rodney and the Question of Power* (London : Race Today Publications, 1983

able to read the work of Walter Rodney much closer and to find a way that we can use his life as an example of what is possible.

Because, Walter Rodney was a member of the working peoples, he was from the working class, like the person depicted in the picture in the back ___ (points to pictures mounted on the wall in the back- a picture of Indian and African workers marching behind the cortege of Walter Rodney) he would be happy to be identified with someone from the cane field. His spirits were with the working people in Guyana, which brings me to the question of, who were the nurturers of Walter Rodney?

Nurturers of Walter Rodney:

How was Walter Rodney nurtured? What kind of society was he nurtured in? The major influence on Walter Rodney came from the traditions of the enslaved, who not only fought against slavery, but, set up free villages and emancipated spaces. At the end of the period of enslavement, they wanted to move away from the racialized spaces of the colonial plantation, and so, the planters brought in Indian indentured workers in order to create a cleavage between the Indian and African workers. Walter Rodney's influence came from that attempt by the people to move away from racialized spaces, to establish emancipated spaces. As you can see in his small monograph that he did on the *Guyanese Plantations in the Nineteenth Century*, from how he laid-out the organization of the plantation, how the villages were structured, how the lives of the people was organized, it is clear that the impulse of the formerly enslaved, was to create free spaces _spaces where humans could flourish with their children. ⁶

Walter Rodney's father was a tailor, his mother was a homemaker and both of them were involved in a political party called the People's Progressive Party. The

⁶ Walter Rodney, *Guyanese Sugar Plantations in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Contemporary Description from the "Argosy"*. Georgetown, Guyana: Release Publishers, 1979.

People's Progressive Party (PPP) was led by Cheddi Jagan. Cheddi Jagan was an Indian Marxist who was dedicated to organizing the Guyanese peoples, (both Indian and African), to end colonialism. But, the British government intervened in 1953. When Walter Rodney was eleven years old, the British government landed troops in Guyana to derail the independence process and since 1953; external forces have intervened to insure that the working peoples, the Africans and the Indians were not organized independently.

Locksley Edmonson has already outlined the academic career of Walter Rodney and the fact that he graduated with his doctoral degree at the age of twenty four. As a member of the working peoples, he received a scholarship to Queens College. He did very well in Queens College _it is where we held the principal commemorative events, held in June. He then received a scholarship to the University of the West Indies, in Jamaica. It was when he went to the University of the West Indies in Jamaica that he came face to face with the Rastafari. Eusi Kwayana informs me that it was the influence of the Rastafari that influenced the topic of his PhD thesis, which was the study of the Upper Guinea Coast, which we will say something more about.

Those who nurtured Walter Rodney were the members of his community, his immediate parents, his teachers, his comrades and his own family, Pat, Shaka, Asha and Kanini. If you read about his life, you will find over the years, Walter Rodney speaking at Hyde Park as a student in London, speaking in the gullies in Jamaica, speaking in Tanzania. If you read the history of Pan-Africanists, if you read the history of Blyden or the history of Henry Sylvester Williams, you will see that they all assigned themselves the task of educating the people, working with the people. You also saw that tendency in Malcolm X, who wherever he was, spent his time educating, organizing, and speaking with people. Walter Rodney spoke to working peoples, both black and Indians. Therefore, we want to raise the question, what does Pan-Africanism mean in multiracial and multiethnic societies? _because, Walter Rodney was a champion of multiracial working

peoples.

How do you develop the concept of Pan-Africanism in societies such as Guyana, such as South America, the United States of America? Because, all over the world, human beings live in societies that are multiethnic. It is only a few societies that think that they can maintain a homogeneous society _the Japanese are trying to do it. But, in all parts of the world, we have to come together as human beings. In the commemorative events, we tried to focus on this issue, but it was one of the issues with which we had great difficulty. When the question was brought up of whether we could discuss Pan-Africanism in the commemoration, we could not have this on the agenda, because, in the Caribbean, at this moment, Pan-Africanism has been high jacked by the ruling classes. Pan-Africanism is being used as a vehicle to advance the agenda of a small section of the ruling class, to the point where, there are people who say, we must maintain power to the exclusion of the Indian working peoples. It was said to us (in the planning stages of the commemorative events), if you are going to discuss Pan-Africanism, you are going to discuss Pan-Indianism.

We know that Pan-Africanism, historically, was part of a worldwide movement for change. What is promoted as Pan-Indianism today has no root in the historic movement of anti-imperialism in India. The idea of Pan-Indianism in the Caribbean comes from elements that are part of the fundamentalists in India today. And so, what we faced within Guyana is how you discuss Pan-Africanism where it does not become a divisive tool between the Indian and African workers. I think the same goes for many parts of the world _ the same goes for this country and the Sudan and all parts of Africa. So, the commemoration was very sensitive (to the question of Pan Africanism).

