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Revolutionary Black Nationalism in America with some

References to Africa: the 20th Century

Présenté et soutenu publiquement par :

M. AISSANI Zoubir

Devant le Jury composé de :

Moulfi Leila	Professeur	Université d'Oran 2	Présidente
Belmekki Blekacem	Professeur	Université d'Oran 2	Rapporteur
Dani Fatiha	MCA	Université d'Oran 1	Examinateur

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List of Abbreviations

NOI: Nation of Islam

OAU: Organization of African Unity

AU: African Unity

ACS: American Colonization Society

PFAS: Philadelphia Free American Society

AS: African Society

MEC: Methodist Episcopal Church

SF: Society of Friends

UNIA: Universal Negro Improvement Association

NAACP: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

KKK: Klu Klux Klan

SCLC: Southern Christian Leadership Conference

CORE: Congress of Racial Equality

SNCC: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

OAAU: Organization of Afro American Unity

NCM: Negro Convention Movement

AERDA: Association des étudiants du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain

AGEAP: Association Générale Des étudiants Africains

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation

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General Introduction

During the nineteenth century the world was drowned in the imperialistic dominance practiced by France, Italy, Britain and most importantly the United States of America. They had exhausted the extorted colonies with their exploitation policies and determination to rule them with such an extreme cruelty and institutionalized violence; this policy caused a disastrous degradation of social and economic life. The situation was unbearable in those colonies, so the need for a revolution was rising day after day. Most of the colonies wrested back their independence in the twentieth century after long years of struggle such as Algeria in 1962.

Since World War two, USA became the leading imperialistic power in the world because the economic strength of Europe had been destroyed. Nevertheless, the situation inside the country was unstable because of the government's activities against nonwhite popularity. Economic exploitation was the main reason that made America the biggest slave owning country for over three hundred years.

The struggle over black freedom from the shackles of the American society reached the pinnacle of its success by following the northern example after the complete abolition of southern slavery; it did not end through a gradual legislation but in the context of the Civil War and officially with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the US constitution in December 1865. Millions of men, women and children became free.

However, racism was one of the main aspects of the American life at the time and a new war against white supremacy and social inequality had to be fought. Blacks had to be prepared and well organized because change was not easy. Therefore, bright ideologies that made quick progress were adopted; Black Nationalism was one of the fundamentals adopted by blacks in the struggle. Furthermore, this ideology was developed to be a global matter in which became known as Pan-Africanism.

As a matter of fact, as the United States grew significant changes occurred. The institution of slavery became more rooted in the southern states, while the northern ones abolished it. Pennsylvania was the first state to pass a gradual act for a gradual abolition. This law prohibited any further importation of slaves and guaranteed that the future children of currently enslaved mothers would be born free.

Moreover, the cotton gin invention in 1793 allowed the cultivation of short staple cotton, which could be grown in inland areas. This change demanded a huge number of imported slaves to work on the fields and establish new plantations. The south witnessed a 70 percent increase in slaves in only twenty years which is a high rate that indicates the massive growth of agricultural business in South America. This growth left no reason for the southerners to follow the northern example which abolished slavery, but only made them insist on it as a necessary aspect of the economic life. In 1808, Congress abolished international slave trade. While African Americans celebrated this victory, the ban only increased the demand for slaves. Nevertheless, blacks were trapped in the south by the new Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 which allowed any black person to be claimed as a runaway unless a white person testifies on their behalf.

As time passed, they were the same number of eleven free and eleven slave states by 1819 which increased sectionalism. Black slaves in the south were hoping for a close change and abolition of slavery for years because the conditions of life were unbearable, but the situation didn't seem to be changing, it was only getting worse especially after the new Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 which required northerners to return escaped slaves from the south to their owners. The compromise of 1850 maintained an unstable peace between the free industrial North and the slave owning agricultural South until the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

Actually, the Civil War in America 1861-1865 broke out for the reason of saving the union but, fortunately for blacks, ended in a fight for the complete abolition of slavery. Some would claim that the struggle for emancipation was won by the slaves themselves. While this remains only a debate, it is undeniable that black people made a huge contribution in the war by running from their masters to become soldiers and contrabands for the union army. As slave masters in the south feared losing their slaves, they had to move their entire plantations further inland to avoid contact with northern troops; however, this only allowed more slaves to escape (Sowell 196).

In addition, when blacks were making a significant progress towards freedom, they were aided by a sudden decision issued by President Lincoln, the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, which was the complete abolition of slavery in all the country with no exception. The Emancipation Proclamation did not actually free slaves at first; in fact, it only affected the southern states. What it did, however, was strengthen the northern war efforts. The decision also led to the 13th amendment to the constitution on December 18, 1865 which legally freed all

slaves who were still in bondage. Another accomplishment of the decision was preventing Britain and France from entering the war. The south was a vital supplier of cotton and tobacco for the Europeans and the war would jeopardize the supplies. It was reasonable that the two countries would join the war but they did not, because the southerners were keeping human beings in bondage which is something unacceptable for them and finally gave their support to the northern union (Sowell 196).

After two centuries of slavery, white people in the south resented not only emancipation but also any form of behavior, words, or attitudes by blacks implying equal humanity and common rights. The status of African Americans was highly frustrating because the initial atmosphere of freedom was emotionally unpromising as well as economically, socially, and politically. Unfortunately, freedom for blacks did not only offer deliverance from the hell of slavery but an uprooting too. Many of them took to the roads, carrying their measly belongings in bundles often "hungry, sick, and barely clad", either looking to start a new life elsewhere or seeking to tie the bunds of a family that had been torn by the sales of slave markets (197).

On the one hand, one of the great fears of white southerners, and then of the federal military occupation officials, was that the newly freed slaves would not settle down and work, but would remain relying on the emergency government rations, given to both whites and blacks in the civil war, and private charity. Local governments, often assisted by the federal authority, later imposed stringent vagrancy and compulsory apprentice laws and many other laws, statutes and regulations severely restricted the freedom of choice of blacks as to where to work and for whom. The abuses under the new laws sometimes amounted to a virtual re-enslavement of blacks. Most of black people continued doing the same kind of jobs after the emancipation as before (198).

Poverty caused the inability among African Americans to support themselves in the daily life requirements. Those who worked in agriculture, by renting lands from white landowners, certainly lacked such sums as would be necessary to help themselves through a whole crop-growing season until harvest time. Therefore, they were dependent on white employers, landowners, and storekeepers to advance them the provisions they needed until harvest time; later they would pay them back either by money or by sharing crops. Black people did not have enough experience to manage their businesses and budging which caused them sometimes to be perpetually in debt. However, they had gained enough experience afterwards in managing their

own farms and began to acquire independence, meaning that blacks later became landowners, which was an outstanding progress in their economic life (Sowell 199).

On the other hand, blacks started to change their behavior patterns over the years and generations when they acquired new experiences and perspectives. But, as with other groups, they did not adapt instantly to their new realities. For generations, on into the 20th century, black leaders complained about their own peoples' wastefulness, extravagance, or improvidence. Married women at that time could have the opportunity to stay at home and raise their children instead of working in the fields as in slavery days; birthrates among blacks were historically higher than among whites. Freed slaves suffered from bad housing conditions, many were living in the same log cabins with dirt floors that they had lived in as slaves. Urban blacks were housed on the average of three rooms per family in 1896 (199).

Security is considered to be a necessity to guarantee a normal social life. Blacks in America were unsecure in their small communities, crime was increasing within the same race and racist organizations were established to disturb and brutalize them in the name of white supremacy; the notorious "Klu Klux Klan" 1866 is the best example. In the middle of the 19th century, police brutality was the new form of oppression; moreover, blacks suffered what was known as "Lynching" especially in the south. Lack of security was one the main reasons of the black great migration to the north to live in big cities like "New York" where life was conceived to be better.

For education, virtually all freed slaves were illiterate, and they represented 90 percent of the Negro population in the 1960's. Public schools were relatively a new idea and still fighting for foothold outside the south, and even rarer within the south. Blacks were not welcomed in public schools, and in the Deep South, it was even illegal for them to attend public schools. However, the situation had gotten better in the late eighteenth century. Several philanthropists in the north either established public schools for black children or had them involved in schools attended by whites. The newly freed Blacks showed a remarkable eagerness, both adults and children, to enroll any opportunity presented to acquire an education. They went from being a 100 percent illiterate to almost 50 percent literate in the fifty years after the Emancipation; it was a remarkable achievement (Williams "Freedom").

Additionally, civil rights and political power first emerged in the South during the Reconstruction under the occupation of the federal military, despite the bitter opposition of the whites, often practiced in the form of extralegal intimidation and violence by various groups, in

which the Klu Klux Klan became the most notorious anti-blacks. With the withdrawal of federal troops from the south and the return of local governments after the political compromise of 1877, civil rights movement and political participation of blacks declined sharply. "Segregated but equal" facilities ruled by the U.S Supreme Court 1896 set the stage for extremely massive and rigid segregation in public facilities that were unusually far from equal. The political oppression of blacks was highly practiced to prevent them from participation in the political life. Moreover, black politicians and social activists were being murdered usually by what "lynching" as a way of silencing. Lynching reached its peak as when 161 Blacks were lynched per year; this indicates that lynching, with the passage of time, became primarily a matter of whites killing blacks (Sowell 212).

In conclusion, African Americans witnessed a long history of oppression since they were brought to the Americas. Over the years they adapted to this kind of life because they had no choice and were the weakest link in the American society. As Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, a German philologist, philosopher, cultural critic, and poet, said "*What doesn't kill you makes you stronger*", black Americans, obviously, did not accept to be overwhelmed by the psychology of defeat and decided to change their situation and fight for their freedom. Many methods were employed in the struggle; some were successful and others had only made their situation worse. Black Nationalism was one of the most successful struggle ideologies adopted by African Americans; this ideology has significantly contributed to the unification of blacks, not only in America but also in the rest of the world.

The African American historical experience in America has always astonished and gained the respect of the world including me. I have always been interested in that experience because it did not only represent a matter of some people fighting for food or to have houses as equally as others but more than that. That experience generated lessons of heroic sacrifices, left a precious cultural heritage for the coming generations, and produced influential figures for the world to be proud of and would never forget such as Malcolm X, W.E.B du Bois, and Martin Luther King.

Essentially, in this dissertation I will introduce and examine the role and significance of Black Nationalism in the African American history and, moreover, its expansion and development in the African continent into what is known as Pan-Africanism. Therefore, I have divided this work into three chapters. In the first chapter I will make an overview on Black Nationalism by presenting a general introduction to the ideology in the world, definitions,

emergence, origins, and main concepts, and I will provide opinions of some eminent figures. Moreover, a brief history of African Americans from 1800 until the 1950s will also be introduced. So this chapter will provide the historical background and a clarification of the basic terminology in this research. In the second chapter I will spotlight the golden age of Black Nationalism in America by introducing the ideology in America and its main elements, discovering the Black Nationalist tradition, pioneers and main figures that contributed to the spread and success of the ideology, and organizations that were established for the cause of serving the Black Nationalist sentiment notably during the Civil Rights movement, and finally the impact of Black Nationalism on the American society. In the third chapter I will deal with the expansion and development of Black Nationalism into Pan-Africanism in Africa; also known as African Nationalism. I will introduce Pan-Africanism, other elements like the African Diaspora and origins of the concept including the pioneers, eminent figures, the founding congresses, organizations, and the impact of the ideology upon Africa.

Finally, the importance of this study is to revisit the history of blacks in America to discover and learn from their different methods and ideologies of their struggle. For the lessons it holds, the black experience is considered as universal and, in my opinion, more efforts have to be made in order to introduce more people to it and, therefore, be more appreciated. In this research, I will try to make a contribution by studying Black Nationalism. Moreover, it will introduce people who are interested in the black history more to the ideology, its fundamental role, and results in the struggle.

Chapter 1

I. Introduction to Nationalism in the World

1) The Emergence of Nationalism: Definitions and Main Concepts

Amongst all the great array of the elaborate, significantly recorded and fascinating past, there took place one movement which dominated the social and political scene in much of the nineteenth and the twentieth century. Its story represented modern history and vice versa particularly in that period of time, and since the middle of the nineteenth century there was no place around the globe that remained unaffected by its impact. Its existence and power, especially outside the English speaking world, seemed so self-evident that it could not be deliberately ignored or stood out against. This movement is Nationalism (Harris 1).

Initially, it is very important, before starting to define Nationalism, to know where this word basically comes from. Nationalism comes from the word "Nation", and "ism" is used to form nouns which describe political, social or religious beliefs (Cambridge Advanced Learners' Dictionary). Therefore, in order to have a keen insight into Nationalism; we must first answer the question that follows: what is a Nation?

A nation is mainly a community or a race of people sharing a culture, a land, traditions, history, and usually language, whether scattered or confined to one country. The United Kingdom, for instance, is a country inhabited mainly by people of four nations: the English, the Irish, the Scots, and the Welsh. Whereas the term 'nation' emphasizes a particular group of people, "country" emphasizes the physical dimensions and boundaries of a geographical area, and "state" a self-governing legal and political entity. Moreover, let us present some of the different famous figures' views on the definition of Nation:

Firstly, Joseph Ernest Renan, a French expert of the Middle East languages and civilizations, philosopher and writer, best known for his significant historical works on early Christianity and his political views, especially concerning Nationalism and National identity, has a very influential definition of nation. It was given in his 1882 discourse *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? Or what is a nation?* : It is the desire of a group of people to live together, which he summarizes by a famous phrase "*avoir fait de grandes choses ensemble, vouloir en faire encore*" or*" having done great things together and wishing to do more*". (Encyclopedia Britannica)

Secondly, Ambassador Ingmar Karlsson, holds the degree, Doctor of Divinity from Lund University and Doctor of Political Science at the University of Vaxjo, published an article

entitled "*What is a Nation?*" discussing various ideas and complications on the concept of Nation. And here is an extract from the article:

> "*The nation is thus seen as a birthmark. People are born as Germans, Swedes, Frenchmen or Turks. People with foreign origins are considered a threat to national unity and purity and to a national culture which defines itself vis-a-vis "the other". The common ancestry is the end of history and has to be protected against everything foreign. Every people are not only entitled to its own sovereign state but it also owns a historical predetermined area once and for all time for its own exclusive use. Areas once inhabited by a national group should rightfully be returned to them, by force if necessary, and with the expulsing inhabitants as the outcome. Anyone leaving this mythical fellowship is stamped for-ever with the mark of Cain. To this kind of nationalist, it is inconceivable that people with different national backgrounds could live together; minorities are tolerated at best but they are and remain second class citizens*" (Karlsson 1).

In addition, Erika Harris stated that the most powerful feeling about the nation is the need to belong, considering the nation as a personal treasure that must be protected by any means necessary. Millions of people have died in the name of the nation they belonged to, defended or were excluded from. And still, the struggle for the nation and for the existence of what the nation considers its territories continues. This critical situation will remain the same; the change is mostly in vocabulary: the old civil wars are called "ethnic conflicts" and the international influence came in a form of peace process policed by a new type of warrior called peacekeeper.

Historically, the post-Cold War world was drowned by ethnic conflicts and betrayed peace treaties, full of peacekeeping troops spread all over the world and millions of homeless people living in refugee camps seeking protection. The global belief in democracy seems to have resurrected Nationalism but its success rested on paradox since the politics and ideologies of the world have changed and while the ultimate object of nationalism's desire, the nation state, have changed too. But Nationalism core construct remained unchanged. As people were rethinking and rearranging their understanding of the modern world organized into nation states, and as they were trying to process the complications emerging from the political and economic globalization and the massively unprecedented movement of people of different races and cultures around the globe, the idea of nation and nationalism need to be re-examined and analyzed differently. (3)

Furthermore, Nationalism is generally identified as a belief, an ideology, or a philosophy in which is concerned with both political and social aspects of life. It involves an individual identifying with, or becoming attached to, one's nation. It is based on the idea that the individual's loyalty and devotion to the nation-state surpass individual or group interests.

Erika Harris, in her book "Nationalism: theories and cases", defines Nationalism:

"*Nationalism can be a doctrine, it can direct the vision for the future, it can be and is politics, and it can aid other ideologies or compete with them. The past is its inspiration, the future its aim… Despite the conceptual controversy surrounding the meaning of the nation, nationalism is always understood as relating to individual and/or collective identities and carrying a degree of ideological consequence. They may have been times in history when that consequence meant merely a sense of awareness of belonging to a certain grouping characterized by the place, the language and the custom which derived from a certain historical experience. In the modern world, however, there can be little doubt that consequences are political and that nationalism reflects the relationship between two significant elements of human existence: culture and politics. Nationalist rhetoric articulates demands on behalf of and for the national group. Demands may vary in content, gravity and urgency but the claim is always in the name of justice (redressed or not yet addressed) and the 'right of the people'. The general aim of nationalism is that of people being in charge of their collective destiny. Being in charge entails the protection of the identity of the group and the maintenance of its unity which is thought to be best safeguarded through government by its own people, either in its own state or through a substantial degree of autonomy within any one's state. Thus, nationalism is, as it were, a program for the nation's survival and future*" (Harris 3).

From a psychological perspective, national attachment is different from other types of attachment, for example, attachment to a religion or a romantic partner. The desire for interpersonal attachment, or the need to belong, is one of the most fundamental human motivations. Like any attachment, nationalism can become dysfunctional if excessively applied. And From a political or sociological perspective, there are two main perspectives on the origins and basis of nationalism. One is the primordial perspective that describes nationalism as a reflection of the ancient and perceived evolutionary tendency of humans to organize into distinct groupings based on an affinity of birth. The other is

the modernist perspective that describes nationalism as a recent phenomenon that requires the structural conditions of modern society in order to exist (Druckman 43).