Last week I was in Cairo. I was at a conference of the African Political Science Association. One of the leading African scholars was making a testament about Walter Rodney. He said people focus on Walter Rodney's intellectual work, but,

it's a mistake, because, you have to focus on Walter Rodney as a human being. He spoke about the humility of Walter Rodney at the University of Dar es Salaam, when all of the people who were Marxist were walking around with Marxism on their sleeves. He had graduated from Stanford University, and as a Political Scientist, worked with the ideas modernization theorists (of (David) Apter and James Coleman and (Sidney) Verba) And yet, as a Political Scientist who graduated from one of the most prestigious institutions of higher education, he could not explain what was going on in his native Nigeria. After graduating from Stanford he was offered a job at the University of Chicago, even without applying for the post, because he was such a brilliant student. He said he had no interest in joining David Apter, Sidney Verba, Gabriel Almond and the luminaries of American Political Science.

Those of you in Political Science know how influential these people were. He then heard that people were going to Tanzania and he went to Tanzania. When he went to Tanzania, he was afraid to open his mouth, because, in the United States, universities such as Stanford provide at best, only two weeks of exposure to Marxist theory, because they don't teach Marxism in the United States of America. It is one country where they think you can block a body of knowledge. When he was in Dar es Salaam, he heard all of these people debating, but, when Walter Rodney spoke, Walter Rodney was always willing to teach. The point he made about Walter Rodney was: more important than his teaching, was Walter Rodney's relations to his family. He was devoted to his family and his children. This scholar noted that what many people do not know was that Patricia Rodney, the wife of Walter Rodney, was even more profoundly revolutionary than Walter Rodney, because, she had a direct relationship with the Tanzanian people, with the workers and what was going on in Tanzania with the people. Patricia Rodney has now joined the area of academia. She has developed and carried forth the ideas of Walter Rodney and is working with Morehouse Medical School. She has developed and carried forth the ideas and work of revolutionary politics in her

own right, coming out of the struggles that came out of the life and works, since the assassination of Walter Rodney.

Walter Rodney and Pan-Africanism:

We want to be able to see how this human being reflected on Pan-Africanism. In my view, one of the most important essays on Pan-Africanism is the one that was written for the Sixth Pan-African Congress in 1974. The title is: "Toward the Sixth Pan-African Congress: Aspects of the International Class Struggles in Africa, the Caribbean and America." You will find it reproduced in the *Black Scholar*, in the *Institute of the Black World* and in the book I edited entitled: "Pan-Africanism: The Struggle Against Imperialism," which is in your library under Pan-African Congress.⁷ In it is outlined, how the Sixth Pan-African Congress could distinguish itself from former Pan-African Congresses. Just to give you an idea, one of the leading Pan-Africanist of the nineteen-thirties and forties, was George Padmore, from the Caribbean. George Padmore, who had differences with the Communist Party, had written a book called "Pan-Africanism or Communism". In this book, he made the sharp distinction between Pan-Africanism and Communism. Now, these distinctions at the theoretical level had great meaning on the ground. When Walter Rodney was in Tanzania, you will see that the African National Congress of South Africa, (which is itself a Pan-African movement that came out of the Pan-Africanism of the 20th Century), also sought to distinguish itself by stating that it is very different from the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania or PAC. (This division between Marxists and Pan-Africanists), plagued the movement throughout the nineteen fifties and sixties. What Walter Rodney was doing in his essay, is saying that we should not be involved in these differences.

As Howard Dodson says in his book "Walter Rodney Speaks", some people call Walter Rodney a Marxist, some people call Walter Rodney Pan-Africanist, some people call him a simple black power nationalist, but, Walter Rodney's life defied

⁷ Walter Rodney, "Toward the Sixth Pan-African Congress : Aspects of International Class Struggles in Africa, the United States and the Caribbean" in Horace Campbell, ed, *Pan Africansim: the Struggles Against Imperialism*, AfroCarib Publications, Toronto , 1975

simple definitions, because, he was above all, a human being more concerned with the dignity of African peoples. The book "Groundings With My Brothers" has, in my view, one of the clear Pan-African statements, especially the chapter which he presented at the Black Writers Conference in Montréal, in 1968, before he was banned from Kingston. The lecture is entitled "African History in Service of Black Revolution."⁸ If you want to really get into that chapter, you must go back to see what Cheikh Anta Diop would say about the need for historical continuity. He states that the people have to be given that spiritual security about their history in order for them to be able to act in politics. I would encourage you to read the book ***Groundings With My Brothers***.

The other book which most of you know is ***How Europe Underdeveloped Africa***. This is a classic, which, I was told last week in Cairo, has been translated into Arabic and that more than fifty-thousand copies have sold in the Arab World. How many of you here have read it? I am told that it is the most pirated book in Nigeria and that many copies have been printed and reproduced. It has been translated into Spanish, into Portuguese, but, the Portuguese copy was translated in 1975 during the period of the Portuguese revolution. There is now an interest to have it re-published, so that it can get into Brazil, into Angola and Mozambique. Similarly, the Spanish translation was translated in Mexico, but, we are seeking ways now, with our relationship with the Venezuelans, to get it re-published.

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa brought to the fore the relationships between Europe and Africa and the legacies of exploitation and racism. It was this book that popularized a new brand of committed Pan African scholarship). The work on Pan-Africanism is voluminous. But, what I want to look at is what is it that we mean by Pan-Africanism today? The book by Philippe Wamba entitled "Kinship", captures the essence of what is meant by Pan-Africanism today. As

⁸ Walter Rodney, *The Groundings With My Brothers*, Bogle L'Overture Publications, London 1969

the title implies, the book looks at what is meant by kinship _ and what Philippe Wamba does, is to deal with African people, ordinary people everywhere, such as Amadou Diallo and begins to give contour to the notion of Pan-Africanism of the streets. ⁹Pan-Africanism of the streets views AIDS as the particular responsibility of human beings all over the world and considers how do we understand the human body, life and health? How do we organize healthcare? The AIDS pandemic is the number one issue for all of humanity, but, more importantly, for African people, if we have twenty million people dying of AIDS. Therefore, any agenda that we have for research, must be very different from the agenda of the pharmaceutical companies whose interest in the development of drugs is based on making profits and not to find a cure for AIDS. So, we must address what Professor Micere Mugo has said in her essay on Pan-Africanism. Professor Mugo has addressed the issue of women, youth and the masses in the redefinition of Pan-Africanism and this is how we move from the Pan-Africanism of yesterday_ a Pan-Africanism of Congresses and leaders, of yesterday. ¹⁰ How do we go to the Pan-Africanism that is needed today? To do this we must turn to Walter Rodney for inspiration and to see what he said. In his book "Walter Rodney Speaks", it was written that;

"To talk about Pan-Africanism, to talk about international solidarity with the black world, with every center of the black world where we live, there is a series of responsibilities attached. One of the most important responsibilities is to define our own situation _ that is the first responsibility. A second responsibility is to present that definition to other parts of the black world, indeed, the whole of the progressive world."

So, we define our selves if we are in the United States and if we are in New Orleans. We define ourselves to other people in Brazil, or Cuba, or elsewhere.

⁹ Philippe *Wamba, Kinship : a family's journey in Africa and America* , Dutton, New York 1999

¹⁰ Micere Mugo, "Re-envisioning Pan Africanism,: What is the Role of Gender, Youth and the Masses?" in *Pan Africanism and Integration in Africa*, edited by Ibbo Mandaza and Dan Nabudere Micere Mugo

"A third responsibility is to help others in different sections of the black world to reflect on their own specific experience."

How do we help the people of Haiti, or the Sudan, to reflect on their experiences?

This is Walter Rodney's definition of Pan-Africanism:

"Any pan-concept is an exercise in self-definition by the people, in the establishment of a broader re-definition of themselves than that which has so far been permitted by those in power. Invariably, however, this exercise is undertaken by a specific social group or class which speaks on behalf of the population as a whole." ¹¹

So, let us look at the different experiences of Pan-movements to discern their articulation of a Pan-movement.

The two Pan-movements, after the Second World War, that we need to look at to see how it is when we speak of Pan-movements are: The Pan-Slavic movement and the Pan-Arab movement. When we speak of pan-movements, we speak simultaneously of unity and diversity. When we speak of the Pan-Slavic movement, for example, there is unity and diversity between the Slavic people as a whole and the diversity between someone who is in Yugoslavia and someone who is in Romania, and, someone who is in the Ukraine. Similarly, Pan-Arabism deals with Arab peoples as a whole, whether those Arab people are in Saudi Arabia, or, Morocco, or Yemen. We have to look at the particularities of that Pan-Arabism to discern how that Arab identity manifests itself in different locations. Similarly with Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism speaks to the condition of Africans in Brazil, in Colombia and Beaumont, Texas, in Chicago and Madrid, Spain. But, we have to look at the particular context of the struggle of the African in these particular spaces. So, what Walter Rodney is asking is: which class leads the

¹¹ Walter Rodney, *Walter Rodney Speaks: The Making of an African Intellectual*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990.

national movement? In the United States today, when we speak of Pan-African movements, we must know to ask ourselves to consider who are the spokespersons for Pan-Africanism in the midst of the conditions of black people. Who are the spokespersons in South Africa, or in Brazil, or in Cuba? And, who are the silent classes on whose behalf national claims are being articulated? What Rodney wrote in his chapter for the Sixth Pan-African Congress is that we need to look at the experience of Slavic nationalism and Pan-Slavism at the end of World War I. We need to examine the relationship between the intelligentsia and the peasantry and the way in which the Slavic people faced Balkanization and the divisions among the Slavic people after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The concept of Balkanization came out of that experience. There was a time when there was an attempt made to build a socialist alternative in Yugoslavia, but, recently, that socialist alternative shattered in the face of chauvinism and ethnic rivalry and that breakdown led to genocide. So, when we look at pan-movements like this and see which class is leading it, we have to see the inherent dangers; we see the same thing in Pan-Arabism.

Pan-Arabism has a direct relationship to the Pan-African movement and the Pan-African world. A society such as Egypt stands at the crossroads of both the Pan African and Pan Arab world. There are many lessons for Pan-Africanists to learn and to see how they relate to this part of the world. Because, there are sections of the Pan-African movement that says _we don't deal with Arabs, because, Arabs took Africans in slavery. I would argue that they are embracing a simplistic notion about Africans in all parts of the world, related to all Arabs. There are some black intellectuals who collapse Islam with Arabism, and so, make no distinction between someone who is Islamic and African in Morocco and someone who is Islamic and Arab in Yemen or in another part of the Arab world. We have to, as the colleagues in the Afro-Arab unity is doing, look at the specificity of the history of the relationship between Africans and Arabs, the spirit of the Arab Islamic Empires and the impact it had on Africans.