In addition, nationalism is one of the most successful ideologies in human history. It caused massive changes in the political map of the world ever since it was first formulated in the writings of the European philosophers and had it to be redrawn entirely. It emerged in the time of the French revolution and had since copied by politicians around the world. However, it was not always a helpful solution for the practical problems with governments in the different areas in which it had been imported, and sometimes the emergence and influence of the doctrine was unfortunate.

Unlike other doctrines, nationalism does not have a founding father whose ideas serve as an inspiration for his successors. There is not a nationalist equivalent to John Locke of liberalism, Edmund Burke of conservatism, or Karl Marx of communism. However, it is possible to trace its origins to the movement of several late eighteenth century writers in reaction to the universalistic assumptions of the philosophers of the Enlightenment. In order to have clear understanding of these reactions, it will be helpful to give a brief indication to the enlightenment assumptions in relationship with politics (Birch 4).

Philosophers of the Enlightenment movement were individualists and supported the republican form of government simply because it gave some individual citizens a degree of control over their political leaders. They were also Universalists in the sense that they regarded individuals as mainly similar in needs and their basic characters and as being controlled in similar ways by historical forces and circumstances. As Friedrich Meinecke observed, Enlightenment thinkers regarded individuals as fallen leaves in the forest, all moved together by prevailing wind. They were also Universalists in the sense that republican governments were believed to be best for everyone and should be adopted everywhere around the globe (4).

Moreover, the national theories have a different foundation. They are based on the belief that man is a social animal, obtaining his character and future ambitions from communities that share a common culture. They further have the belief that government can only be good if it is based on those communities. To extend Meinecke's analogy about leaves in the forest, it can be said that nationalists regard individuals as flowers than leaves, having characteristics that are similar to their species and flourish best when gathered with others of the same kind and nurtured in the way that is most suitable for them. The best place to grow roses is in rose

gardens where they can be appropriately watered, fertilized and protected from the corrupting weeds. This analogy illustrates one of the powerful strengths of nationalism, namely the understanding of humanity is more profound than the understanding shown by individualists, but it also reveals one of the implicit dangers in nationalism which is comparing others with corrupting weeds; for Hitler likened Jews and Gypsies to weeds (Birch 14).

2) Theories on the Nationalist Thoughts and its Origins

There are many theorists who made remarkable contributions to the creation and spreading of nationalism. Herein are some of the eminent figures' views and thoughts on Nationalism.

A- John Jacque Rousseau and the Communal Autonomy

He is one of the first political theorists to outline a theory that can be called nationalist. In fact, he was the first to propose that a given society whose members share the same customs is the most likely to be a solid foundation for a political society. In his book *"The Discourse on the Origin of Inequality"*, he suggested that human beings, after experiencing the process of evolving from a state of nature to a communal living based on a single way of life and shared customs, could have the direct affection only on members of their own society not on the whole human race. This theory was completely different from the universalistic point of view that all human beings are equal and deserving of equal affection. In his later works he suggested the natural ability of the communal societies to establish their own institutions of government within their political societies (14).

Moreover, Rousseau believed that the development from a natural society to an ideal political society is not a spontaneous process but there must be a leader to guide it through which he called "the legislator". Here, he proposed the idea of leadership; the effective leader was the headline of his nationalist theory. Here is an extract from his book "*the Social Contact*": "*The wise legislator does not begin by drawing up laws which are good in themselves, but first investigates whether the people for whom they were intended are capable of bearing them*". He also suggested that ideal political system and government have to be derived from the very free will of its citizens so in return the citizens will obey and submit to the implementation of decision they have actually participated in its formulation.

However, he was not so optimistic that people would have the degree of unity necessary for this ideal society without civic education. Along with the element of leadership, John Jacques

Rousseau emphasized the element of education as extremely necessary. He argued that education develops the character as well as the consciousness of the citizens, and should do so only in a way that it would be passed on to the younger generations to learn from; moral standards are the core of this type of education (Birch 15).

Finally, the importance of religion in his ideal state was one of Rousseau's most distinctive ideas. He argued that it should be a civic religion that could encourage a good quality of citizenship so it would not set an authority which rivaled that of the state. He discussed this idea in the last chapter of his book, *"the Social Contact"*, and observed how Judaism and Christianity were so disruptive influences in a political sense; a fact that led to the persecution of Jews and Christians at some historical periods. Therefore, for the general good, Rousseau emphasized the significance of the use of religion for its great influence to socialize the citizens into compliance with the political authority (16).

B- Johann Gottfried Herder and the Refusal of the French Cosmopolitan

He was one of the great contributors to the doctrine of nationalism; he was a theorist, theologian, historian and a literary critic as well as being to some degree a political philosopher. His greatest achievements were being the founder of historicism as a philosophical outlook and one of the founders of the German Romantic Movement. His contributions to nationalism were mainly by-product of his historicism and romanticism, his belief in tradition, customs, and emotion rather than the pure play of the mind.

Herder wrote as a German, inspired by the circumstances of Germany at the time. The Germans were governed by a large number of principalities, and educated classes were quite aware of the dominating power of France along with the fact that French intellectuals were the leaders of the Enlightenment and the French upper classes were the leaders of fashion. As a German, Herder resented that, and in opposition to the French assumption of leadership, he developed a theory stating that humanity had its roots in and derived from a number of national cultures instead of one, each of which had its own virtues and characteristics and no one of which could have the right to claim being the leader and bearer of civilization that has a universal validity as the French claims (17).

In addition, Herder caricatured the spirit of the French cosmopolitanism with a fine spirit of irony:

"All national characters, thank God, have become extinct! We all love one another or, rather, no one feels the need of loving anyone else. We associate with one another, are all completely equal-cultured, polite, very happy! We have, it is true, no fatherland, no one for whom we live; but we are philanthropists and citizens of the world. Most of the rulers already speak French, and soon we shall all do so. And then—bliss! The golden era is dawning again when the entire world had one tongue and language! There shall be one flock and one shepherd!" (Birch 17).

In general, Herder's nationalist theory was essentially a reaction against the French cosmopolitanism. He argued that every people and every age had its own way of thinking, feeling and acting and could be truly judged only in terms of its own scales and values not by universal, interpersonal and absolute ones. Herder believed that each community had its own culture that was shaped by a physical environment in which it developed, by the language of its people and by the forms of its education (17).

Herder used the term "Volk" to describe each community that has its own distinctive culture. And he emphasized that each Volk has its own special qualities and virtues to be understood and appreciated as a unique unit. Concerning government, he believed that the only rational form of government was a national state based on a Volk. Whereas Rousseau had conceived language as merely a means of communication, Herder had a different point of view. He believed that language had intrinsic value as the expression of Volk cultures (18).

To sum up, these views do not amount to a full theory of nationalism. After all, Herder was just a philosopher of literature and history rather than politics. However, his contributions to politics significantly coined the concept of nationalism and indicated to human beings the emotional importance of belonging to a distinct cultural group.

C- Johann Gottlieb Fichte and the German Nationalist Sentiment

Fichte was not as profound as Herder but he has an essential place in the development of the nationalism thinking because he contributed elements of national pride, verbal aggression and messianic political vision that were to find expression in the ideas and activities of so many subsequent nationalist politicians. He was a liberal and a republican, and greatly admired the French Revolution for its achievements, especially the establishment of equality between all citizens under laws passed by the national assembly. Fichte was an individualistic with political beliefs that were more cosmopolitan than nationalistic, but after the defeat of Prussia in 1806

by the armies of Napoleon his views significantly changed. In the next year, as the first professor of philosophy in the University of Berlin, he delivered a series of public lectures that were explicitly promoting nationalistic ideas and later published under the title *Addresses to the German Nation*; they were clearly designed to raise the morale and to inspire the Germans with a sense of nationalistic mission (Birch 19).

As a matter of fact, the Germans of that period of time were like the ancient Greeks. They had a language and a culture but no state. Fichte maintained that language is the most proper basis of nationhood following the example of Herder, but he stated it in more emphatic terms than Herder's reflective ones. The Germans had the right to start a nation and govern themselves, He argued: "*It is true beyond doubt that, whenever a separate language is found, there a separate nation exists, which has the right to take independent charge of its affairs and govern itself*" (19).

Moreover, the German language was different from the other languages spoken in Europe; it could not be given an equal value as theirs. It had special qualities that contributed to the special character of the German culture. The Germans were given an advantage over the rest of people in Europe who spoke languages derived from Latin like the French, the Italians and the Spanish because the German language was a pure and a natural one that had been spoken by the Germans throughout their history.

Fichte claimed that there is a link between language, culture, and achievement giving the remarkable achievements of the German burghers in medieval times as an example to support this idea. More recently, the Germans had shown their superiority by leading the reformation of the church. This great emancipation from external authority liberated the German philosophical thinking, so that philosophy had been perfected. Fichte wrote: "*Not everyone realized it, so one must be content for the present with stating this fact, until an age comes which comprehends it*" (20).

Along with making these claims on behalf of the German people, Fichte also set out his vision for the future. He stated:

> "*The next step forward that we have to make in the plan of eternity is to educate the nation to perfect manhood… if only because the Germans has hitherto brought to completion all the steps of culture and has been preserved in the modern world for that special purpose, it will be his work too, in respect of education*" (Birch 20).

Fichte's view of the form of education was slightly authoritarian:

"The new education must consist essentially in this, that it completely destroys freedom of will in the soil which it undertakes to cultivate, and produces on the contrary strict necessity in the decisions of the will" (20).

This vision was evidently inspired from the idealistic view of John Jacques Rousseau on education. Fichte added:

"The German who could be thus educated would be a superior person endowed with spirituality and nobility beyond the reach of other peoples, imbued with a mission and ready to die for its sake. His belief and his struggle to plant what is permanent, his conception in which he comprehends his own life as an eternal life, is the bond which unites first his own nation and then, through his nation, the whole human race…He who does not first regard himself as eternal has in him no love of any kind and, moreover, cannot love a fatherland, a thing which for him does not exist…But he to whom a fatherland has been handed down, and in whose soul heaven and earth, visible and invisible, meet and mingle, and thus, and only thus, create a true and enduring heaven—such a man fights to the last drop of his blood to hand on the precious possession unimpaired to his posterity" (21).

In fact, in his final lecture, Fichte gave an insight into the German spirit and claimed that its benefits could be exported from Germany to the rest of the world. He told his audience:

"It is for you to justify and give meaning to our sacrifice, by setting this spirit to fulfill its purpose and to rule the world. If this does not come about as the final goal to which the whole previous development of our nation has been tending, then the battles we fought will turn out to be a vain and fleeting farce" (21)

To sum up, the thinking of these writers made a clear set out of the character, the virtues and the dangers of nationalism as a political doctrine. Nationalism was the most talked about for two centuries; it reshaped the world entirely. At the time of the French revolution there were only about twenty of what we would consider now as national states, sprawling empires, unexplored territories and tiny independent principalities which consisted the rest of the world. Thanks to nationalism, the world now consists 175 national, or supposedly national, states, each of them enjoys self-government legally within a territory (Birch 25).

As a matter of fact, this huge transformation occurred in only two centuries, it did not happen gradually but in stages; and here are the most important and influential ones. In the 19th century there were the break-up of the Spanish-American Empire in the first half of the century and the unification of Italy and Germany in the second half. The breakup of the Russian, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires that took place in the twentieth century immediately after the First World War and the achievement of political independence by almost all European colonies in the twenty five years after the Second World War.

However, very few of the 175 states correspond to the model of nationalism drawn by theorists of nationalism. Most of the third world states have artificial boundaries, established by their former conquerors on the basis of exploration and conquest, but having little relationship to the boundaries between ethnic groups. As a matter of fact, most of the South African states could be considered as multi-tribal in character, since their loyalty to the tribe and the unique identity that distinguishes one group from another are more important to most of the citizens than national identity and loyalties. In fact, even most of the oldest states are rarely homogeneous in population. For instance, Britain has nationalist parties mainly in Scotland and Wales; Spain has a militant nationalist movement among the Basques citizens together with feeling of cultural distinctiveness and claims of separation from Catalans and Andalucians. And France, so often described as 'the one and indivisible republic', has ethnic minorities in the shape of the Bretons, the Basques, the Alsacians, people of Alsace, and the Corsicans (26).

Last of all, the remarkable achievements and effect of nationalism in the world are unprecedented. This makes it the most successful and controversial ideology throughout history of mankind. Great Empires and pre-national forms of political organizations have come to an end. The whole land surface around the globe, except for Antarctica, is now divided between jurisdictions and national-states. The formal independence and equality of these states is recognized in international law and in the organization of the United Nations and its agencies. In few words, Nationalism has triumphed.

Undoubtedly, nationalism had awakened the consciousness of many oppressed minorities around the world; an awakening that had a massive impact on their lives and served their cases of winning freedom from the oppressors. The history of African Americans witnessed one of the great stories of sacrifice, struggle and success of the black people in resurrecting to the world human map and to be recognized as a nation worthy of freedom, respect and appreciation. The ideology herein was known as Black Nationalism.

II- A Brief History of African Americans: from 1800 until the 1950s

1- The Antebellum Period: The Last Years of Slavery 1800-1861

On August 30 in the year 1800, the white people of Henrico County, Virginia had a frightening fear because of some unusual activity. Slaveholders of the far west and south of what was then the Mississippi territory were warning each other against a suspicious movement on the part of blacks. At that time, Gabriel Prosser, a slave, was the most talked about; the whites were always thinking of what might have happened if he had succeeded in leading the slaves of Virginia in a revolt against slavery (Kelley 169).

Prosser was born into slavery as well as his wife Nanny and his two brothers Martin and Solomon; together they were a slaveholder's worst nightmare. They declared themselves as free slaves, and took a decision to bring all slaves into freedom. In fact, they planned to lead the slaves of the Richmond area in revolt against the city. The plan was to take over the city's arsenal, and once they were well armed, to invade and control the city and then the rest of the state. The aim was to make Virginia a free state, a black state, and a safe place for all blacks unfit for slavery. The plan could not be put into action due to a terrible weather problem; a powerful storm destroyed the bridges and roads to the city. Prosser was forced to postpone the rebellion, but unfortunately the delay gave someone enough time to betray him and expose the plan. All the accomplices in the revolt with Prosser were captured and sentenced to death; Gabriel too was captured, tried, and hanged (169).

As a matter of fact, Prosser was one of the first fighters for freedom in the 19th century; the fight against the institution of slavery was really the theme of this period of African American history. The chance of succeeding was very small, and attempts to sustain a bloodless struggle were useless especially when cotton trade flourished and became the country's principal export crop. England was the leading demanding country of the US short-staple cotton where textile manufacturers never seemed to have enough. The growing trade of cotton was a source of fortune for the south and the nation, it even demanded more slaves to work in the cotton fields; cotton seemed to seal the fate of slaves (169).

Moreover, Gabriel Prosser was aware of the economic change as well as Virginia slaveholders. He probably saw them closing down their tobacco farms and head with their slaves to the far west and south towards the cotton fields. Prosser witnessed the movement of chained slaves heading out of the declining economies of Virginia, Maryland, and South

Carolina. Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas became the new destination of wealth and prosperity. In the beginning of the 19th century, these areas were not even states; Texas, for instance, was still part of Mexico. They were the homes of five Native American tribes, the Creeks, Choctaws, Seminoles, Chickasaws, and Cherokees. The huge wealth that cotton brought attracted a flood of white people to these areas who later claimed the land as theirs. As a result, these territories were turned into states and in the process transformed the very nature of slavery. The transformation was essentially in the domestic slave trade. Before 1800, slaves had many chances to free themselves, either by self-purchase, the good will of the master of the mistress and other ways. After 1800 the increased profitability of slavery made less likely for slaves to be free (Kelley 171).

Further to this, the cotton trade relied primarily on the institution of slavery as the basic foundation. Therefore, slave sales and transportation had massively prospered in America; this was the beginning of a new chapter of misery for black Americans. The rich south drove the white people completely insane; the theft of people and the rending of families that once took place in Africa now took place before the eyes and ears of blacks in America. Thousands of African Americans were transported to the south in the most vulgar ways, tearing whole families apart and forcing them to work in very harsh and inhuman conditions. Between 1830 and 1860, an estimated three hundred thousand slaves were transported for sale only from Virginia. Even free slaves at the time had to protect themselves from the kidnapping activities. The upper south was highly improved; it was cleared from brushes and trees. Farms and plantations were established; new roads made transportations and communications an easy operation and large cities made commercial and cultural exchange possible (171).

Despite all difficulties faced by blacks, their conditions were actually getting better in terms of physical treatment. In the 19th century, the act of branding that marked the slave as personal property was far less than the old days, chopping limbs off for theft or running away was ended in most of the cities, whipping and murder occurred less frequently and slaves were given more personal time and marital life was significantly encouraged; however, work was still backbreaking and endless. The reasons behind these conditions were very simple; they were primarily the result of closing the international slave trade. Therefore, slave owners had no choice but to treat their slaves in better ways because they needed them for work.

Certainly, the life of African Americans was very hard, intolerable and unprotected compared to that of other Americans; everything concerning the institution of slavery was

against every principle upon which the nation was found. There was no liberty, no equality and no democracy, but why did slavery exist in the freest nation in the world? The answer could never be reasonable; it lies only within the consciousness of the slaveholders. They claimed that slaves cannot be free because they were immature to run their lives by themselves, they were lazy and not willing to work unless driven by force, they were created unequal to whites and they were cursed by God and slavery was His punishment to them; others insisted they were different species, approximately like animals. In short, their arguments were made to excuse crimes against blacks, at its worst it was a necessary evil and at its best it was a positive good. And yet, blacks survived the barbarity better than any other enslaved people in the western hemisphere. They had a powerful ability to adapt and resist, and to create communities that were strong enough to confront the most inhumane aspects of the system (Kelley 171).

Consequently, one of the main aspects of the slave life was unpredictability; therefore, slaves used silence, the key to secrecy, as a defense mechanism. Slaveholders did not know about anything going on behind their backs. Slaves were stealing food, practicing religious services, some escaped the fields and masters did not even feel the anger and hatred of blacks toward whites; Silence was the secret weapon that protected black people, their quarters, families and religious life. Hard work was all what the masters needed from slaves, if they could only remove the slave community they would, but it was necessary for the slave performance efficiency (182).

On top of that, the mutual dependency cycle was pretty understood by both masters and slaves. The demands of the masters helped developing the slave community. Slaves were aware of the laws of slavery that gave the power of life and death to the master, so these laws forced them to depend on their master's good will. But they have also realized that since they were the main source of the master's wealth there were limits to their power; masters realized it as well. Thus, the rule was simple, "give me life and I shall give you wealth". Since slaves were working hard with diligence, deference and obedience, the masters in return allowed them to decide how they wanted to spend their free time (183).

The slave family was at the center of life on the plantations, but perspectives on family were different between the master and his enslaved workers. Masters actually took advantage from slave families because it maintained stability of their workers; they were a means of organizing the plantations because slaves lived with their families in quarters. With this kind of living arrangements slaves were less likely to think about rebellion and escape. Slaveholders, besides

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using slave families to maintain control over bonded men and women, were also using them to increase the black population so they could be handy in the future. This way of having new slaves was cheaper, easier and most natural, natural because blacks had their own reasons of having children and easier because it did not require the forceful intervention of the master to make them reproduce.

Families, therefore, were the master's number one priority and statistics proved so. In each year between 1800 and the civil war one fifth of black women between the age of fifteen and twenty four delivered children. Slave women continued to have children at approximately two and a year and a half interval until they reach the age of thirty nine or forty. This level of fertility made North American slavery unique in the western hemisphere, while other slave owners in other places heavily relied on continually purchasing new slaves from Africa (Kelley 183).

Besides family, spiritual life was another refuge for slaves from the shackles of misery and depression. The slaves' sacred world, reflected in songs, music, religion, and folk beliefs, was the major space for their psychological relief; it was the only distance between slaves and masters and a prevention of legal slavery from taking over the soul. This life was the only thing that masters could not take away from slaves; families could be, after all, torn apart and affected in other ways by whites.

In fact, masters tried to do the same thing with religion as they did with family; spirituality was even stronger to manipulate slaves. Thomas Affleck wrote:"*You will find that an hour devoted every Sabbath morning to slaves' moral and religious instruction would prove a great aid in bringing about a better state of things amongst the Negroes*" (187).

Thus, from the slaveholders' point of view, a better state of things meant, more obedience, less stealing and harder work. Slave testimony reveals that white preachers always stressed these points. Hannah Scott resented that:"*All he say is 'bedience to the white folks, and we hears 'nough of dat without him telling us that*". (187)

The religion that the masters instructed to slaves was not only to control them but also to make slavery safer and legitimate. Around 1830, masters started to hire a great number of preachers; it was no mere coincidence. Christianity was given to slaves in a certain way but they digested it differently. African Americans believed that all men are created equal by God; therefore, white preachers were not taken seriously especially when they emphasized the text"

Slaves obey your masters". Slaves also believed that slaveholders were the sinners and the bible was their proof; God sent Moses to free Israelites from bondage and God punished the Egyptians for enslaving His chosen people (Kelley 189).

Moreover, because of the hard work on the plantations and its rough conditions African Americans were highly exposed to diseases and injuries. Black people preferred to create their own medicines and to cure their own illnesses rather than submitting the cures of the medical doctors brought by masters. In early nineteenth century, medicine was hardly an exact science, treatment applied by black root and herb doctors proved successful as the medical practitioners; thus, slaves looked to their own when in need of spiritual guidance and health care (190).

Despite the miserable situation of blacks in America in the first half of the nineteenth century, there were free blacks living in the north. More than anything else, the lives of all free African Americans revealed how the black freedom was slightly different from the white freedom; white prejudice was the main reason behind it. There was an abiding sentiment against blacks and slavery. Fanny Kemble, a well-traveled white woman, said something about free blacks in the north that held true all over the country; she stated:

> "*They are not slaves indeed, but they are pariahs, debarred from every fellowship save with their own despised race... All hands are extended to thrust them out, all fingers point at their dusky skin; all tongues have learned to turn the very name of their race into an insult and a reproach*" (201).

Furthermore, some African Americans had a heritage of freedom that predated the American Revolution but that was of far less significance to whites than the fact that they were black. In the 19th century, as the country went closer and closer to the civil war, a dark skin was the presumption of bondage. And day after day, blacks had to prove themselves as free; whites did not have to carry this burden because white skin was the presumption of freedom. The free black population numbered 59000 after the American Revolution in 1770, and grew to 488000 by the eve of the Civil War. Numbers were primarily increased by blacks born to free mothers including those born to white women with black partners (201).

Yet, for free blacks freedom did not mean total liberty; they had extreme difficulties to meet fair conditions for their living. Legally emancipated blacks who moved to rural areas to establish freedom work found it very hard. In the south, rural free blacks who were not attached to plantations as carpenters, coopers, and the like rented lands, equipments and supplies from

whites and tried to grow and sell their own crops; unfortunately, many were unsuccessful. White landowners charged large payments for the rental of the land, and one mediocre harvest could put a free black family into debt. In this case, African Americans had no choice but to go to prison or to meet their debts by signing over their future crops to the landowners (Kelley 202).

Under those circumstances, many free blacks had to find work elsewhere away from rural areas. Cities in the north and the south held much more opportunities for them; this is where unskilled jobs were, and since most of them were unskilled workers, this was the perfect place to find a job. For this, cities were not only a place to work but also to start a new life, to find friends and build a family because there were many free blacks there. They could join church and worship the way they wanted, send their kids to schools established by the church or by their society, hold celebrations, go to the market and shops, attend shows at theaters, or even bury their own dead in a service under their own direction. A special thing about these free black societies is that they could live their life with all its aspects away from the whites' supervision (203).

Undeniably, African Americans had many opportunities in the antebellum period but not without struggle. Everywhere they went they encountered white suspicion, competition and hostility. White opposition was so cruel and their freedom was so restricted. White standards dictated that the so called "Negroes" in America were dangerous. They were considered a threat to the existing order because their free state contradicted the pro-slavery argument that blacks could not and would never survive without the whites' supervision. They also threatened the institution of slavery because many of them were abolition activists, not only because they had horrible memories from slavery but also still had relatives and friends in bondage. Moreover, as long as slavery existed, and as long as most blacks were slaves, all blacks were presumed slaves, even if they were free (203).

Historically, the first half of the 19th century witnessed the emergence of the anti-slavery society established by both whites and blacks. The society organized religious meetings where abolitionists made reviving and awakening speeches to condemn slavery as immoral. They prompted their listeners to put pressure on the legislatures to end slavery. The abolitionist movement reached maturity and became very strong only fifteen years after its first start. They spawned a political party called the "Liberty Party" and ran for presidency in 1840 and 1844.

Although the party did not attract considerable number of followers, it did plant the seed of fear of the "Slave power" (Kelley 210).

As a result of the Mexican war, new states were joined to the union in 1845 and were declared as slave states such as Texas in 1845; this convinced many southerners that slaveholders in the south would use their political and economic power to legalize slavery everywhere. Debates over the issue of slavery divided whites, and blacks had so much to gain from them. They realized that in order to truly benefit from those conflicts they had to be united, and for the most part they had to speak with one voice. All free blacks who spoke out against slavery wanted freedom for all blacks in bondage and justice for the free; however, they differed in the methods to achieve this goal (210).

As a matter of fact, black protests started long before the formation of the predominantly white American Anti-Slavery Society. Northern slaves have sent a huge number of petitions to the Continental Congress during the revolution; they used the clause "all Americans were created equal" of the Declaration of Independence to claim their freedom; protests continued through the confederation period. At the beginning of the 19th century the African American Methodist Episcopal minister Absalom Jones marched the streets of Philadelphia carrying a petition to protest the renewal of the slave trade in Maryland which was the birthplace of many blacks. African Americans raised money in their churches to help runaways (211). Moreover, blacks celebrated the New Year's Day as their independence day. As Fredrick Douglass noted to the slaves, the national 4th of July celebration was a day that revealed:

> "the *gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To the slave, the shouts of liberty and equality, the prayers, hymns, sermons, and thanksgivings were hollow mockery…mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy, a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages*" (211).

New Year's Day was a special day for blacks because it was the anniversary of Haitian independence in 1804 and the end of foreign slave trade with the United States of America in 1808 (212).

By the end of 1850, African Americans had no idea that they were only ten years away from a historical war that would change the course of their lives. They did not know that slavery will be the main cause, or that it would end slavery forever. The last decade before the Civil War ironically was a decade of prosperity, not for whites only but for blacks too; the steady increase

in black land and property ownership were a clear indication. For example, there were twenty six free blacks in Nashville in1860 who were worth more than a thousand dollars, who had owned no property ten years earlier. There were always wealthy colored elite in Charleston, and as many as seventy five white men rented their homes from freemen during the 1850's. There were also successful agricultural laborers in the south (Kelley 218).The new economic success on the eve of the Civil War generated confidence amongst the black population and strengthened their hope for total freedom. This confidence was reflected in the churches built by larger and wealthier black congregations in the south. It increased the audacity of the black people who were free at the time. In Petersburg, Virginia, for instance, whites complained that blacks were slow to give way to whites on walk ways (219).

To conclude, African Americans had achieved so much in the pre-Civil War decade; therefore, they were well prepared for the final steps before the complete uprooting of slavery. Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency in 1860 brought about strong hope that liberation was in the horizon.

2- The Blacks' Response in the Civil War and the Reconstruction Era 1860's-1877

When the Civil War began in the United States of America in 1861, the country consisted of two territories; the free north and the slavery south. The northern states ended slavery in 1850, while the southern states maintained it. Few months before the Civil War, the southern states decided to secede from the United States in order to protect their right to decide their lawfulness of slavery. They also wanted to carry slavery to the western territories they were opening across the north. The US government began passing laws to limit and eventually prohibit the institution of slavery (Deford 13).

In fact, the main movement opposed to slavery was the Abolitionists; both blacks and whites. They believed that slavery was evil and should be ended right away and everywhere. Slaveholders in the south insisted on keeping their slaves and had no intention to give up their property. They claimed that they fear the collapse of their trade and claimed that if the slaves were freed, they would violently turn against their former owners.

By passing a set of laws called the Compromise, a package of five separate bills passed in the United States in September 1850 which defused a four-year confrontation between the slave states of the South and the free states of the North regarding the status of territories acquired during the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), the US legislators tried to resolve the issue of

slavery. The Compromise declared some new regions as free and others as slaveholders. Another law was passed called the Fugitive Act in the same year; it stated the illegality to help slaves to escape or to interfere in their recapture. It also denied slaves the right to a trial by jury. Instead, commissioners were appointed by the government to hear cases related to escaped slaves. The commissioners were paid much more money for a slave to be returned than to be freed. Therefore, numbers of hunts for fugitive slaves were highly increased (Deford14).

Furthermore, the congress passed another act in 1854 called the Kansas-Nebraska act which allowed white males who lived in those territories to vote for or against slavery. When Andrew Horatio, the first territorial governor of Kansas, arrived in 1854 he found that there were more "free soil" antislavery settlers than there were proslavery settlers. When elections were held to form the state legislature, proslavery men won decisively. It soon became clear that the elections were a fraud. Hundreds of proslavery men from neighboring territories had come to vote illegally in Kansas. Thus, outraged free soilers set up their own government in 1855; a set of violent incidents occurred later between the proslavery men and the free soilers which led to a small-scale Civil War. Kansas at that time was known as "Bleeding Kansas" (15).

In 1857, the US Supreme Court handed down its decision on the court case Dred Scott versus Sandford. Dred Scott was a slave who was taken by his owner to live in free territories for some years; Scott believed he could make a court case to win his freedom. However, the court refused to proceed with the case because they decided that Scott was not an American citizen simply because he was black; he had no right to exercise a citizen's right to sue and Scott was sentenced to remain a slave; the decision upset the antislavery movement. The debate over the issue of slavery had become the headline in America by 1858 and an urgent subject in the American political scene (15).

On top of that, the Abolitionist Movement had spoken for years against the institution of slavery and worked day and night to outlaw it; the Civil War gave them hope again and increased their energy. They have used newspaper articles, songs, lectures, and sermons. They spoke the words of the Declaration of Independence, blacks' "title to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness must be acknowledged, or the nation" would be lost. They believed that the time for freedom, equality, and emancipation had come (25).

Historically, Fredrick Douglass was one of the most eminent black abolitionists; he once was a slave. As far as Fredrick and his fellowship were concerned, emancipation of all slaves was

the only right outcome of the war. Not only that, it was the only way to win this war. He declared:

> "*To our mind, there is but one easy, short and effectual way to suppress and put down the desolating war which the slave-holders and their rebel minions are now waging against the American Government and its loyal citizens. Fire must be met with water, darkness with light and war for the destruction of liberty must be met with war for the destruction of slavery. The simple way, then, to put on an end to the savage and desolating war now waged by the slaveholders, is to strike down slavery itself, the primal cause of that war*" (Deford 26).

Also, Douglass believed that slavery gave the Confederacy strength; slaves were working as laborers in the confederate army. He asked: "*why in the name of that is national*", Douglass demanded, "*does our government allow its enemies this powerful advantages*" (27). Douglas was trying to convince President Lincoln to change his mind methods in the war and allow fugitive slaves to join the Union army and not to be returned. Douglas's main goal was to make slavery illegal everywhere in the United States.

Abraham Lincoln, a lawyer, was running against Stephan Douglas who was up for reelection in the senate in Illinois 1858. Lincoln challenged Douglass into a series of debates concerning the subject of slavery. He declared that the union must live under the same laws, regarding slavery, in order not to collapse. He went on saying there is no reason why blacks were not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence. Stephan Douglas won the reelections after the debates; he would later run for presidency in 1860 (16).

At the same time, Abraham Lincoln was the Republican Party's candidate in the elections of 1860. His campaign focused on slavery to keep it out of the territories. Lincoln won the elections, so it was his task to face the challenge of the Civil War. The Civil War began in 1861 in Charleston when P.G.T Beauregard led an attack on Fort Sumter that belonged to the US government. The general was trying to claim the fort for the southern states that had seceded, now called the confederate states of America or the confederacy. After the attack, the president had to move his troops to the battle fields (16).

At the time when whites were enlisting in the Union army, northern blacks offered their services to fight beside them. By participating in the war, they sought to prove themselves as

brave, strong, loyal and worthy of freedom and equality as the white people. State and federal officers were bombarded with offers of African Americans wanting to enlist or raise black troops for the war. Letters were sent from many cities. African Americans formed military organizations and drill companies in order to be ready for the fight. Despite all the hard work and efforts to join the war, Lincoln's government refused their demands; they did not want to see the war as an opportunity for blacks to win their freedom. An editor in the Massachusetts news paper, The Republican, said: "*if there is one point of honor upon which more than another this Lincoln's administration will stick, it is its pledge not to interfere with slavery in the states* (21). One group after another were rejected; sometimes were even met with violence. Ironically, Lincoln was the one opposed slavery years before his election, but it must be taken into consideration that he made a promise not to approach slavery where it already existed. Slavery issue was up to the state governments to decide for themselves as many other issues rather than to be decided by the national government (Deford 22).

In fact, the reason why the president refused the participation of blacks was that some slaveholding states remained loyal to the Union. Obviously, Abraham Lincoln was afraid to upset these states by allowing African Americans into the war. The latter received letters stating: "*This war department has no intention at present to call into the service of the government any colored soldiers*" (22).

In the south, blacks were encouraged by the start of the war to run away, they believed that they can be protected behind the Union lines. Unfortunately, they were being returned to their masters by the northern generals. General George B. McLane, preparing to battle the confederates' troops in western Virginia, ordered his office not to help the slaves. "*See that the rights and property of people are respected*", he instructed; he referred to the slaves as property. Blacks started to have doubts about the Union's cause. Therefore, some African Americans, both free and enslaved, offered their services to the confederates' army to fight for the south. Most of them did not believe that rebellion against slaveholders would not be successful to win their freedom, so they decided to join their masters in the war hopefully they would be freed after the war for being loyal (22).

Moreover, a group of free blacks in New Orleans formed a military organization called the native guards. They became a part of Louisiana's state militia, though they have never been called by the confederates' army. Both free blacks and slaves were accepted into the

Confederate army but not as soldiers; they became laborers, building fortifications, caring for the horses, and cooking for the white soldiers (Deford 25).

Therefore, the first Confiscation Act motivated blacks to escape from the south and join the Union army. The story behind this act was that three slaves have run away from their masters to the north when the war first began in 1861, they went to the Union army's Fort Monroe in Virginia. The slaves' owner asked Benjamin Butler to return his property according to the Fugitive Slave Act but the General refused. As a result, Virginia has seceded from the Union, so therefore had no legal rights under the US law. General Benjamin said that the refugee slaves were contraband, or prize of the war. As from August 6, 1861, members of congress made his statement a law by signing the first Confiscation Act. The term "contraband" was used for the rest of the war to refer to the slaves who escaped to the Union forces (30).

Officers found African Americans' knowledge of the area very helpful. Blacks worked as spies and guides through the areas that northern officers knew nothing about. Some officers were worried that the growing number of fugitives would slow down the movement of their troops and would consume more supplies that should be used in favor of white soldiers. Although a large number of northern young soldiers objected slavery, African Americans were sometimes treated differently. Some treated them kindly and genuinely welcomed them; they were so glad that they would no longer be returned to their masters. On the other hand, some were very disrespectful and sometimes even violent; there were many stories about white soldiers mistreating fugitive slaves, men, women and children; a fact which indicates that racism existed among soldiers of the Union army (34).