What we do know is that at a certain moment at the end of World War II, the progressive wing of the Arab Nationalist movement had the same interests as the progressive Pan-African movement and we saw that in the Algerian Revolution. We also saw that with Nasser (the former President of Egypt). We saw the way in which Nasser supported the African Liberation movements throughout the African world. Where is Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism after Nasser? Where do Africans stand on the number one question of North Africa and the Middle-East _the question of Palestine? I know that in some universities, we cannot even discuss Palestine, because, Zionism is such an important force within the university. And now in the war against terrorism, people collapse people who are Islamic with terrorism, so, we cannot really discuss the issues of the Arab world. What I am saying is, for the Pan-Africanist, the level of analysis has to be a bit more sophisticated than the simplistic differences between black and white, Arab and African, Slavs and Jew. We have to be able to grasp the class context of these things, so we can begin to understand the history of oppression, the history of genocide, the tradition of genocide and rise above the European ideation system.

Eurocentrism celebrates genocide as progress, so that the killing of the First Nations Peoples in North America was considered progressive. David Stannard, in his book "The American Holocaust", claims that over one hundred million first nation peoples were killed, from North America to South America; we do not study this as genocide.¹² We have to be able to see how this genocide is part of the history of what we are dealing with today. Today we are told of another genocide that is going on in Darfur. How do Pan-Africanist relate to the genocide in Darfur? How did we organize against the genocide of yesterday? Why was there a silence when it was maintained that Jews were inferior and vermin, and therefore, should be liquidated. Who spoke out when the Eugenics movement that grew out of the United States became a worldwide movement? Where is the eugenics movement today? There is a movie that I recommend you see, called:

¹² David Stannard, *American Holocaust*. Oxford University Press, 1992

"The Constant Gardener." The movie is adapted from the book by the same name. It is a movie about eugenics in which John Le Carre uses the metaphor gardener to explain a manifestation of eugenics today. ¹³The movie depicts how the pharmaceutical interests in Africa wield power and the economic dynamics of the AIDS pandemic relative to how Africans are devalued. This is a very sophisticated movie and I would recommend it very strongly. In the relatively recent past, a similar mind set prevailed _Do you know who the gardener was in World War II? Hitler was the Gardener. In his way of thinking, Hitler was keeping the world free of the "vermin" who were the Jews. Hitler was metaphorically, cleaning the world. So, genocide was cleansing.

How do we respond to the AIDS pandemic? We cannot respond by the old responses of Pan-Africanism from above. For, however important the leaders of the Pan-African movement were, we have to look at the different forms of Pan-Africanism as social movements, to see which class leads the social movement. We have to see Pan-Africanism from below as coming from the masses of the people, and not by making distinctions between the leaders, because, leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah learnt from the movement of the people. The Universal Negro Improvement Association, in the 1920s, was a coming together of Africans from Costa Rica, Africans from Jamaica, Africans from Guyana, Africans from Barbados, Africans from the South, coming together in Harlem, resisting against the Jim Crow of the 1920s. The Negro World, (the newspaper of the U.N.I.A) was a tool for mobilizing black people; and, the Universal Negro Improvement Association continued to be one of the foremost movements among the Pan-Africanist of the 1920s.

As a giant of the Pan-African movement, Dubois was involved in four or five of the major Pan-African Congresses from 1912 through 1945. What those of us who came along later have done, is fallen into a trap of creating profound distinctions between the Pan-Africanism of Garvey and the Pan-Africanism of

¹³ John Le Carre, *The Constant Gardener*, Hodder & Stoughton, New York 2001

Dubois. What many scholars have done is to dwell on these divisions. We have to be able to appreciate, celebrate and learn from the positive lessons of both the Garvey movement and Dubois, or we are doomed to reap the harvest that results from divisions. When we become too focused on the differences between the various leaders or movements, we create opportunities for outside forces to exploit the resulting fractures. The political leadership of the United States, for example, exploited the differences between Dubois and Garvey _these forces, led by J. Edgar Hoover exploited the differences within the Harlem Renaissance movement. And we can see today, how the United State government is seeking to exploit differences between Christian and Muslim in the so-called war on terror.

So, we have to see Pan-Africanism and African liberation as coming from the masses of the people. And the voices of the masses of the people are different from the voices of leaders. (Music is played – The song “One Love” is played and the audience joins in)

One love! One heart!
Let's get together and feel all right.
Hear the children cryin (one love!);
Hear the children cryin (one heart!),
Sayin: give thanks and praise to the lord and I will feel all right;
Sayin: let's get together and feel all right.

Let them all pass all their dirty remarks (one love!);
There is one question Id really love to ask (one heart!):
Is there a place for the hopeless sinner?
Who has hurt all mankind just to save his own beliefs?
Is there a place? ... Let's stand together ... to see the unification of Africa ...
(these words are voiced over Bob Marley's "One Love" playing in the background.)

Bob Marley was speaking for the majority of African peoples. The Pan-Africanism Marley was speaking to, was a Pan-Africanism from bellow. The unification of Africa was for the unification of the people of Africa, to end apartheid. So, how do we talk about Pan-Africanism in the era after apartheid?