Yet, the government had not approved the Union officers to enlist African Americans in the army, but some leaders did not wait for an official response. When the war went further, the Union army suffered one defeat after another and white men became less eager to enlist. They believed that the war would be over in few weeks or months if African Americans were allowed into the war. By the summer of 1862, the war seemed to have no end; more and more people began to ask why the government outlawed the participation of blacks in the war. Finally, on July 17, 1862, the congress passed the second Confiscation Act, which allowed the United States army to confiscate any Confederate property. The act meant that all slaves could now be taken from their masters (38).

On the same day, the first official enlisting of African Americans in the army was made after the signing of the Militia Act by the congress, which repealed a law from 1792 stating that black men could not serve. Under the new law, free and freed African Americans could be employed as soldiers. At last, the door was open to officially enlisting African Americans (38). At the same time, President Lincoln had begun to discuss one of the biggest issues in the history of the United States of America with his Union leaders, he was about to make the most difficult decisions in his career (Deford 39).

Mainly, the president wanted to take a strong stand against slavery and he proposed an Emancipation Proclamation that would free all slaves in any state that remained part of the Confederacy as of January 1st, 1863. At first, the decision did not include slaves in Border States that remained loyal to the Union, neither included the states and regions already occupied by the Union army. By this decision, slavery became an official cause of the war for the first time. Lincoln had delayed the official announcement of the new decision because he wanted to make it more convincing to the southern leaders; therefore, he had to wait until he could achieve a decisive victory in the war. When Robert E. Lee intended to invade the north, he was stopped and defeated by General George on the September 17, 1862 at Antietam in Maryland; so finally, Abraham Lincoln Got what he wanted (41).

Therefore, the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation was issued on September 22; it would be later signed into a law on the 1st of January 1863. The reaction to the new law was incredible; slaves and free colored people prepared for big celebrations on Christmas day for the good news. Officers of a black military organization in New Orleans planned to hold a large procession on New Year's Eve and a "grand union dinner" on the 2nd of January in which the profits would be given to the poor people in the camps, the contraband camp outside New Orleans, and the colored women and children. Moreover, a group of African Americans in Harrisburg wrote a list of their responses saying that, "*We, the colored citizens of the city of Harrisburg, hail the 1st day of January 1863 as a new era in our country's history, a day in which injustice and oppression were forced to flee…before the…principles of justice righteousness*" (46).

The Civil War lasted four years and the losses were huge. In the south, approximately 135000 had been killed or wounded. Economically, it was massively destroyed; an estimated 1, 5 billion Dollars of destruction equivalent to about 9 billion today. Many towns and cities like Richmond and Virginia, the Confederate capital, had been completely destroyed; the cotton

fields were ruined by the Union Army. The south lost all the black workers who were basically the foundation of its trade success and prosperity; the style of life knew for over two centuries was no longer available and was ended forever. Feelings of anger and hatred spread among Southerners toward the north for the destruction of their cities and society. As a result, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated on April 1865 after the end of the war (Worth 25).

After the war thousands of former slaves left the plantations and headed for big cities such as Charleston, Richmond and Memphis, Tennessee hoping to begin a new life; African Americans grew to form 75 percent of the population in some southern cities like Charleston (26). During slavery, about one-quarter of black families were torn apart by their masters for commercial purposes; healthy men and women were sold to landowners regardless to their family status. After the war, African Americans began a journey to look for their lost families across the country, and some made public announcements in newspapers hopefully to hear back. Herein is one of the advertisements published in a news paper in Nashville, Tennessee: *"During the year 1849, Thomas Sample carried away from this city, as his slaves, our daughter, Polly and son . . . We will give $100 each for them to any person who will assist them . . . to get to Nashville, or get word to us of their whereabouts"* (27); Fortunately, some advertisements were successful. The freedmen's bureau was established on March 25, 1865 by the congress to help African Americans searching for their family members; the bureau was directed by General Oliver Howard, a war hero, and it was proved successful as well (26).

As an aftermath, most of African Americans were illiterate by the end of the Civil War because they were not allowed to learn reading and writing. Masters feared the power of knowledge; they believed that literate slaves might communicate with each other and organize a rebellion. After the war African Americans sought to get an education and, as a result, many schools were established with the aid of the freedmen's bureau. Sympathetic northern teachers, often young women, came to help educating black children and adults. Blacks also established their own schools (28).

During slavery, African Americans were forced to attend churches to hear white ministers preaching them to obey their masters. Some slaves, however, refused to attend and established their own churches in the woods near their plantations instead. Black churches were held secret; however, they were sometimes discovered by white slave patrols; African Americans were often arrested and whipped for holding such activities (29).

Luckily for blacks, the end of the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation brought about freedom to African Americans to start their own official churches. At first, they were very poor to build them and had to hold services at rundown sheds or families homes. Later, black people raised money to build churches; in Charleston, they built Emanuel Church which cost ten thousand Dollars. Many white Southerners wanted blacks to have separate churches and sometimes contributed money and land for them. Thousands of African Americans joined the Baptist Church or the Methodist Episcopal Church. On Sunday, both churches received large numbers of congregations; a newspaper reported this by writing: "*Overflowing all churchyards, flooding the road, through which… carriages could hardly be driven and backing up against the graveyard, were Negroes, gay with holiday attire clothes*". (Worth 29)

As history unveils, the Reconstruction era was a start of a different black community as historian Eric Foner had written: "*Reconstruction witnessed the birth of the modern black community*; *a community where the bases were church, family, schools and self-help societies*". The free status of blacks during the Reconstruction era did not mean anything to white southerners and were still prejudice against them; African Americans were not considered equals with whites. Carl Schurz, a politician and a major General in the Union army during the Civil War wrote:

> "*Wherever I go, the street, the shop, the house, the hotel, or the steamboat, I hear the people talk in such a way as to indicate that they are unable to conceive of the Negro as possessing any rights at all. Men, who are honorable in their dealings with their white neighbors, will cheat a Negro without feeling a single twinge. . . . To kill a Negro, they do not deem [believe it to be] murder . . . to take the property away from a Negro, they do not consider robbery*" (37).

However, although African Americans were free whites believed they should control them. For instance, a business owner should be able to whip his black workers in case they made a mistake. A member of the Freedmen's Bureau explained, most whites believed it was acceptable, "*if a Negro says anything or does anything that they don't like, to take a gun and put a bullet into him, or a charge of shot from a shotgun*" (37).

As a matter of fact, African Americans were hanged and tortured by a former Confederate unit of soldiers called the Vigilantes. The Vigilantes rode across the southern countryside, often attacking African American families at night. Therefore, white Southerners feared that African

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Americans might start a revolution in reaction to violence and inequality. Revolts occurred many times in the past and it was believed it might happen again. Historians were convinced that black people were hoping that the federal government might do something special for them. Blacks received rumors that the government is planning to give them lands which they can own; in fact, some congress members had talked about giving blacks lands so they can build their own houses and establish their own farms (Worth 38).

As time passed, the new president of the United States after Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, began to think that some African Americans should be given the right to vote as indicated in his letter to the governor of Mississippi,

> *"If the right to vote could be given to all person of color who can read the constitution of the United States of America in English and write their names and to all persons of color who own real estate valued at not less than two hundred and forty dollars… you should… set an example the other states will follow"* (40).

Nevertheless, Mississippi ignored the statement of the president as well as other southern states because whites were highly prejudiced about blacks. Legislatures in the south passed new laws called the Black Codes designed to keep the black people in an unequal position throughout the south (41).

In order to become truly American citizens, African Americans joined the political life. One of the examples is the Union League Clubs. The Union League was founded during the Civil War and it became one of the essential means for blacks to join politics. The thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen Amendments to the constitution of the United States represented a remarkable victory in the Reconstruction era. The thirteenth Amendment, proposed and ratified in 1865, abolished slavery. The fourteenth Amendment, proposed and ratified in 1868, guaranteed equal rights for every citizen. The fifteenth Amendment, proposed in 1869 and ratified in 1870, gave blacks the right to vote (Worth 49).

3- Status of Blacks after Reconstruction until the 1950s: Racism

The post-Reconstruction era from 1877 until the eve of the Civil Rights Movement was no more than another harsh experience in the history of African Americans; their hopes for a better life were betrayed. For over fifty years blacks had to fight once more against racism and

inequality, in a time when democracy was a right for whites only. The black counterattack had to be established and Negro institutions were the center of it.

As previously stated, the main problem for African Americans in the 19th was how to destroy the institution of slavery. Fortunately, thanks to the Civil War and Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, they could achieve that goal. But in the 20th century, the problem was different; it was how they can achieve true equality. Fredrick Douglass was one of the leading figures and one of the first to realize that Emancipation Proclamation did not solve all the problems of blacks. He believed that forces behind racism were responsible for diminishing his people as second-class citizens. When the Reconstruction was terminated by the federal government leaving blacks in an unbearable situation, Douglas's disappointment and opposition became enormously fierce.

As a matter of fact, Douglass was the most eminent human-rights leaders for over half a century. At the beginning of the post-Reconstruction era he became too old to handle his position in the struggle as the most looked upon and spokesman for his people. He died early in 1895 and the Afro-American community seemed to have a crisis of leadership; a true leadership that can bring all diverse elements of the struggle together. The task was very heavy because this time was different, black people had to desert physical violence into better and efficient diplomatic ways to achieve equality by proving themselves fit for the civil rights and urban life (Wallenfeldt 23).

During the nineteenth century, the northern states abolished slavery and condemned southern states for maintaining it; however, they were unaware of their own racist behaviors. In the twentieth century, racism appeared to be a national issue.

As previously mentioned, by the end of slavery thousands of blacks moved from the rural south into the urban north creating a huge distribution of population all over the country. Moreover, there was a voluntary immigration to North America by huge number of people from Africa; this immigration was described as gigantic and unusual. Black people came to America in spite of their previous knowledge that racism would confront them because they believed that America was a land of prosperity and opportunity at a time when social and economic conditions did not seem promising in their homelands (Greenberg 1-8).

Furthermore, at the beginning of the twentieth century there was a spiritual awakening within the black community as indicated in the "*Volume of Critical Essays and Literature"* by

Alain Locke (Coombs). It was manifested by a creative outburst of art, music and literature as well as by self-confidence and self-consciousness within that community. Harlem was considered as the heart of the Renaissance at the time. This cultural explosion was very important to uplift the so-called Negroes from the economic and social retardation they were living in. And Harlem became the destination of the great northward migration.

Locke has emphasized the significance of the migration when he said:"*The Negro, in the very process of being transplanted, was also being transformed*" (Coombs). The migration was explained in two ways, in economic terms in which jobs were pulling Negroes northwards or in social terms in which discrimination was pulling them out; in both cases, Afro-Americans were the victims of socioeconomic forces. Moreover, Locke insisted, to the contrary,

> "*It was more accurate to understand this migration as a result of a decision made by the Negro himself. For the time in history, thousands upon thousands of individual Afro-Americans had made a basic choice concerning their own existence. They refused to remain victims of an impersonal and oppressive system, and, as the result, they deliberately pulled up their roots, left their friends and neighbors and moved north to what they hoped would be the Promised Land. The great renaissance created a new Negro who was less polite and more aggressive as well as self-reliant and dependent on pity and charity, and a new spirit of individuality and determination to survive through the increasing segregation and white prejudice. Negroes were forced to develop a sense of solidarity within a community because if any black person thinks of himself as an exceptional or a unique individual will be brought back to the reality by a relentless racism which depicted him as nothing by a Nigger*" (Coombs).

Consequently, Harlem was the most talked about and the most important place for African Americans in the first half of the 20th century. It contained factories which meant new job opportunities. It became the center of the Negro world in America; the emerging diversity was remarkable. Students, artists, business men, professionals, poets, musicians, and workers; all poured into Harlem (Coombs).

James Weldon Johnson claimed that Negroes in Harlem were different from the other Negroes in the northern cities. They were truly integrated in the metropolitan economy in New York City; they did not work in gang labor but they rather had individual employment here and

there scattered throughout the city. This type of positive integration created a different atmosphere of peaceful coexistence in the city between different races. Johnson believed that the Harlem example explained why New York had not had a major race riot in the "Bloody Summer" in 1919 and described Harlem as laboratory for the race problem. He argued that more than 175000 Negroes Had moved to Harlem without any racial problems or an unusual increase of crime rates. Unfortunately, his statement was not completely true because race riots occurred in Harlem at the time and there was a small increase in crime rates (Coombs).

Despite of the great awakening of the Negro people in America, depression of racism and segregation was even greater. Blacks had to face their worst enemies; they were besieged by cold, hunger, and prejudice. Harlem, the new cultural capital of blacks, fell into disillusionment and frustration in the 1930s; crime, chaos and violence formed the overwhelming scene. The great depression that struck America and lasted for almost a decade since 1929 was one of the main reasons behind the collapse of the black society in Harlem and in the rest of America. Black people were doomed and had to experience hard times again.

In fact, the great depression was a worldwide economic downturn, it was the longest and the most severe economic crisis witnessed by the industrialized western world. Unfortunately for black people, it was originated in the United States. The depression had its greatest impact on America and Europe. As a matter of fact, it did not affect all segments of society equally; even poverty and starvation were discriminatory. Blacks were the biggest victim of the great depression; they were the last to be hired and the first to be fired (Coombs).

By 1932, 38 percent of blacks across the country were incapable to support themselves and in need of the government relief. Estimated by the government, percentage of the unemployed black people who moved to big cities to pursue a brighter future was between 25 and 40 percent where this percentage was three or four times higher than of the whites.

Furthermore, status of backs in the early 30's was disastrous; most of them suffered unemployment. Therefore, protests began in all the country. The Jobs-for-Negroes movement was one of the protest organizers; it was started by the urban league in St. Louis. A boycott was organized to protest against white-owned chain stores which catered to the black people but refused to employ them. The movement was highly concentrated in the Midwest and had some success in persuading store owners to hire black people. When Harlem heard about the success of the Jobs-for-Negros movement, the greater New York coordinating committee was

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established; the committee received considerable support from the local church there, the Abyssinian Baptist church (Coombs).

Harlem had become the center where economic depression and frustration were concentrated. It witnessed several violence incidents as a result of work protests. When a young black boy stole a knife from the 125th street store, it became the incident that triggered social explosions; rumors spread around the community that the boy was captured and beaten to death. Black people protested to condemn the death of the boy, discrimination practices, and police brutality. Before the restoration of peace, three blacks were killed, over two hundred stores were smashed and an estimated two Million Dollar worth of damages. However, a little hope emerged again during the Great Depression when presidential nominee Franklin Roosevelt, the 32nd President of the United States, won the presidential elections in 1932, he promised the country the New Deal; a new strategy for work problems including blacks (Coombs).

Fortunately, in his term more blacks were appointed to government positions and became part of the decision making process. Black appointees were informally called "the Black Cabinet", it included some famous figures such as Robert L of the Petersburg Courier, William H. Hastie of the Harvard Law School, Eugene K. Jones Peace of the Urban League and Ralph Bunche who later became the first black man to receive the Noble Prize. Numbers of hired Afro-Americans in the federal government increased rapidly after that. This indicated the great progress African Americans had reached so far.

Roosevelt attempts to improve the status of African Americans was not highly successful. The New Deal failed to avoid discrimination; in fact, it became one of its main aspects in three ways: through discriminatory practice within government bureaus, exclusion carried on by unions, and also as an indirect by-product of the success of the New Deal programs. Unfortunately, the New Deal was turned into means to undercut black person's self-confidence and independence. The program that was designed to save him from the Great Depression turned him into a passive recipient. The Negro, therefore, fell again into dependency, poverty and dejection.

In addition, another huge event had its impact on African Americans was the Second World War 1939-1945. While most Americans were preoccupied by the domestic problems resulted by the Great Depression, Afro-Americans were more concerned with the imperialistic and

racist elements in the teachings of Fascism and National Socialism. Although blacks were not allowed to look beyond their own problems, they were actually the first to warn America about the impending danger that will come from Europe (Coombs).

Historically, the racist thought in Germany did not begin with the coming of Adolf Hitler to Authority but it could be traced back into the past centuries. The roots were from a religious feeling than it was generalized. By the mid nineteenth century, it took a political overtone and tried to assume a scientific foundation. Anti-Semitism was one of the German racist ideologies and Germany became the leading country of nationalism that later spread all over Europe (Coombs).

Mussolini had also had his part in the movement of European nationalism, his thoughts were basically imperialistic. He was trying to revive the Roman glory by building another powerful Roman empire. However, there were only few underdeveloped countries which were not already dominated by European countries and which could be easily colonized. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia was seen by Afro-Americans as another white nation subjugating another black nation. African Americans shared the feeling of depression with Africans at the time and became aware of the danger of European imperialism in the Second World War; they were hoping for liberation of all blacks around the globe. They were also aware of the imperialistic practices of Britain and France which dominated and exploited Africa. During the war, African Americans were enthusiastic about the war against Hitler's racist doctrines but also felt a deep pessimism that any display of patriotism from their part would significantly diminish racism at home (Coombs).

In fact, when the war broke out, they have rushed to military bureaus to enlist in the US army hopefully they would be rewarded by ending racism for their loyalty to the American government. Unfortunately, it later became clear that USA was determined to fight European racism with even a segregated army. There were no leading black officers in the US army and blacks were only confined to menial positions; a fact that made blacks even more irritated (Coombs).

Furthermore, the founding of the United Nations by the Conference of San Francisco on October 24, 1945 was looked upon by people around the world as a new day for peace and brotherhood. While the new organization brought about hope for the oppressed, others were skeptical about its lofty ideological character. This type of humanitarian ideologies had

appeared before but they were disappointing at most; there were always a gap between theory and practice. The UN organization signified that all people of the world were to be bound together by freedom, brotherhood and equality. For blacks, that should mean the end of imperialistic exploitation and persecution of minorities. However, the establishment of the UN was a part of a plan to create a world image of America which would help in its new leading role of the world (Coombs).