Nelson Mandela, after becoming president of South Africa, challenged the Organization of African Unity on: How could the Organization of African Unity have a clause in its charter about non-interference in the internal affairs of African states? We have moved from the era of non-interference to the era of the African Union _ Linked in the spirit of an African Renaissance, that is, the spirit who wants Pan-Africanism for the twenty-first Century to be different.

I would suggest to you that one of the major tasks of research is to study the question of integration of the African peoples in the era of the African Union. This would be a major task for research, because, the African Union is a reality that we must celebrate. We must celebrate the African Union because it came out of the hard work by African people. It came out of the spirit of love, the spirit of joy, the spirit of perseverance. How do we bring that spirit that is at the base of the African Union to the level of policy, to the level of intellectual engagement, so that the African Union move beyond what some people want it to be, today _ that is, Neo-Liberal-Pan-Africanism.

I am, in my work using the concept of UBUNTU _UBUNTU as a philosophical concept to guide the growth of the Pan-African Union. – (Song of One Love is played and audience sings the words of one love- speaker then voices over the following words)

Lets get together ... let me hear you

One Love ...

One question I want to ask...

Is there a place? ...

Let's get together...

Come on...

Thank you...

One more time...

That's the spirit

Let me go through the last few points about where we are in the Twenty-first Century.

The twenty-first Century calls for a rebirth of Africa, through what we call, UBUNTU. UBUNTU is the philosophical concept, which, is in all parts of Africa. In every African language, there is a word for this concept. In East African Kiswahili, it is called utu. There is no translation for this word, but, you can variously call it reconciliation, willingness to share, truth and love. We can distinguish between UBUNTU that is coming from the people and the New African Partnership for Development, which is coming from the African leaders, which is called NEPAD. Some of us call it kneepad, because, they go begging on their knees from Europe. We call that begging: Neo-Liberal-Pan-Africanism, because, it is not Pan-Africanism that is coming from the people. But, out of this struggle (to create the African Union) , we have the voices of the African people being raised, where we have the struggles of the African Union to ratify the clause aimed at ending discrimination against women.

Pan-Africanism and Women Today:

For the first time, we have the Pan-African Parliament that was convened last year and we have Gertrude Mongella, who was part of the Beijing process as the head of it, as the president of the Pan-African Parliament. Our task now, is to popularize the African Union, but, to popularize it as a union of the people. Walter Rodney said: "one of the cardinal principles of Pan-Africanism is that the people from one part of Africa are responsible for their brothers and sisters in other parts of Africa, indeed, black people in all parts of the world are to share in this responsibility."

I want to show you this map, to show you an example of Neo-Liberal-Pan-Africanism in action (speaker points to map of the planned grid to sell electricity from the Inga Dam in the Congo to Western Europe). This map is symbolic of Neo-Liberal-Pan-Africanism as expressed through the plans of the South African government. The South African government plans to harness the resources at a place called the Inga Dam, which is located on the Congo River. Within this dam

is located more than thirty percent of the world's hydroelectric resource. The South African government plan to sell the hydroelectric power from the Congo, using power lines that goes right over the heads of the African people, into Europe. This plan of capital shows that they are more concerned with how to make profits, than planning for the people. We would say that from our point of view, Pan-Africanism in the twenty-first Century is equal to peace and the electrification of the African continent.

But, as Walter Rodney said, "Pan-Africanism must involve transformation of the environment, while making a break with imperialism and forming African political and economic unity." These are all dialectically related and as far as Rodney is concerned, "can only be carried out through the leadership of the working classes." African women are taking the leadership on the question of Pan-Africanism. African women are taking the lead in critiquing male centered Pan-Africanism. As one of my sisters in Guyana said when we mentioned that we were Pan-Africanist __ where have you been when we are talking about the struggles and the violation of women? Where have you been when we talk about rape and the other aspects of gender oppression? So when we said hello, that's how she started her article __ where have you been? ¹⁴So, how do you implicate masculinity, patriarchy and Dodatism in the Pan-African movement?

In the interest of time, I am going to have to skip some of these slides, to deal with two topics that I think are important to deal with at this juncture. I would like to mention John Garang _ and it's not only because of my brother Salah Hassan that I am bringing him up, but, because, this is one person that I think we don't speak enough about. In July of this year, John Garang, the leader of the Sudanese Peoples Liberation movement was killed in a plane crash. John Garang was associated with Walter Rodney, because, he was a member of the Dar es Salaam school. In many senses, Garang is the last of those leaders that came out of Dar es Salaam, with a tradition of fighting for liberation. Not only

¹⁴ Bonita Harris, "Pan Africanism and Caribbean Women" in *African Journal of Political Science* Vol 1, No 1, 1996

fighting for liberation, but, the unity of Africa and the unity of the Sudan. Within the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (S.P.L.M) and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (S.P.L.A), Garang was opposed by members of the Southern Sudanese moment, who felt that the only way to go forward in the Sudan was through a division of the North from the South. This matter is now an open question, whether in the referendum in six years time, there will be a vote for a South that is separated from the North.

This question of the Sudan is important for the Pan-African world, because, the danger is that there is an intense campaign by sections of the imperialist world about Arab slave trade and Islamic domination of Africa. This imperialist initiative will prevent the kind of discussion that we should have about how Pan-Africanism should relate to the questions of peace in the Sudan and ending genocide in Darfur.