The compromising patterns that African Americans adopted for years since the Civil War hopefully to convince the American public to get rid of their prejudice and to end discrimination on the American soil had eventually proven unsuccessful. In fact, they had completely lost hope in the American government to settle their situation and they had to take action by themselves. The founding of the NAACP was a milestone in the African American history and US race relations. Its founding approach was that blacks and whites have to unite in opposition to discriminatory laws and racism. Their philosophy was no to violence; protests and escalation of civil rights challenges within the existing American legal system were to be peaceful at all times. The most eminent figure in the movement was W.E.B du Bois, A highly educated person and he was the first Negro to receive a PHD from Harvard University (Coombs).

The Universal Negro Improvement association was another prominent black organization; it was founded by a passionate and committed nationalist called Marcus Garvey in 1914. Its aim was to promote solidarity among black people and celebrate without apology the significant achievements in the African American history and culture. Garvey believed that it was impossible for blacks to achieve racial and social equality at any place where they are not a majority; he promoted a "Back to Africa" ideology (Coombs).

Both organizations had different ideologies, opinions and beliefs and sometimes opposed each other, but each played a significant role in the advancement of the black people in America. Many organizations were established later in the first half of the twentieth century following the example of the early ones, their establishment was very necessary to root out racism and persecution of the black people once and for all. Those movements were prominent in the great struggle for freedom known as the Civil Rights Movement.

The twentieth century was the golden age of Black Nationalism; this ideology was the most successful one amongst all the different ways and methods that blacks have ever adopted in the struggle.

Chapter 2

The Golden Age of Black Nationalism: the Twentieth Century

1- Introduction to Black Nationalism

Black Nationalism is a political and social movement prominent in the 1960s and the 1970s in the United States among some African Americans. Many adherents of Black Nationalism assumed the eventual creation of a separate nation.

Historically, since the first slave conspiracy in 1526, the Black Nationalist ideology has taken several forms depending on the certain circumstances that characterized the different times. Black Nationalism, as a movement, had evolved through several stages, some of which were profound to its formation and development such as: colonization, emigration, and cultural pluralism. Basically, these are some of the means advocated by African Americans in order to achieve freedom and justice.

Several works were made in recent years attempting to explain the concept of nationalism in America. E.U. Essien-Udom, a Nigerian professor, in his study of the Nation of Islam, depicts Black Nationalism as,

> *"the belief of a group that possesses, or ought to possess, a country; that it shares, or ought to share, a common heritage of language, culture and religion; and that its heritage, way of life, and ethnic identity are distinct from those of other groups"* (Pinkney 3).

Furthermore, James Turner, the 12th Governor of the U.S. state of North Carolina from 1802 to 1805, defines Black Nationalism and includes the desire by blacks to control their own destiny through the control of their own organizations and institutions; group unity in a common community; resistance to oppression; ethnic self-interest and race pride and revelation of the self. And Eric Foner, an American historian, looked at Black Nationalism not only as the rejection of black people to the larger community that rejected them, but also as *"an affirmation of the unique traditions, values, and cultural heritage of black Americans"* (3).

Moreover, John H. Bracey, August Meir and Elliot Rudwick, in their book "Black Nationalism in America", concluded the different forms Black Nationalism had taken in the United States of; they stated:

> *"The simplest expression of racial feeling that can be called a form of Black Nationalism is Racial Solidarity. It generally has no ideological or pragmatic*

implications beyond the desire that black people organize themselves on the basis of their common oppressed condition to move in some way to alleviate their situation. The concept of racial solidarity is essential to all forms of Black Nationalism" (Pinkney 4).

Furthermore, George Breitman, an American communist political activist and newspaper editor, defines Black Nationalism as,

"the *tendency for black people in the United States of America to unite as a group, as a people, into a movement of their own to fight for freedom, justice and equality… this tendency holds that black people must control their movement and their political, economic and social institutions of the black community". And concluded with" race, pride, group consciousness, hatred of white supremacy and independence from white control and identification with the third world, are the central attributes of Black Nationalism"* (5).

Minister of the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X, one of the most eminent Black Nationalist Black leaders in the 20 century, in establishing the organization of the Afro-American Unity declared,

"Our political philosophy will be Black Nationalism, our economic and social philosophy will be Black Nationalism, and our cultural emphasis will be Black Nationalism" (5).

Malcolm had later elaborated this previous statement by saying:

"The political philosophy of Black Nationalism is that which is designed to encourage our people, the black people, to gain complete control over the economy of our own community… our social philosophy means that we feel that it is time to get together among our own kind and eliminate the evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our own society" (5).

As a matter of fact, Malcolm X's views had changed during the last years of his life; however, he maintained the Black Nationalism as the foundation of his civil rights activities, he stated,

" the philosophy of Black Nationalism had the ability to instill with black men the racial dignity, the incentive, and the confidence that the black race needs to day to

get up off its knees, and to get on its feet, and get rid of its scars, and to take a stand for itself" (Pinkney 5).

Imamu Amiri Baraka, an African-American writer of poetry, drama, fiction, essays and music criticism, looked at Black Nationalism as

" *the black unity through which blacks will achieve power, black power, for the black people to control their own lives, to build our own cities and recreate the glorious civilizations of our history*"(6).

Another important view was Stokely Carmichael's, a Trinidadian-American activist active in the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, and later, the global Pan-African movement, he stated that Black Nationalism and African Nationalism are synonymous, "*African Nationalism finds its highest inspiration in Pan-Africanism*". His program for the black people was based on three elements: the unification of the community; the control of all political institutions in the community including law enforcement, education, and welfare; and the development of independent economic bases in the community so that its institutions will be more responsive to the needs of the people (6).

As we have seen, we notice that both leaders and scholars have agreed on central features of the Black Nationalist ideology although they differ in their ways of struggle and understanding of the Afro-American situation in America.

Over the course of history nationalism had appeared in a number of guises. During the nineteenth century, as a result of the unpleasant Fugitive Act of 1850, some black leaders such as Martin Delany and James T. Holy (Coombs) claimed that African Americans has no other solution but to move out of the United States to the Caribbean, Central America, Canada, or Africa for the sake of establishing a "African Nationality" (Robinson 1).

Marcus Garvey, during the 1920s, had urged his followers to do the same thing; the main destination he emphasized was Africa. Thus, with the realization of his vision, blacks can actually be free at the land of their ancestors and redeem the race. Sharing the same vision as Garvey's, Minister Malcolm X of the Nation of Islam had encouraged African Americans to separate from the grounds where integration only meant submitting to the rules of whites. Self-determination, reclaiming one's roots, identity, manhood and self-esteem are the basic ideas that have always been emphasized in the Black Nationalist movement since the beginning (1).

In terms of politics, the most consequential feature of Black Nationalism is the obvious inability to diverge from the "normal" politics of its day. By accepting the notion that black people undeniably represent an organic unit, and by concentrating on the goal of building a nation or establishing a separate political and economic existence, Black Nationalism was significantly helping to reproduce some of the old thinking and practices that created the black hardships and sufferance in the first place; however, it was justifiable. For decades, most of the white people in America have thought of blacks to be relatively inferior and essentially different; they have always used those ideas to manipulate them, to justify their expelling, restricting their movement, and limiting the range of rights, privileges and opportunities available to black people (Robinson 2).

From other perspectives, the question of nationalism has been spotlighted by several writers; they succeeded to extract the chief characteristics of the nationalist movements. In a general way, the beliefs and circumstances surrounding such movements include common cultural characteristics such as language and traditions; a certain geographic territory; sharing a common history or origin; stronger ties among fellow nationalists than with others; common pride in cultural achievements and common grief in tragedies; mutual hostility and opposition toward some outside groups; as well as shared feelings of hope about a brighter future. Nevertheless, it is doubtful that any national group would embody all of those characteristics, or that any one characteristic would definitely be held as crucial to the development of nationalist thought. Furthermore, these beliefs and circumstances are more likely to be applicable to nationality in the sense a nation-states, rather than to the aspirations and actions of national minorities within already existing nation (Pinkney 2).

Surprisingly, in contrast to the previously mentioned assumptions, the African American community meets most of these characteristics. The members of the black community share certain cultural characteristics which are totally different from those of the larger society in America. This result could be understood from a two-aspect set of circumstances. Firstly, blacks were not allowed to participate freely in the culture of the larger American society. Secondly, at the same time, they were denied the right to practice their own original cultural heritage; they were besieged either ways. Though African Americans did not own any significant segment of geographical territory in the United States or anywhere else; they had only been concentrated in small sections in cities and rural areas mostly abandoned by whites. Compared to the Jews, the so-called Negroes in America shared a history of oppression and persecution, and pride in their common origins was increasingly recognized. As a result of the

collective response to blacks by white Americans, blacks had to develop a sense of solidarity and to strengthen the relations within their communities.

Consequently, with the increasing expansion of Black Nationalist thought since the end of the World War II, those characteristics became even more evident than any other time in the past. Strong prejudice, similar to the anti-black prejudice and negative attitudes practiced by whites, had been generated by blacks; they had to feel such way in order to protect themselves. However, African Americans had also a mutual feeling of hope about the future and have always expressed it in their music, poems, speeches, and literature; these feelings had continually been growing in the African American community (Pinkney 2).

Essentially, political, cultural, social and economic autonomy were the ultimate objectives of the nationalist movements. The form in which Nationalism manifests itself was based on the historical circumstances and the specific social conditions of a given country such as the US. The nationalist movements often claim the right to separate from the dominant group and the right to establish a nation-state of its own, whether within the hosting territory or in a completely different one; some writers emphasized the importance of establishing a separate land, in the form of a nation-state, to Nationalism (Pinkney 3).

According to Hans Kohn, a Jewish American philosopher and historian, nationalism created a social revolutionary dimension in the twentieth century, often in which it claimed the right of equality for the oppressed minorities. For instance, the oppressed people frequently form large protests in which they demanded greater participation in the political life as well as the economic, cultural, and social one of the nation. Kohn believed that the most substantial element of the nationalist struggle was the political one. Cultural self-determination is equally important because it sets the groundwork for the political self-determination (3).

2- -Elements of the Black Nationalist Ideology

Black Nationalism was characterized by several profound elements that made it strong and influential. Firstly, perhaps the most important element was the notion of "black unity and solidarity". The Black Nationalist leaders had always advocated the significance of unity and solidarity in the struggle, and it received a place of prominence in their utterances. Historically, there has been a tendency among blacks in the United States to somehow view this country as individualistic society but, in fact, it had always been a nation in which radical and ethnic groups have utilized cohesion as a means of advancement of their members.

Further to this, the notion of the melting pot held that the diverse groups in the society must get rid of the characteristics that distinguish them from each other and to share the same sentiments, loyalties, and traditions; therefore, they would be one body and one unit of culture. The making of the melting pot in the American society hosted many ethnic groups from the earliest emigrants; especially those from northern and eastern Europe. However, other few groups were not welcome in the American fusion. Black people were denied the opportunity to join the melting pot and to be a part of the bigger society because they were considered nothing more than ex-slaves that have no original cultural characteristics; in addition, the American society was collectively responding to blacks rather than individually. Therefore, these circumstances forced the so-called Negroes in America to unify so they can react as a unit, because lack of unity was one of the main reasons that kept them oppressed for a longtime (Pinkney 7).

Secondly, Pride and cultural heritage and its components, also known as black consciousness, are also some of the most profound elements of the Black Nationalist ideology. The African American cultural element was widely deprecated by the white American society; the African American consciousness and cultural renaissance were way significant in Black Nationalism so black people would be recognized as a people of civilization. Generations from both blacks and whites have always conceived Africa as a place of savagery, this picture was being deliberately imported to America and other regions around the globe to excuse the European colonization to Africa and to be seen as altruistic in that they brought "civilization" to the "Barbarians". The result was that every aspect of the African culture was suppressed in both Africa and America. Black Nationalism in America has attempted to make the black people proud of their heritage and more importantly to be conscious about it. These two elements are deeply linked, because without the awareness of the cultural past it, it is impossible to educate people to value and appreciate their heritage. Since the first time blacks were brought to America, the notion of blackness was being transformed into an anathema (8).

Thirdly, Black Nationalists had some different opinions concerning to what extent "autonomy" from the larger society is necessary, but they all agreed that it was necessary for achieving the struggle's goals and self-determination. Furthermore, disagreement existed among nationalists on the amount of time achieving such autonomy should entail. That is, some maintain that temporary autonomy is sufficient while others advocate permanent separation from the United States of America. (8).

To sum up, these three elements unity, pride in cultural heritage, and autonomy are the basics of the contemporary Black Nationalist ideology. They are deeply interrelated. But to what extent could these elements be achieved by African Americans is one of the most important questions to be investigated in this research. Black Nationalism maintained these elements so blacks could achieve liberation and survive oppression of the American society.

3- The Black Nationalist Tradition: Repatriation to Africa

The expression of unity by a certain group of people is an important component in nationalism. Evidently, such expression assumed different forms considering the different circumstances. For African Americans this expression was widely conceived in a different way for more than four centuries. Perhaps the first collective expression took the form of slave conspiracies and revolts in the early years of the European colonization. The first slave revolt has been traced back to 1526 by Herbert Apthecker, an American Marxist historian and political activist , in what is now South Carolina. The first serious conspiracy was assumed by historians to occur in Virginia colony in 1663. As a result, in the colonial era two black men were burned alive and other 29 were sentenced to death in New York City in 1741 for taking part in a raging conspiracy in which many buildings were burned. This kind of conspiracies and revolts had continually happened during slavery (Pinkney16).

Moreover, solidarity among African American slaves was highly expressed in the early years through petitions demanding freedom, especially prior and during the revolutionary war (16). For example, the slaves of Massachusetts petitioned in 1773 the colonial government officials in order to allow them to work to earn money for transportation to some part of the coast of Africa where they were proposing a settlement. The Afro-American solidarity was expressed in different ways. They formed black organizations for various purposes such as the Philadelphia Free African Society (PFAS) in 1778 in order to support each other in case of sickness, and for the support of black widows and orphans. 80 blacks have petitioned the state legislator of Boston in 1787 to ask for money so they can leave America for the harsh circumstances they were experiencing; they were seeking to colonize a territory in the west coast of Africa. The official charter of the African Society (AS) organization, founded in 1776 in Boston, contained the following passage:

> "*The basis of the society, and ulterior objects in encouraging emigration, shall be self-reliance and self-government on the principle of an African Nationality, the*

African race being the ruling element of the nation, controlling and directing their own affairs" (Pinkney 17).

Furthermore, the so-called Negroes in America were among the first to organize an anti-slavery movement during the antebellum period; several organizations were formed to protest the enslavement of the black race. And they increased in a very quick pace at the beginning of the twentieth century (17).

Religion was an important factor in the Afro-American struggle, as it was one of the most solid and well organized institutions. At the Antebellum period, when blacks were allowed to practice their religion, they had frequently joined white churches but occupied a segregated section in the church. However, they reacted to segregation in church by establishing their own separate churches. For example, a former slave, Richard Allen, and a group of black Christians founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1786 in Philadelphia; this officially represented the beginning of the independent black churches in America. Black churches later spread throughout the country. As Essien-Udom, a Nigerian professor, noted; they served a four-fold relationship to Black Nationalism:

"*They were the best organized institution in the Afro American community; they provided for greater participation among blacks than any other organization; the leadership of church was largely independent of white control; and the church provided an important center of social life for its members*" (17).

In fact, the religious institution played a significant role in creating an independent black community. For example, about 70 years after founding the black church, one of the bishops, Daniel A. Payne, said:

"*We were dependent upon them, the Methodist Episcopal Church, for government. Not only were presiding elders and preachers in charge of all white men, but in a multitude of instances the very classes were also white. The separation of our church from the M.E church... has been beneficial to the man of color by giving him and independence of character which he could neither hope for no attained unto, if he had remained at the ecclesiastical vassal of his white brethren"* (Pinkney 18).

Much of the Black Nationalist expression was limited to individual leaders during slavery and the period between the Civil War and 1930s. This does not mean that those leaders were

unable to create mass movements; rather, the movements were concentrated around the personalities of the leaders. Most of these movements provoked blacks to return to Africa, while others viewed resettlement in other areas as a better solution. The brutality of slavery and the failure of Reconstruction drove many blacks to lose hope concerning a future of a peaceful coexistence between blacks and whites on the American soil. Also, many eminent white leaders such as Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln believed that African Americans had no future in America and should be separated from whites in some territory outside the United States.

To clarify, I will introduce the Black Nationalist tradition more by presenting its main orientations represented in the philosophy and activities of the following figures:

A- Paul Cuffee and the African Institution

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, emigration was the main theme emphasized by the Black Nationalist movement. Paul Cuffee was one of the first African Americans to be involved in the Back-to-Africa movement. He was a Quaker businessman, sea captain, patriot, and abolitionist, born on an island off the coast of Massachusetts in 1759. Some historians have considered him as the father of Black Nationalism for advocating the repatriation of blacks to Africa; this was unlikely to believe because his philosophy was hardly Black Nationalist (Pinkney 19).

To begin with, it is important to mention that Cuffee was a member of the Society of Friends (SF), a faith that emerged as a new Christian denomination in England during a period of religious unrest in the mid-1600's, and he became deeply interested in the welfare of Afro-Americans. His agendas consisted of four elements: the opening of trade with Africa, the cessation of the slave trade, spreading Christianity to Africans, and relocation those free American blacks who wanted to settle in Africa. Cuffee's father was born in Africa and brought to the Massachusetts colony as a slave. Years later he was able to purchase his freedom and married an Indian woman; the father died leaving ten children and extensive land holdings when Paul was at the age of fourteen (19).