The African women of the Sudan are charting a different course. They are saying that whether we are from Darfur, whether from the Nuba Mountains, whether from Khartoum or from the South, we have the same interest in ending violence, in ensuring that we have basic dignity and the right to life. And we can share the documents that came out of the meeting in Kampala, where these statements were made with you.¹⁵ One of the lessons that we can learn in the Pan-African struggles for liberation can be taken from the struggles of the women of the Sudan.

The tape skips at this point.

¹⁵ "Second Kampala Declaration on Human Rights, Democracy and Development in Sudan " <http://www.africaaction.org/docs00/sud0007.htm>

See also, "Sudanese Women's Declaration and Plan of Action Civil Forum of Sudan Conference, Women's Rights in the Sudan : Agenda for the Future, Kampala ," Uganda , 11-15 March 2002 <http://www.peacewomen.org/resources/Sudan/Kampala2002.html>

The Haitian situation is very militarized, and so, we have to ask: what are the tasks of the Pan-African movement in terms of the relationship to Haiti and the movement in Haiti today. Yesterday, Condoleezza Rice was in Haiti. She was in Haiti yesterday for the question of the Haitian elections _elections without the people. I say elections without the people, when we call to mind the coup d'etat that took place in 2004, when Jean-Bertrand Aristide was removed from office. Let me conclude by reading from the poem by Martin Carter. In this poem, Martin Carter was talking about the silence in relationship to Walter Rodney. The poem is called Assassins of Conversation.

Assassins of Conversation

Assassins of conversation, they bury the voice,
They assassinate in the beloved grave of the voice,
Never to be silent,
I sit in the presence of rain in the sky's wild noise of the feet
of some who not only, but also, kill the origin of rain, the ankle of the whore
as fastidious as the great fight, the wife of water.
Riskier, risk. I intend to turn a sky of tears for you

This is a poem by Martin Carter that was written after the assassination of Walter Rodney. We are going to shed tears for Walter Rodney. We are going to remember him. We are going to continue to struggle for justice. We are also going to struggle to end the verbal assassination of Walter Rodney. We are going to campaign to insure that there is an investigation into the assassination of Walter Rodney and we are going to insure that we struggle to bring Walter Rodney to the young people.

Thank you very much!

Question and Answer Segment:

Question: Why did you make such a sharp distinction between Pan-Africanism from below and Pan-African leaders?

Answer: Clearly, I did not want to present a sharp dichotomy (between Pan-Africanism from below and African leaders), because, if you look at Lumumba, or Nkrumah, or Nasser, or Nyerere, all of these people were part of what you call all class movements. As an all class movement, they combined the best of the anti-colonial struggles. So, you are correct to say that at certain historical moments these movements combined the best of the African liberation struggles, whether it was in the Algerian liberation struggle or the struggles in Southern Africa. But, the emergence of the African intelligentsia, the African elite, from the 1970s and the way they have been appropriating the Pan-African discourse to serve the interest of the state, means, that we have to draw this line.

If I think today of South Africa, where the South African leadership when it was in exile never wanted to discuss Pan-Africanism. But today, these leaders want to have debates on the African Diaspora and Pan-Africanism, because, they face the challenge of attracting African investments. I was going to mention the case of Amadou Diallo in my presentation, but, did not have enough time. The South African government never raised the issue of the killing of Amadou Diallo.¹⁶

There is not one African government that raised the matter of his killing. The only government in the world that raised a question about his brutal murder at the hand of New York City police officers, was the Malaysian President.

The African governments want those Africans who live in the West to send remittances to Africa. Currently, the remittances that go back to Africa from Africans living in the Diaspora, collectively, is more than the amount of money coming from Western aid donors. But, they are not doing anything to support the

¹⁶ African immigrant, shot 41 times by New York City police officer

struggles against racism in these host countries. So, we will rejoin this, so we can tease it out.

Similarly, in South Africa, South African capital is all across the African continent, but, South African immigration policies is most restrictive against Mozambicans, Zimbabweans and people from other African countries. We have to speak about this, and when we speak about an African Union, we emphasize that the African Union is not just for governments, but, that it is also for the people.

I accept your point, that the distinctions should not be drawn so sharply. But, we need to today, draw these distinctions until we push the Pan-African Parliament to be responsive to the needs of the people; until the Pan-African Union shows support for the people in the Diaspora, to help them claim their personal dignity. And on the point about AIDS, it was part of the presentation that I rushed through. But, among the responsibilities that must be addressed by Pan-Africanism, is the responsibility of creating health centers and Pan-African monitoring centers, and training methods which makes a breaks from the Neo-liberal agenda.

I completely agree with you about the research agenda, because, the research agenda could only become clear when we know what has gone before. We don't know enough about what has gone on before, because, as you say, how many of our students know about the relationship between Ben Bella and Nasser and Fanon and Che Guevara? In this period, how many people know about the relationship between Garang and Rodney? We don't have that basic information. In this period, when we have the World Conference Against Racism in Durban, the program of action for a new educational system which should have kicked in after Durban, the West do not want to hear anything about (the WCA - and the Program of Action) So, it's up to us, to places like the Africana Center at Cornell University that should implement the programs that grew out of the Durban agenda.