During the Revolutionary War, Paul Cuffee refused to pay taxes in Massachusetts on the grounds that "taxation and the whole rights of citizenship were limited". Furthermore, he petitioned to the state legislature about the taxation policy in Massachusetts, as a result, a law was passed stating that free blacks had the same rights and privileges as whites. Therefore, Cuffee became the first Afro-American to win a case of civil rights on behalf of his fellow blacks (19).

In addition to his successful civil rights case, Cuffee made a great initiative by building a public school on his property in 1797; this initiative demonstrated his interests in equality. The school was built mainly for the education of both black and Indian children in New Bedford. One of the fundamental views of Cuffee was that self-help and mutual aid would improve the conditions of the so-called Negroes in America; he travelled extensively to meet this goal and established mutual benefit societies in New York, Philadelphia, and ultimately in Sierra Leone (Pinkney 20).

In fact, his first interest in Africa was generated by the British experiment in Sierra Leone when some 332 Africans were settled in London. Many of these blacks were American slaves who had joined the British in the American War of Independence (1775-1783), the violent overthrow of the Kingdom of Great Britain's control of thirteen of its American colonies which joined together as the United States of America in July 1776. When the British soldiers returned home, those blacks were brought with them. Cuffee was invited to Sierra Leone by its officials and made his official trip in 1811. He had several meetings with officials and the governor to discuss the conditions in Sierra Leone and the possibility of moving some African Americans to settle in there. Cuffee travelled to England from Sierra Leone to meet some officials of the Africans Institution, a private organization established to assist the British government in managing colonial affairs (20).

Cuffee had publically reported the conditions in Sierra Leone after returning to America which he viewed as advantageous for blacks to live properly. He later established the African Institution in the United States. It established many branches in the US in such large cities as Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia; some black leaders opposed the formation of the institution because they were against the notion of colonization (20).

The African institution of Paul Cuffee in America was his official organ. Unluckily for Cuffee, the institution accomplishments were limited during the few years of its actual activity. Cuffee petitioned the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives in 1814 to help him with his efforts of repatriation. He Wrote:

> *"This petition, among other things, solicits your aid so far as to grant permission*
> *that a vessel may be employed… between this country and Sierra Leone, to*
> *transport such persons and families as they may be inclined to go, as also, some*
> *articles of provision, together with instruments of husbandry, and machinery for*

some mechanic arts and to bring back such of the native productions of that country as may be wanted".

He concluded with the plea:

" Your petitioner, therefore, craves the attention of congress to a concern which appears to him very important to a portion of his fellow creatures who have been long excluded from the common advantages of civilized life, and prays that they will afford him and his friends such aid as they in their wisdom may think best".
Another part of petition was dedicated to prohibit the slave trade (Pinkney 20).

Furthermore, Cuffee took on the responsibility of repatriation on his own expense, although he did not receive any help from the US officials. He actually made a second trip to Sierra Leone in 1815. He transported about 38 people; they were from nine different families and ranged from the age of eight months to sixty years. To make sure they were settled properly, Cuffee stayed for two months in Sierra Leone with his passengers. Moreover, in spite of his great contributions, he realized that it was impossible to continue without the support of the US government. Thousands of Afro-Americans have showed interest in repatriation; unfortunately, before he could plan another trip, Cuffee was deceased in 1817 and the African Institution was no longer in service (21).

Months before the death of Cuffee, parallel to his institution, the American Colonization Society was founded by a group of white Americans; they were very impressed by his accomplishments concerning repatriation and turned to him for advice. However, Cuffee and other free blacks opposed the organization because the federal support it was receiving meant that it will lead to the deportation of all African Americans, including those who were determined to stay in America and fight for the civil rights. Nevertheless, inspired by his success, he was largely responsible for the establishment of the American Colonization Society, which later developed into a massive colonization movement (21).

For the financial support it received, The American Colonization Society was able to purchase a land 3 miles wide and 36 miles long on the west coast of Africa; it had received a congressional appropriation of 100,000 Dollars in 1819. The land was named "Liberia" as a sign of freedom, and the capital was called "Monrovia" to honor the fifth President of the United States "James Monroe". There was a gradual growth of Liberia by obtaining more lands, and the Republic of Liberia was formed in 1847. Liberia appeared to be a land for former slaves, but in reality it was seen by whites in America as the best solution to the race problem

in America. The freemen that were brought to Liberia became rulers of the new Republic; unexpectedly, they have exploited the native inhabitants in the same way they were exploited in the United States (Pinkney 21).

As a matter of fact, the American Colonization Society continued to deport free Afro-Americans to Liberia in spite of the massive opposition of blacks to its activities; it was estimated to have transported over 13000 people by the outbreak of the Civil War. The emigration movement was decreased during the Civil War, but the organization was sustained until 1964. One of the main leaders to oppose its activities was the influential Martin R. Delany (22).

Undeniably, the Negro Convention Movement was the best-organized group to stand against the American Colonization Society. They have mainly protested the continuous deputation of "free blacks" in order to secure the institution of slavery and eventually get rid of the freedom voice that speaks on behalf of enslaved blacks in America. Besides its fierce opposition, the movement sought to improve the status of Afro-Americans and significantly supported the emigration of blacks to Canada. In fact, they have proposed to purchase a land in Canada for blacks at its first national meeting in 1830, and it reported:

> "*Wonders have been performed for exceeding our most sanguine expectations; already have our brethren purchased eight hundred acres of land and two thousand of them have left the soil of their birth, crossed the lines, and laid the foundation for a structure which promises to prove an asylum for the colored population of these united states"* (22).

The meeting was closed with an appeal directed to the American Colonization Society to end their deportation and colonization programs in Africa. The main activities of the Convention Movement were concentrated around abolishing slavery, securing civil rights for the free blacks and providing emigration opportunities for African Americans to Canada (23).

B- Martin Robison Delany: "Africa for the Africans"

On the one hand, Many African American leaders supported the American Colonization Society after a remarkable success in settling free blacks in Liberia. The Cambridge University-trained Episcopal clergyman Alexander Krummell, who was later sent to Africa as a missionary by the Society, was one of the main supporters. However, on the other hand, Martin R. Delany, a Harvard University-trained Physician, was an African American leader who fiercely opposed

the activities of the American Colonization Society. Incontrovertibly, he was considered the leading advocate of Black Nationalism in the two decades that preceded the Civil War. Also, he was able to continue his Black Nationalist activities after the disappointing failure of Reconstruction. Despite the fact that little was written about him, some considered Delany as the father of Black Nationalism in America (Pinkney 23).

Delany was born in 1812 in Charleston, Virginia. He moved with his family at an early age to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. At the age of 19 He went to Pittsburg to attend school. He published a weekly newspaper at the age of 31 in 1843, *the Mystery*, and in 1846 he co-edited the North Star with Fredrick Douglass. After working with Douglass for a few months he went to Harvard University to attend the Medical School where he specialized in women and children diseases. Delany had proved himself successful in both Journalism and Medicine, but his high interest in the repatriation to Africa took all his time (23).

Moreover, the book "*The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States of America"* that was published in 1852 was Delany's best-known work and the first Black Nationalist book to be published. Delany, early in his career, became no longer believing that there will be a future peaceful coexistence between white Americans and Afro-Americans. Therefore, in 1852, he wrote: *"We love our country, the United States of America ,dearly love her, but she doesn't love us, and bids us to be gone, driving us from her embraces"* (Pinkney 24).

In a letter to the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, he wrote:

> *"I'm not in favor of caste, nor of separation of brotherhood of mankind, and would as willingly live among white men as black, if I had an equal possession and enjoyment of privileges; but shall never be reconciled to live among them, subservient to their will-existing by mere sufferance, as we, the colored people, do in this country"* (24).

Delany had intensively opposed the American Colonization Society condemning its activities in Liberia which he referred to as "*poor miserable mockery, a burlesque on a government*". A state of southern slaveholders in Africa where they keep free blacks away from the US to protect the institution of slavery is the way he looked at Liberia. Of the American Colonization Society, he wrote: *"We took upon the American Colonization Society as one of the most arrant enemies of the colored man, ever seeking to discomfit him, and envying him of every privilege that he may enjoy*" (24).

Later, Delany joined the Negro Convention Movement, a movement among northern free blacks that symbolized the growth of a black activist network by the mid-nineteenth century, and he was a principle figure in the National Emigration Convention of Colored People held in Cleveland from 24-26 Aug 1854; he was a very active member in the movement. It was at this convention that he made his famous speech, "*Political Destiny of the Colored Race in the American Continent",* he expressed his total opposition to the colonization movement in Africa as early 1852; he preferred resettlement in the Western Hemisphere. Nevertheless, in the end of his book "*The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States of America",* he wrote an article entitled "*A project for an Expedition of Adventure to the Eastern Coast of Africa",* where he advocated the establishment of a separate black state in East Africa to which African Americans would emigrate (Pinkney 25).

However, Delany did not lead the Afro-American repatriation to Africa until the late 1850s. But, in the 1854 convention, his main concern was the resettlement of Afro-Americans in the American continent; he stated that, *"the continent of America was designed by providence as a reserved asylum for the various oppressed people of earth, of all races, to us seems very apparent".* Delany proposed many locations for the resettlement such as Canada, where he lived for a period of time, but he considered it to be a place of "temporary relief" because he believed that Canada, eventually and officially, was going to be joined to the American soil. Therefore, his favorite destinations were the West Indies and Central and South America as a permanent settlement for African Americans: he stated: "*Upon the American continent, then, we are determined to remain despite every opposition that maybe urged against us*" (Pinkney 25).

Delany made a clear statement at the 1854 convention, which indicated his belief, that blacks will never achieve equality in the United States, he stated:

> "*Let it then be understood, as a great principle of political economy, that no people can be free who themselves do not constitute an essential part of the ruling element of the country in which they live".* He continued, *"The liberty of no man is secure, who controls not his own political destiny....A people, to be free, must necessarily be their own rulers: that is, each individual must, in himself, embody the essential ingredient-so to speak- of the sovereign principle which composes the true basis of his liberty*" (25).

In this speech, Delany had inferred the impossibility to live in a place where whites are the actual rulers, i.e. blacks have to settle in a location away from whites so they could achieve their goals and prosper on their own, he stated:

> "*The Anglo Saxon has taken the lead in this work of universal subjugation. But the Anglo Saxon stands preeminent for deeds of injustice and acts of oppression, unparalleled perhaps in the annals of modern history"*. Consequently, he continued, "*to be successful, our attention must be turned in a direction towards those places where the black and colored man comprise, by population, and constitute be necessity of numbers, the ruling element of the body politic"* (Pinkney 25).

Basically, Delany, in his speech at the convention, had analyzed the relationship between white Americans and black Americans; he has repeatedly emphasized the racist nature of the United States. He told the crowd that the problem, as he stated, "*It was not a question of the rich against the poor, or the common people against the higher classes; but a question of white against black, every white person, by legal right being held superior to a black or colored person*" (25).

Further to this, Delany's most condemning statement was addressed to the US government which by the frustrating Fugitive Slave Act allowed more blacks to be held slaves at any time.

> "*Anyone of us, at any moment is liable to be claimed, seized, and taken into custody by the white as his or her property to be enslaved for life, and there is no remedy, because it is the law of the land"*. By this statement, Delany urged blacks to rebel against attempts of enslavement to enforce the provisions of the law"* (26).

As a result of the convention, its officials sent representatives to certain territories in the Western Hemisphere to discuss with its officials the possibility of transporting some African Americans to these territories and report back in future conventions. Although the convention was concerned with discussing alternative locations in the western hemisphere, Delany was allowed to travel to the "Niger valley" in Africa in 1859 to negotiate emigration treaties for blacks. By this travel, Delany became an important personality in the repatriation process. "Africa for the Africans" was his famous phrase in the struggle (26).

For his influential efforts, Delany was invited to the International Statistical Congress in July 1860 held in London. In the congress, he presented his paper on his vast explorations in Africa before the Royal Geographical Society. Furthermore, he lectured about Africa in both

England and Scotland for over six months upon his journey to Africa. He stated that Africa is a wealthy continent; therefore, a strong black nation could be established there. Thus, he championed the cause of repatriation to Africa; the Nigger valley was his favorite destination (Pinkney 26).

Furthermore, Delany played a significant role in the Civil War. He turned his attention to organizing black troops to join the Union Army. For him, he sought the victory of the northern states so slavery would be abolished. In the war, he took a position as a recruiting agent and examining physician. Delany met Abraham Lincoln to convince him that a unit of black troops led by black officers should be recruited.

Martin Delany continued his Black Nationalist activities after the Civil War, he worked in the Freedman' Bureau for years in Charleston trying to protect the rights of the newly freed blacks, he was engaged in local politics and, more importantly, became the leader of the Colored People's Convention, held in Charleston in 1865, in an effort to solidify the black political power (27).

Surprisingly, to work for the civil rights in the United States, Delany abandoned his repatriation views. This shocked and angered many of his followers. One of the most controversial incidents that concerned the black population in South Carolina was his support of the Democratic candidate for Governor, former Confederate General, and wealthy landowner who advocated the formation of vigilante groups to maintain white supremacy, Wade Hampton. Wade was certain about the white population's support but he needed Delany to attract enough blacks to vote for him so he would win elections. Delany was appointed a trial justice in Charleston for his support; however, Wade Hampton died shortly after and Delany had to leave his post in order to adopt emigration again. Shortly after that, he worked with the Liberian Exodus Association in 1878, which organized a trip to transport 206 blacks from South Carolina to Liberia (27).

Finally, Delany died in 1885 at the age of 73 leaving a valuable heritage full of complexities. During the last two decades of his life, the man's actions appeared to be contradictory; however, they can only be understood within their contexts; the circumstances that he went through made them explicable and tolerable. Although his views changed from time to time, he remained firmly committed to the cause of Black Liberation. Delany was one of the most influential leaders in the second half of the nineteenth century (27).

C- Bishop Henry McNeal Turner: "Home to Africa"

The failure of Reconstruction was the major problem that reactivated the black's interests in Black Nationalism; blacks were being enslaved again in different ways and the struggle had to continue. Many spokesmen like Martin Delany have believed that Emancipation Proclamation solved the problem of blacks in America but they have soon realized that the situation was getting more complicated when racism floated above the surface of the American society. African Americans had worked so hard in the Civil War to defeat the Confederacy but later, in the Reconstruction, only lived to witness white supremacy taking over the social justice.

To start with, the history of the so-called Negroes in America witnessed many eminent leaders who left a great impact in the struggle for the cause of emigration to Africa. Bishop Henry Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was perhaps the most articulate and influential spokesman between the Civil War and the World War I; similar to Delany, he was born free. Turner was the successor of Delany; after his death, he became the leading spokesman for the resettlement of African Americans in Africa (Pinkney 28).

Turner was born in South Carolina in 1834. He spent his early years working in the cotton fields, but later he left to work as a janitor in a law office where he was able to learn how to read and write. At the age of twenty, he became an Evangelist in the Southern Methodist Church which was controlled by whites. Despite prejudice, he was allowed to preach both whites and blacks. In 1858, he took a trip to New Orleans where he became acquainted with the African Methodist Episcopal Church where he worked later. Therefore, he was assigned to a parish in Washington DC. During the time he served at the army, he made a significant contribution to convince to Union forces to recruit black troops. In fact, when the black recruitment idea worked, he was appointed as a Champlain to the black troops. Throughout his life, he was known to serve as a minister and a politician (29).

Furthermore, at the end of the war he worked as a chaplain with the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia, and because of discrimination he was forced to leave the Bureau and go back to the African Methodist Episcopal Church serving as an organizer for the state of Georgia. After that he was invited by the Republicans to be their organizer among the newly free blacks. He immediately called for the first Republican state convention in Georgia and was elected to the Georgia constitutional convention in 1867 and the legislature in 1868. Surprisingly, as soon as the legislature held the first meeting, the first decision was to disqualify blacks from holding elective office. Turner made an emotional speech condemning the cruelty of the decision:

"The scene presented in this House, today, is one unparalleled in the history of the world....Never, in the history of the world, has a man been arraigned before a body clothed with legislative, judicial or executive function, charged with the offence [sic] of being a darker hue than his fellow men Cases may be found where men have been deprived of their rights for crimes or misdemeanors; but it has remained for the State of Georgia, in the very heart of the nineteenth century, to call a man before the bar, and there charge him with an act for which he is no more responsible than for the head which he carries upon his shoulders. The Anglo-Saxon race, sir, is a most surprising one....I was not aware that There was in the character of that race so much cowardice, or so much Pusillanimity....We [blacks] have pioneered civilization here; we have built up your country; we have worked in your fields, and garnered your harvests, for two hundred and fifty years! We are willing to let the dead past bury its dead; but we ask you now for our RIGHTS....The black man cannot protect a country if the country doesn't protect him; and if, tomorrow, a war should arise, I would not raise a musket to defend a country where my manhood was denied" (Pinkney 29).

Turner became very angry about this situation. To black delegates he said: "*White men are not to be trusted. They will betray you… do not fight for a country that refuses to recognize your rights… black men hold up your heads… this means revolution*" (30).

Undeniably, Turner held a great hope that victory of the Union would bring by ultimate solutions to the race problem in America. However, he always emphasized that Negroes should leave America and settle in Africa; he believed that emigration might be a solution. As a result of his harsh and disappointing experiences, he became convinced that blacks should return to the land of their ancestry and the repatriation issue had consumed his life. He was elected a Bishop at the A.M.E in 1880 despite the fact that he received a bitter opposition for his emigration views. From his position, he urged black people to immigrate to Africa in the pages of the Christian Recorder, the influential weekly newspaper of the A.M.E church; Turner was opposed by prominent leaders including Fredrick Douglass and Benjamin T. Tanner, editor of the Recorder (30).