They (meaning the leading powers of the United Nations and the Security Council) talk about being at the United Nations Conference (and ensuring follow up). They had Beijing plus Five in 2000 and last year they had a big conference called Beijing plus Ten. When are we going to have discussions on the World's Conference against Racism and discussions on reparations? So, the research agenda must include raising these questions that have been put forward by Pan-Africanism.

Question: Can you elaborate on the issues of Pan-Africanism in Guyana today?

Answer: Yes, it is very delicate, very delicate and the way to deal with it is to have a conversation about it, to be open about it. Let us look at the specific contradictions of Guyana. Walter Rodney was an African in Guyana. There are African workers in Guyana. But, the Guyanese African middle class is very developed. It is one of the most developed middle classes. Forbes Burnham who was the President of Guyana and an African, was in control of the government that is responsible for the assassination of Walter Rodney. Walter Rodney was assassinated because he wanted to bring African and Indian workers together with a new politics. In Guyana, there are Indian workers and there are also Indian capitalists.

The African middle class has begun a campaign to organize the African working class to say, we must not be under the power of the coolie (Indian). In other words, they collapse the Indian workers with the Indian capitalists and they have gone to the point of mobilizing African workers in a certain city in Guyana, called Buxton, to say, they are waging armed struggle against Indians and they are going around killing Indians. It is a very serious situation.

We are very worried about it, because Guyana is next to Venezuela, and it is our belief that there are external forces that have an interest in destabilization and violence. So, the Indian-African inter-ethnic violence could serve to destabilize Guyana, so that elements could intervene to destabilize Venezuela. I don't know

if you know that Venezuela is now asserted itself as a leader in what is called the Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America (ALBA). What progressive Pan-Africanists are saying is that there can be no liberation of Africans in Guyana that involves the killing of Indian workers. ¹⁷It is in the interest of Pan-Africanists to see that their dignity is respected. As Africans it is in our interest to be supportive of the dignity of Indian workers. And so, we are not silent in Pan-Africanism. That is why it is so important to draw the line between conservative elements in the movement called ACDA __ the African Cultural and Development Association (and the more progressive elements.) The conservative elements of ACDA say that Walter Rodney was foolish to talk about Indian and African unity. We want to be able to raise the issue of Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century and do what Professor Mugo has said and what Rodney has said _move Pan-Africanism beyond Pan-Africanist leaders, toward a pan-Africanism of women, youth and the masses. In that sense, we know that there are (historical and cultural) differences between us and Indians, but, you have to look at the point of convergence. Let's look at one point of convergence of the Guyanese people. In chapter one of "The History of the Guyanese Working Peoples", Walter Rodney laid out the geographical location of Guyana and the fact that the enslaved people built (the city of) Georgetown. They built the polders, the dams ... In January of this year, Guyana was threatened by flood. They were about to move two-hundred thousand people out of the city. I mention this event to illustrate how nature does not participate in these human constructs around differences. The flood threatened Indian and African alike, even those who built the town. This teaches us that we have to have a vision of how we rehabilitate society for everyone. Hurricane Katrina has shown us that we cannot be organized as a society around the interests of capital. We have to be particularly vigilant in the case of what is happening in New Orleans, because, the capitalist class has a vision of reconstruction which does not include the masses of poor, working

¹⁷ For an elaboration of the killings in Buxton and the targeting of Indians by the 'so-called Black Liberation Army, see Eusi Kwayana, *The Morning After*, Guyana Caribbean Politics Publication, Georgetown Guyana, 2005

peoples of New Orleans. That is why our research work, whether it be in law, engineering, economics, or business, has to focus on how we strengthen our people in New Orleans, to insure that this administration does not use the hurricane to dis-empower the people.

Question: Not recorded

Answer: Relative to Walter Rodney's assassination and its similarity to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Patrice Lumumba and Malcolm X, I have an article which draws a parallel between all three of these assassinations.¹⁸

We are not just having these celebrations because we want to celebrate Walter Rodney's life. Walter Rodney was assassinated physically, there are others who are assassinating him intellectually. These detractors say that he shouldn't have been there, that he was adventurous and therefore, there is a disinclination to raise the matter of his assassination. In fact, Professor Mazrui was one of the boldest ones who before the Guyanese government said we must end the silence around the assassination of Walter Rodney, in Guyana, he stated that there should be a complete investigation. Professor Mazrui and Walter Rodney did not agree politically, but we must recognize the decency of Professor Mazrui who said, we must insure that we end the silence around the question of Walter Rodney.

There are two examples that we want to use in clarifying the question [that was posed], that of Patrice Lumumba and Malcolm X. Everywhere you go, people have pictures of Malcolm X, people talk about Malcolm X, they celebrate Malcolm X, but, forty years after the assassination of Malcolm X, we still do not know who was responsible for his assassination. We still have not had a proper investigation into the assassination of Malcolm X. So, for all the black studies

¹⁸ Horace Campbell, "On Precedents of Investigating Assassinations and Murders: Lessons from Malcolm X, Patrice Lumumba for the Walter Rodney Inquiry."

departments across the country and all the celebrations for Malcolm X, we still have not delved into the conspiracy that led to the assassination of Malcolm X. We still don't know who was on the inside with Malcolm X and who the forces are that are still alive, who participated in this conspiracy.