Thus, Turner dedicated all his to establishing a powerful nation in Africa because he was certain that blacks will never achieve anything if they remained in America. He severely criticized the methods of the US government but always chose his words carefully. In 1883 the

Supreme Court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional. He considered this ruling a deliberate attempt to exclude Afro-Americans from the social life in the country and deny their right of citizenship. Therefore, he promptly stated that blacks should never join the US army and denounced the constitution as: "*dirty rag, a cheat, a libel, and ought to be spit upon by every Negro in the land*". He stated that African Americans should either leave the American soil or prepare for extermination (Pinkney 31).

In addition, Turner was one of the few prominent Afro-American leaders to support the Emigration Bill introduced in congress by Senator Mathew Butler of South Carolina. The bill made a proposition to provide transportation to African Americans who wanted to leave America and become citizens of certain countries in Africa. The bill was opposed by a number of both blacks and whites; each for their own reasons. Blacks understood that the bill was an attempt to deport all blacks from America, while whites feared a mass exodus of cheap labor. Bishop Turner supported the bill because, as he stated, "it *will enable at least a thousand self-reliant black men to go where they can work out their destiny"*. Eventually, the bill never came to a vote (31).

When the A.M.E council of Bishops granted Turner to visit Africa in 1891 to assist several A.M.E ministers in the organizational work of the church in Liberia; his vision on the trip was different. He saw it as an opportunity to prepare to work grounds for Afro-Americans' repatriation. Turner preferred Liberia because it was an independent nation with a black government rather than Sierra Leone which was a colony (31).

Unfortunately for blacks, the government of the United States received a report on blacks who immigrated to Africa that they were met with death and diseases. Turner had his own perception, he believed that Africa was a land of dreams and he was impressed by the people he met and all the resources that Africa enjoyed. But the most impressive aspect of life for him was the liberty that blacks enjoyed in Liberia. In one of his letters he wrote, "*One thing the black man has here and that it manhood, freedom and full liberty; he feels like a lord and works the same way*" (31).

After spending a month in Africa, Turner returned to America convinced that he would do everything to persuade African Americans to immigrate to Africa. He was appointed by the M.A.E as the overseas missionary of the church, among his first projects was establishing a newspaper, the Voice of Missions, which was the voice of his emigration activities (32).

When the International Migration Society was founded in 1894 at Turner's urging, the following year was a great success. The society was established to accelerate the pace of emigration to Africa. It created the possibility to transport some 5000 Afro-Americans each year. Ten years later the Society had some financial difficulties because the country was in depression and the society could not transport any more blacks. However, the Society struggled to overcome those obstacles and could transport some more African Americans; 2000 blacks were transported from Savannah, Georgia, for Monrovia, Liberia (Pinkney 33).

Furthermore, it was in 1895 that Bishop Turner and his emigration campaign has a fierce opposition from famous black leader, Booker T. Washington. His opposition was clearly expressed in his famous "Atlanta Compromise" speech. Although he was opposed by many blacks, his views were acceptable to many wealthy and influential whites, both in and out of government (34).

In a twist of events, many passengers who left America towards Liberia returned to the United States claiming that most of the promises made by the Society's propaganda were not real; they have experienced hardships and had to face diseases, starvation and death. Meanwhile, some families stayed and prospered, while others remained and preferred hardships rather than continuing to face oppression in America. The confessions and statements of the returnees from Liberia soon spread among Afro-Americans, and together with the depression, caused Turner's emigration campaign to lose its appeal among the American black population (34).

Turner, however, continued his emigration activities and his missionary work for the A.M.E church. He travelled to South Africa in 1898 on official business but his main reason was to spread nationalism among South African blacks. This trip helped him to rekindle his enthusiasm for Afro-American emigration after losing much of the blacks support in America. Upon his return to America, the USA has started its imperialist war against Spain; Turner denounced the action by urging African Americans not to participate in the war. In his news paper, The Voice of Missions, he wrote,

> "*the colored men would far better be employed in remaining at home, marrying wives and raise sons and daughters, and perpetuating our existence, than rushing into a death struggle for a country that cares nothing for their rights and manhood, and wait till they are wanted, and then the nation will feel and know their worth and concede to them the respect due the defenders of the nation*" (35).

By the turn of the century, white supremacy became an essential aspect of life in the South where blacks were a majority because of the "Plessy v. Ferguson" decision (35) of the Supreme Court which meant that blacks subordination had become complete. The political action was impossible for blacks because they had been disfranchised. Therefore, Turner returned to promote black emigration again among blacks. Moreover, he made a controversial statement when he said "*God is black*" which caused a stir in the A.M.E. In the Voice of Missions, he wrote:

> "*We have as much rights biblically and otherwise to believe that God is a fine looking, symmetrical, and ornamented white man*". He continued, "*Every race of people since time began who have attempted to describe their God by words, or by paintings, or by any other form or figure, have conveyed the idea that the God who made them and shaped their destinies was symbolized in themselves, and why should not the Negro believe that he resembles God as much as other people*"
> (Pinkney 35).

Unfortunately for Turner, the International Migration Society could not survive the turn of the century and neither could the Voice of Missions; however, he started a new journal; *the Voice of the People*. When Turner formed his new Colored National Emigration Association, he organized several conferences concerning emigration. In one of these conferences Turner asked the congress for an appropriation of 500 million dollars for the sake of solidifying African American emigration to Africa. The resolution was ignored by the congress and the new emigration association worked to purchase a ship on their own expanses for this sake. After a disappointing series of failure and little success, Turner lost hope and interests in emigration by 1906. He became involved more with the local politics; he tried to prevent the state of Georgia form disfranchising the black citizens. Nevertheless, he continued to advocate emigration to Africa (35).

By the beginning of the 20 century, emigration movement was significantly diminished because of several factors, the increasing prominence of Booker T. Washington who was urging African Americans to "stay at home", the middle class blacks opposition, the black press and fear that dominated the psychology of blacks from the harsh conditions of life in Africa; emigration activities was virtually nonexistent by the end of the first decade (35).

Bishop Turner died in 1915 still believing that emigration was the only solution for African Americans to be free and prosperous. By making his life an example, Turner provided a very

strong and influential model of leadership to the Afro-American emigrationist movement in the United States. His Black Nationalist leadership has been increasingly recognized in recent years. Despite the fact that he was could only transport a small number of African Americans to Africa, he was the only to take credit for generating interests in Africa as the motherland of black Americans for nearly a half a century (Pinkney 36).

4- Marcus Garvey and the Anglo African Nationalism

Marcus Mosiah Garvey, leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, was born on August 17, 1887, in St. Ann's Bay, a picturesque little village on Jamaica's northern coast. The eleventh child of Sara and Marcus Garvey, he and his older sister Indiana were the only children in the family to reach adulthood. His mother was known of her kindness and helpfulness in her neighborhood and of hard work to bring up her family because her husband was having trouble a stable job, so the task of supporting and educating the children fell on her. Unlike his mother, Marcus's father was stern, hard and stubborn. He was a skilled stoned mason. He only worked when he felt like it; he preferred to spend his time reading from his library, a private study, enjoying his collection of books and magazines. The fact that he was reading a lot kept him well informed and became known in his village as the lawyer, a man whom people from other towns often went to for advice; he was well respected that everybody, even his wife called him Mr. Garvey (Lawler 4). Garvey wrote

> "*My father was a man of brilliant intellect and dashing courage. He was unafraid of the consequences… he was severe, firm, determined and strong, refusing to yield even to superior forces if he believed he was right*" (4).

As a matter of fact, Jamaica was colonized by Britain at the time and Jamaicans suffered white supremacy and oppression. However, Garvey did not suffer from class boundaries and social prejudice because he was a privileged son of tradesman and landowner. His father's property adjoined that of two white families so he had the chance to play with white kids of the neighborhood regardless to the color of their skin. Later he stated: "*To me, at home in my early days, there was no difference between white and black. We ramped and were happy children playing mates together*" (8).

The first lesson in prejudice came to Garvey when he was a teenager, he recalled:

> "The *little white girl who I liked most knew no better than I did myself. We were two innocent fools who never dreamed of a race feeling and problem… at fourteen,*

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my little white playmate and I parted. Her parents thought the time had come to separate us and draw the color line. They sent her and another sister to Edinburgh, Scotland, and told her that she was never to try to write me or get in touch with me again, for I was a Nigger. It was then when I found out for the first time that there were some different races, each having its own separate and distinct social life. I did not care about the separation after I was told about it, because I never thought during my childhood of her and the other white children being better than I was; in fact, they used to look up to me, so I simply had no regrets" (Lawler 8).

Garvey attended school in Jamaica until the age of fourteen, largely self-taught; he was later helped by his strong desire to learn. He attended public grammar school and educated by private tutors, he also benefited from his dad's library by reading on his own.

At a young age, Garvey had to quit school and pursuit a career. At the age of eighteen, he went to Kingston, Jamaica's capital, to work in his uncles' print shop where he became experienced in printing. This was proven useful later in his life when he started the series of newspapers and journals that became such an important part of the organizations he founded. The time he spent in Kingston had a great impact on his life, he became aware of the political ideas of the day especially from the noisy street debates; because he was not experienced in such debates, he attempted to say his opinions once but he was met with curt, "*Country boy, shut your mouth*". He was always determined to learn public speaking, he spent Sundays visiting various churches to listen to preachers, and then he would go home to practice the skills he learned by reading out loud from books with gestures in front of the mirror. He always carried a dictionary in his pocket to expand his vocabulary. In his own studies, he still found time to teach debating techniques to young people. One of his friends recalled:" *he was always busy, planning and doing something for the unprivileged youth, uplift work is what we call it*" (10).

During the years he spent in Kingston, Marcus Garvey became pretty aware of the injustice between racial divisions in the Jamaican society. Garvey said, "*I started to take interests in the politics of my country, and then I saw the injustice done to my race because they were black, and I became dissatisfied on that account*" (10). He believed that blacks had little chance to overcome poverty. His awareness of racism was raised by one particular incident that took place on the afternoon of January, 14, 1907. Kingston was destroyed by an earthquake and it was a disastrous situation. People suffered rarity in food, water and goods; therefore, prices

went higher than the working class could afford for a longtime. The workers of the printing company where Garvey was working at the time protested the situation but he did not have to go out with them because he was in a management position. However, he went out with his men because he believed that the workers' cause was right; they protested for higher wages. However, the protest eventually failed, and the company brought new workers to be employed for lower wages (Lawler 10).

Therefore, in order to maintain the workers' rights and to improve the conditions under which blacks lived and worked, Garvey discovered workers organizations but; unfortunately, they were often ineffective. It was very hard for Garvey to maintain the unity among workers in an island where everybody was competing to get a job even for low payment.

In 1909, at the age of 22, Garvey became an active member in the National Club in Kingston organized by the local lawyers to fight the problem caused by Britain in Jamaica. The National Club campaigned for political candidates and put out a publication called "*Our Own*". Working on the publication provided Garvey with the first experience in newspaper publishing (11).

By the early twenties, Garvey became deeply involved in political activities to advocate Jamaicans' rights and to improve their status. However, he needed more money to support his efforts. Unfortunately for him, Jamaica was not the right place to raise that type of money; Garvey decided to find a better-paying job abroad. He was willing to leave Jamaica for a short period of time and then come back because he believed that his people needed strong leadership if they were to break the shackles of inequality and poverty (11).

For this, Garvey travelled to Costa Rica where he had experienced even more hardships. Sooner he was shocked by the miserable life that Latin Americans were living under colonization. He decided to speak for those people; therefore, he travelled a lot in Latin America campaigning and protesting but he received nothing more than harassment and refusal. In 1912, Garvey returned to Jamaica to continue his work to help his scattered countrymen. After organizing a delegation to bring the migrant workers' problems to the attention of the governor of Jamaica, the head of the island; again, Garvey received a cold welcome (15).

Surprisingly, Garvey, despite all the failure he experienced in Latin America, was not defeated. He knew that Jamaica is a small part of the British Empire so he decided to go to London perhaps he could find someone who can help (18).

During his stay in London, Garvey visited many European countries whose colonial administrations were supposedly bringing enlightenment to the African people. At the time of his visit, the political climate in Europe was tense; the World War I was knocking on the doors. He was convinced that his efforts in Europe were hopeless and a waste of time. Moreover, his wandering came to an end for he found the book that made the greatest influence on his heart; the book was "*Up from Slavery*" and the author was Booker T. Washington, the most influential black leader in the United States at that time. After reading the book Garvey was inspired to become a leader of his race and formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association (Lawler 18).

Thus, Garvey found a fierce opposition from authorities and could attract a few numbers of followers; the UNIA had attracted only about 100 members at the beginning. As a matter of fact, the black population in Jamaica knew that the UNIA could do little to help them. When Garvey founded the UNIA, he had great hopes to unite the black population in an atmosphere of racial pride that promotes education and opportunity. In the official UNIA newspaper, *Negro world*, he stated his beliefs behind the creation of the organization in an article entitled" *What we believe"*; Garvey in his own words wrote:

> *"The Universal Negro Improvement Association advocates the unity and blending of all Negroes into a strong, healthy race. It is against miscegenation, racial intermarriage, and race suicide. It believes that the Negro race is as good as any other, and therefore should. It is as proud of itself as the others are. It believes in the purity of the Negro race and the purity of the white race. It is against rich blacks marrying poor whites. It is against rich or poor whites taking advantage of Negro women. It believes in the spiritual fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man"* (25).

<div align="right">Marcus Garvey, Negro World, 1924</div>

In addition, Marcus Garvey realized that he had to look elsewhere for more money to support his programs, so he decided to make a fund-raising tour in Southern United States. Thus, he wrote to his man of inspiration Booker T. Washington hopefully he would introduce him to a larger audience there. Unfortunately, Garvey was informed about Washington's death shortly after that. Although saddened, Garvey continued to prepare for his journey to South America. He believed that his mission in life is to lead his people; wherever members of the black race are found living in oppression, he would also find followers (26).

On March, 1916 Marcus Garvey arrived in the United States along with the UNIA and his dreams. Garvey was thrilled to discover that the US was a better place to spread his ideas and move forward with the organization. He found a large black population that was ready to listen to his ideas about pride and self-improvement. After the death of Booker T. Washington, black people became exhausted of being victims of white prejudice and racism. Therefore, they needed a strong leader to help them find peace; Garvey deeply believed he could be the one. Though he did not find an immediate success when he arrived in Harlem, he was able to build the largest Black Nationalist movement in the American history, and indeed in the world history, for it was worldwide in its organization (Lawler 27).

"*one God! One Aim! One Destiny!"* was Marcus's motto when he walked the streets of Harlem enlisting black people in the UNIA. His campaign was of a huge success, within two months he claimed to have recruited two thousands members in Harlem. By 1920, the number increased to four million members in the United States and other areas around the world. An organization of this size and significance must have some basic guiding principles. the following was eight-point platform of the organization: champion Negro nationhood by redemption of Africa, make the Negro Race conscious, breathe ideals of manhood and womanhood in every Negro, advocate self-determination, make the Negro world conscious, print all the news that will be interesting and instructive to the Negro. Instill racial self-help, and inspire racial love and self-respect (Pinkney 44).

Furthermore, being an international organization, it was necessary to create a means of communication between all its sections inside and outside the US. The establishment of the *Negro World*, the leading black weekly at the time, in 1918 had a great impact on the organization's success and making a voice for itself to be heard by all blacks in the world. The newspaper was even printed in French and Spanish for blacks who could not speak English. It was through the pages of the Negro World that the philosophy of Garvey was spread (44).

The first International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World was one of the most important accomplishments of the UNIA; it was held in New York City during August and attended by some 25000 delegates from 20 countries. Garvey called for the convention from Harlem for black leaders around the world to gather in order to report about the conditions of blacks in their areas. It was at this convention that Garvey was elected a provisional president of Africa. The main goal behind the convention was to adopt the Declaration of Rights of the Negro People of the World on August, 13th to be presented to the various governments around

the world. The preamble to the declaration detailed the injustices suffered by blacks worldwide, including discrimination and brutality in the United States and the colonization of Africa by the European nations (Pinkney 44).

The ideology of the organization was pretty mature and profound, it combined territoriality, cultural Nationalism, and religious Nationalism with economic Nationalism; in short, UNIA was the first black organization to embrace Black Nationalism, and Marcus Garvey became the first black man to put forth a comprehensive ideology of Black Nationalism. The following is a brief description of the various aspects of Black Nationalism in Garvey's program:

A- The Concept of Territoriality

Surely, the territory was "Africa", that's why Garvey often used the slogan "*Africa for the Africans*". Garvey emphasized the importance of freedom for all Africans and the end of colonization in Africa. The notion of territoriality was a very significant aspect of the movement because Africa was believed to be the original homeland that belongs to Africans only. In the Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World, article 15, it was clearly stated:

> "*We believe in the freedom of Africa for the Negro people in the world, and by the principles of Europe for the Europeans and Asia for the Asiatic; we also demand Africa for the Africans".* Garvey wrote," *It is a question of few more years when Africa will be completely colonized by Negroes, as Europe is by the white race. What we want is an independent African nationality… it is hoped that when time comes for Americans and West Indian Negroes to settle in Africa, they will recognize their responsibility and their duty"* (46).

B- Cultural Nationalism

Garvey made great contributions through his organization by the creation of racial pride among blacks throughout the world which was very profound for the struggle. Garvey believed that it was impossible for blacks to assimilate with the white community. Thus, the only solution was to create a separate nation for blacks and the complete autonomy. Although he advocated racial purity, Garvey seemed to be foremost humanitarian. Having witnessed the oppression inflicted on blacks of the world, he insisted that racial purity was the only possibility for black unity. And having been born and lived in a country where white supremacy was the main aspect of life, he strongly opposed racial amalgamation. Garvey said,

"I *believe in a pure black race just as how all self-respecting whites believe in a pure white race, as far as they can be. I am conscious of the fact that slavery brought upon us the curse of many colors within the Negro race but there is no reason why we ourselves should perpetuate the evil. Miscegenation will lead to moral destruction of both races and the promotion of a hybrid caste that will have no social standing or moral background in a critical moral judgment of the life and affairs of the human race"* (Pinkney 48).