Similarly, with Patrice Lumumba; Patrice Lumumba was killed in January of 1961 and still, we celebrate Lumumba; but, the Belgian government do not want us to talk about Lumumba's assassination, because, they want to have assassination with impunity. We are raising the question of the assassination of Walter Rodney in the same light as the assassination of Lumumba and Malcolm X. That is, we believe that it is our scholarly and political duty, not only to talk about Walter Rodney as a great scholar and academic, but to continuously talk about the manner of his death, because if we don't, the tradition of violence and killing with impunity, will continue.

The Chilean people are dogged about September 11th. They say, their September 11th will not go away until there is justice. On September 11, 1973, there was a coup de'tat in Chile. They killed Salvador Allende and General Augusto Pinochet was held up as a great liberator to free the country from Socialism. He went around the world and was celebrated by the United States of America. But, the people of Chile was determined that this man was a war criminal and he should be arrested and stand trial. Ultimately, they were so effective that a Spanish judge brought charges against Pinochet and had him arrested. He was arrested in the British court and he was tried in Chile. That's another kind of globalization, where we have a sharing of knowledge and movement around the world to bring justice. So, we want people to do the same kind of work around Walter Rodney. We were hoping that we can have five or six thesis coming from MAs and PhDs on Walter Rodney, to investigate every aspect of his life.

Question: Thanks Horace, I appreciate the investigation. I was just wondering a couple of things _ whether or not we need to approach the whole question of the

study of Pan-Africanism in a more historic and periodized way. My particular reference is: if you take the period of the 1960s to just at the end of the 1970s, that was a period in which the situation presented itself for supporting the anti-colonial movement, particularly, support for the liberation struggles that were taking place on the ground, that were mostly armed struggles inside Southern Africa.

For instance, I think that enough work have not yet been done on the African liberation movements, that supported formulations and developed movements in Mozambique, in Angola, as well as in Zimbabwe and South Africa ... that's one point ... The period we are in now present different kinds of realities and challenges and I wonder what your feeling is about whether or not we ought to be talking more about Pan-African formations as a set of Pan-African movements, in some sort of global perspective, which I think is a much harder situation and perhaps not very realistic.

Lastly, I wonder why you hadn't mentioned the government of Barbados and its recent development in the Caribbean. It is quite unusual to expect that Barbados would be taking such a forward move on Pan-Africanism, even elevating it to the level of a state bureau. So, I was just wondering what you think.

Answer: Thanks for the points that you made. Without being crude, I think that we have to have that periodization. At the beginning I attempted to draw that time-line. I talked about the Pan-Africanism of the enslaved and their struggles for dignity and the Pan-Africanist at the turn of the 19th Century: the era of Sylvester Williams, Robert Love and Dubois and we can even divide it more sharply, between 1900 and 1920.

One high point of Pan-Africanism, without a doubt, was the point of the Garvey movement. I have just seen a translation in Spanish of the Garvey movement in Cuba and the impact that that movement had internationally. And again, as you said, the period of the struggle against colonialism in the International African

Service Bureau, when Padmore and James were working with Nkrumah was another period which was different from the post independence period. So, you are right, periodization brings out the contradictions in a particular period at its high point. I think this comes up with the point that Professor Hassan is making _ that it is hard to make a sharp dichotomy of Pan-Africanism from above and Pan-Africanism from below, especially in a period like the International African Service Bureau period. But, we do not have enough information on the periods, because, we have not done enough work. The Pan-African work that we have done so far have been about conferences and great individuals like Padmore, James, Dubois, Mandela, Nyerere, and other notables. What we are seeking to do, is to inspire a new kind of research work on Pan-Africanism.

I would agree with you. I went to Barbados three times and there is a book that is coming out at the end of this year, by New Academia Publishing on Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century. I am writing this book together with a young Barbadian scholar who has been writing about Barbados. The point that you are making is that we are going to be surprised where Pan-Africanism is going to come from in the next ten to fifteen years, and that is the point. We are going to be pleasantly surprised.

In Venezuela, they have just established a ministry of African affairs. I met with representatives when I was there. They are very aggressive about this question of Pan-Africanism. The African Descendants Caucus of South America have been working very hard. Some of my brothers and sisters are going to Brazil tomorrow, because, we expect that one of the major upsurge in the Pan-African movement will come from South America, in the 21st Century. So, how are we going to work with this movement and move it forward? That unity of Pan-Africanism has to be a unity of the Diasporic African people _the cultural, historic, psychological, as well as the diversity; that is why I want to make that point. Pan-Africanism has been sensitive to the unity and diversity, but, as Rodney said, "we have to define our interests at this particular moment."

Professor Edmondson: That says it all, thank you Horace._

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 - 14 "Second Kampala Declaration on Human Rights, Democracy and Development in Sudan " <http://www.africaaction.org/docs00/sud0007.htm>
- See also, "Sudanese Women's Declaration and Plan of Action
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<http://www.peacewomen.org/resources/Sudan/Kampala2002.html>
- 15 Note: African immigrant, shot 41 times by New York City police officers.
Quote on UWI Senior Common Room - from Nigel as commentary from what Rodney told fellow Guyanese, Rohlehr, Gordon.