C- Economic Nationalism

Improvising the economic status of blacks was an important part of Garvey's bigger scheme. He was able to establish business enterprises on large scale in America. The Black Star Line was perhaps the biggest project; a steamship company which ultimately included four vessels. The company was created for some main purposes. The primary purpose was to join peoples of African descent around the world in commerce and industry. The company was also aiming to provide a proper transportation for blacks who were seeking repatriation to Africa. Yet, the UNIA suffered the failure of the company due to many reasons, one in which the company had received unseaworthy vessels within the process of purchasing them; the bad condition of the ships sold to the Black Star Line was a part of plan by the US officials to break the organization (49).

D- Religious Nationalism

Religion was an important component in the organization; the African Orthodox Church founded in New York in 1921 represented the basic religious institution. Following the steps of Bishop Henry Turner, Garvey wrote:

"*If the white man has the idea of a white God, let him worship his God as he desires. If the yellow man's God is of his race let him worship his God as he sees fit. We, as Negroes, have found a new ideal whilst our God has no color, yet it is human to see everything through one's own spectacles, and since the white people have seen their God through white spectacles, we have only now started out, late through it maybe, to see our God through our own spectacles"* (55).

According to Garvey, if blacks sustained the worshiping of the White God, it only means they have to remain subservient to white people.

Moreover, Garvey, despite his achievements, had been opposed by most of the leading black intellectuals in the United States. His flamboyant style and tactics were always leading to public criticism. Usually, when such a thing happens, Garvey responds immediately, usually charging their opposition of their mixed ancestry. For example, when Garvey took a trip to Atlanta to meet with the leaders of the Klu Klux Klan in 1922, he received a fierce criticism from W.E.B Du Bois, he was the founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; he championed the cause of integration with whites and equality for blacks. Garvey's response was even harsher when claimed that Du Bois was an enemy of the black race (Pinkney 56).

Historically, Garvey is considered the most eminent Black Nationalist leader in the 20th century because of his accomplishments. His legacy had been passed on to generations of the Afro-American race and their counterparts in numerous African countries, including the central African Republic, the Congo (Zaire), Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and Zambia, all of which have achieved political independence since his death and whose leaders have acknowledged his inspiration (56).

As a matter of fact, Marcus Garvey, with his promising project for African descendent people, was bad news for the US government and the European colonist agenda. Therefore, he was imprisoned several times. For example, on the case of the Black Star Line, the UNIA purchased ships which were not seaworthy; yet, Garvey was forced to pay outrageous prices for them. Although the charges against him were weak, they led to his imprisonment. Being an important leader, Garvey was met by hostility at all levels from whites in times when racism was at its peak in the United States; especially those in position of power. Above all, Marcus Garvey was deported to Jamaica in 1927, for him it was the end of his journey in America; he later moved to continue his life in London. His imprisonment and deportation were crucial factors in the decline of his organization (56).

5- Black Nationalist Organizations in the Civil Rights Movement Era

It is very necessary, in order to understand the significance of Black Nationalist groups of the 1960's, to have an insight to the three features of the political context that took place at the time. Firstly, the struggle for racial equality that was represented by such groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). They were holding a captive American

audience who had recently experienced Nazism and who, especially in the Cold War era, begun to reexamine the question of racial inequality in the United States. The Civil Rights Movement marked moderate success which set the demand for an important shift in the course of politics. That call for Black Power in 1966 marked a change in the strategic orientation and in the movement's demands (Robinson 51).

Secondly, the unrest that troubled the urban areas during the 1960s was of a great impact. Uprisings characterized the American social scene in that era; the Watts riot of 1965 stood as the most destructive in the US history. Statistics indicated that more than three hundred riots took place between 1964 and 1968; more than a hundred followed the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., alone (51).

Thirdly, the television coverage that mediated the previous two features to assist the cause of anti-apartheid in the south, sensationalizing the black power mantra after 1966, and suggesting a closer-than-warranted connection between the activists who championed the Black Power and the unrest that marked the era (51).

Historically, the Black Nationalist groups rose into existence during the Civil Rights Movement more than any other time in the black history. Debates over the black power's political strategy at the time were of a great significance in identifying the politics of the nationalist groups more than at any other time before. Modern Black Nationalist groups and activists have agreed on a number of matters; for example, the question of integration with the white community was out of debate because they have linked integration to undesirable cultural assimilation. Moreover, most nationalists criticized the strategy of nonviolence as a way of struggle, urging that whoever supports this strategy is basically relying on whites' sympathy which is considerably more difficult as the scope of blacks' demands increased (52).

Furthermore, Black Nationalist organizations also shared the scrutiny of the US intelligence. The Black Panther Party and the Nation of Islam were the most groups subjected to the Federal Bureau of Investigation scrutiny. Both organizations were unable to achieve some of their goals in significant ways, if not largely, because of the frequent operations of intimidation, imprisonment, murder and subversion organized and executed by the US FBI (52).

Black Nationalism phenomenon was typically divided by secondary studies of Black Nationalism in America into several varieties according to the different organizations that existed at the time of the Civil Rights Movement. Some groups were classified under "Religious" Nationalists which combined Christian and Islamic beliefs with a desire of creating

a separate nation such as the Nation of Islam. Others were classified under "Revolutionary" Nationalists that seek to remove capitalism such as the Black Panther Party which represents the most significant organization of the variety. In addition, there were the "Bourgeois" Nationalists that combined mild cultural pluralism with a politics that seeks to expand opportunities in the American society. And finally, "Territorial" Nationalists like the Neo-Garveyite African Nationalist Pioneer movement which demanded a separate territory and a black state (Robinson 54).

Undoubtedly, the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey was the one to set the tone for most of the Black Nationalist organizations in the Civil Rights Movement. The UNIA, as mentioned earlier, wanted to relocate the black population of the entire western hemisphere to Africa; Therefore, African Americans could finish the business that Garvey had started.

Some leaders of the Civil Rights Movement worked for racial integration in America that whites simply did not support, thus, for some historians, had caused great suffering among black people across the country. Charles "Nwokeoji" Peaker, leader of a Harlem-based neo-Garveyite organization, the African Nationalist Pioneer Movement (ANPM), stated,

> "*Our brains are bulging with stories of rape, murder, stoning, lynching, humiliating and frustration. It is an established fact that the suffering they endured is cause directly by a small band of the so-called leaders, integrationists, and a caste group of parasitic merchants* ". Parker argued that instead of agitating for integration in the hope of sharing, "*in the blessings of the whites*", black people need to promote self-determination by controlling and extracting "*the nectar of their segregated communities and, above all, use their genius in acquiring permanent refuge in their motherland*" (54).

Parker defined the Nationalist groups of Civil Rights Movement as "African Nationalists", comparing them to the African nations that have demanded independence from their colonizers in Europe.

Further to this, Carlos A. Cooks, a key link in the history of Black American nationalism, the administrator of the Advance Division of the UNIA after Marcus Garvey was deported, and founder of the African Nationalist Pioneer Movement, had defined African Nationalism as:

"The mobilization and unification of the masses of the black race on the continent of Africa and the stern introduction of self-government and self-determination to the black race for the attainment of firm nationhood… the advancement of African economic, social, and political life… and thus the survival of the black race" (Robinson 55).

The main goal of the Black Nationalist organizations in the Civil Rights Movement was to establish a new nation or join one of the African ones. Only by promoting self-determination of this sort could blacks achieve true equality. Originated from Garveyism, according to Parker, the long-term objectives of the Black Nationalist movement in the Civil Rights era were: establishing a worldwide hegemony amongst the Black Race, reclaiming the fallen, administering to and assisting the needy, establishing a cultural union with people of all Independent Black Nations and States, promoting Pioneering in Africa by qualified Black Youths, promoting the development of Independence of Black nations and communities, establishing agencies in the principalities of the world where members of the race reside, promoting a conscientious spiritual worship in keeping with the ethnological characteristics of the race, establishing Universities, Colleges, Academies and schools for the racial education and culture of the people, conducting a worldwide commercial and industrial intercourse for the good of the race, promoting Economic self-sufficiency in Black communities, and representing the race Locally, Nationally, and internationally in all instances where the rights of the people of African descent are involved (55).

6- The Impact of Black Nationalism on the Black Community in the Twentieth Century

Unquestionably, it was in the period of the 1960s and the 1970s that nationalism, manifested in the form of unity and black solidarity, had made its greatest impact on the black community. Elements of Black Nationalism had penetrated the entire black community; few families or individuals have escaped its influence. Furthermore, expressions of Black Nationalism cut across age, educational, and regional lines. In each of the following areas, it is easy to see the growing solidarity of Afro-American people in the United States; in Arts, law enforcement, professions and politics.

A- The Impact on Arts

The field of arts was one of the most significant areas where the impact of Black Nationalism was manifested, especially in creative writing, theatre and music where the contributions of black people had perhaps been most notable and innovative, and the same

time, the least recognized and rewarded in the larger society. People in this area are performing a huge impact on the consciousness of the black community. They are in the forefront of the movement to create self-awareness, self-respect, and self-direction (Pinkney 77).

Historically, the artistic standards have been set by the larger white society; this was considered a problem for black artists in the United States. However, some black artists have adopted the standards, especially the norm which holds that art must be somehow separate from politics. That is, art should not be used as an ideological weapon to raise the consciousness of people in their pursuit of liberation (77).

As a matter of fact, recent experiences in china, North Vietnam, Cuba, and other revolutionary third world countries have demonstrated how much art can serve as a powerful weapon in the liberation of the oppressed. There had been energetic efforts on the side of black artists, especially those identified as cultural Nationalists, in the last decades of the 20th century to redefine the black art and reshape the thinking of the black people; it was an attempt to reject the prevailing white American art standards. John Killen, in the forward of his novel, *"The Cotillion",* reflected this mood when he announced that the book does not fit the conventional criteria of the novel, although he was aware of these norms. He wrote that he

"*got all screwed up with angles of narration, points of view, objectivity, universality, composition, author-intrusion, sentence structure, syntax, first person, and second person. I said to hell with all that"* (78).

In fact, younger generations of recent decades in the twentieth century followed the same path of rejection, and they were writing especially for the black community. This is a new development; example can be found in black art generations and even centuries ago. The opening of the black book stores and the sale of books directed toward the black community are indications of success; black people were reading books of black authors more than any time before. Herein is an example of artistic works prevailed at the time, the three volumes of poetry by Don Lee, "*Black pride, think black, and don't cry, scream",* had sold more than 80000 copies in early 1970. Most of the major black communities then contained at least one book store specializing in books by and about blacks, and in the last few years at least 15 publishing houses have been established to meet the growing need of black writers and readers (78).

Moreover, black playwrights had their own action toward the standards of theatre in America by rejecting not only the content but also the norms. Theatres had been used by blacks as a teaching institution to promote self-awareness, self-respect and self-direction. Motivated

by the distorted view created by the white American theater about blacks, black playwrights, directors, and producers were determined to change that picture and turn theatre not only into an entertainment center but also educational. In the last decades of the twentieth century, many groups of theatre emerged in cities and towns throughout the country like Face Southern Theatre that emphasized black unity and pride; some of these groups emphasized works which are clearly revolutionary in approach. One of the most innovative black groups was the National Black Theatre. Its founder-director, Barbara Ann Teer, defined its purpose as the creation of an alternative system of values for the black population. In an interview she said, "*Ours is to open, liberate, regain, and reclaim our spiritual freedom. If we are successful, people watching will feel this"*. Actors of the National Black theatre are called "Liberators". Before they can join the group, they had to study black culture, black economics, and black politics. Each play was inspired from the Afro-American real life (Pinkney 79).

Afro-American music was widely regarded as perhaps the only serious art form ever since slavery when slaves created their own songs to entertain themselves while working. This had long served as a unifying force for the black community; music has given substance to the experiences of the black people. It was, in fact, through music that the essence of black life in the United States was revealed. In the antebellum period, songs like Duke Ellington's compositions "*Black Beauty"* and "*For the People"* deeply reflected race pride as well as songs like "*Before I'd be a Slave"* and "*Let my People Go"*. But Black Nationalism had found its clearest expression in the new black music. Music industry was historically controlled by whites, but many of the younger musicians are committed nationalists and were joined with other black musicians to produce and distribute music by themselves. Many organizations supported black musicians so they would not be depending on white foundations (80).

Black musicians have shown a great spirit of solidarity and unity with their fellow black musicians, and shared a sense of community and more attempting to unify the black community in its pursuit of self-determination. Black artists and scholars, through their performance of art, appeared to say to the society as a whole that black people will no longer be controlled by the very standards of whites (80).

B- The Impact on Law Enforcement

Black Nationalism had had its impact on the consciousness of the Afro-American policeman in a way that he saw himself as a black man first and a policeman second. Since blacks joined law enforcement forces in the United States, they were subjected to a tremendous pressure

since the race issue will further exist in a society that was created and thrived on institutions fostering conflicts between individuals and groups. Within the last decades of the twentieth century, black policemen around the country attempted to reconcile some of their role conflicts through organizing themselves into Black Nationalist groups within police departments (Pinkney 81).

As a matter of fact, Members of the black community suffered police brutality performed by white officers for years; the officers were insensitive to blacks' needs and prejudice against them. Black Nationalism has developed the situation of black policemen to serve his community in a better and responsible way. There were two organizations of black policemen in the United States, the National Council of Police Societies, founded in 1960, and the National Society of Afro-American Policemen, founded in 1964. These organizations had chapters in major cities throughout the country, and in cities where the number of blacks in the police force was too small for a formal organization; black police officers organized themselves around specific issues (81).

More importantly, there were many factors that caused the growth of Black Nationalism among black policemen, perhaps the most important was the spread of black pride and black solidarity throughout the society. The new black policemen wore afro haircuts and greeted each other by the word "Brother". Furthermore, they identified with and frequently resided in the communities they serve. As the pledge of the National Society of Afro-American, policemen read,

> "*We will no longer permit ourselves to be relegated to the role of brutal pawns in a chess game affecting the communities in which we serve. We are husbands, Fathers, brothers, neighbors, and members of the black community. Donning the*

In fact, not all black policemen were members of nationalist police organizations, but their numbers were increasing, especially in large cities. In New York City 75 percent of all the black policemen were members of the Society of Afro-American Policemen; in San Francisco all black officers were members of Officers for Justice; and in Chicago 50 percent of the black officers were members in Afro-American Patrolmen's League. The rapidity in which the movement was spreading was especially disturbing to white policemen; they were no longer free to commit brazen acts of brutality against blacks without feeling the wrath of militant black officers who were no longer blindly loyal to the forces responsible for the oppression of black people (83).

Within that time of its existence, nationalist organizations of policemen had a positive impact, not only on the consciousness of black policemen, but also on the black community as a whole. Memberships in these organizations had rapidly increased, and mutual trust and respect between the police and members of the black community were in greater evidence than any other time (Pinkney 84).

C- The Impact on Professions

The working-class had always been targeted by Black Nationalism for support; it was not surprising to find expressions of black unity and solidarity widely among police and servicemen. What was atypical about the Black Nationalist movement in the 20th century; however, was that it cut across lines. Middle class blacks had been noted for their attempts to escape from their less fortunate fellow blacks. As E. Franklin Frazier, an American sociologist and author, noted: "*The black bourgeoisie have shown no interest in the liberation of Negroes except as it affects their status or acceptance by the white community*" (89), but during the time of Civil Rights Movement on 1950s and 1960s, large numbers of middle-class blacks were attracted. It was true that Black Nationalism had its greater appeal to the working class than to the middle class, but there is considerable evidence to support the proposition that the black community had a greater sense of oneness than ever before (89).

Moreover, some elements of the Black Nationalist ideology had been adopted by many groups of different professions. These usually took the form of parallel organizations or smaller activities within larger and predominantly white organizations. For example, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, formed in 1969 by black attorneys and law students throughout the country was one of such parallel organizations. This organization, according to its constitution, was formed to make use of legal tools and legal discipline for the advancement of economic, political, educational and social institutions for black people among other things.

Like their counterparts in law, black physicians were expressing solidarity with their fellow blacks in a variety of ways. The National Medical Association, the oldest black professional organization in the country, announced its annual meeting in 1971 that it was opposed to all of the national health insurance plans under consideration by the American congress and that it would offer its own plan. This action was being taken, the president announced, because the major proposals which had been offered for consideration were primarily concerned with the payment of doctors, while the National Medical Association was concerned with the delivery of health care to all people. The group called upon an estimated 6000 black physicians in USA to

support the Black Congressional Caucus in attempting to change the dominant value system of the society from one emphasizing private profits to one emphasizing social justice (Pinkney 92).

Further to this, another organization established in the Civil Rights Movement was the National Association of Black Social Workers, one of the most militant groups of the black professionals. It had some 50 chapters throughout the country. Some of their accomplishments, in the short history of the organization, included the establishment of the family service centers, adoption centers and day care centers in the black community. Moreover, pressure performed by the group had been responsible for curriculum changes in schools of social work, especially the introduction of courses on black and minority communities. The association faced many problems that were of great benefits to the black community (93).

In addition to black lawyers, physicians and social workers, other black professionals such as economists, historians, political scientists and others had been forming Black Nationalist organizations. Historically, it is probably in this era that the greatest advancements were made for the black community (93).

D- The Impact on Politics

Afro-Americans played a minor role in conventional politics in the United States before the Civil Rights Movement, except for the period of Reconstruction. In fact, a few number of southern blacks had the right to vote between Reconstruction and the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. For those Afro-Americans who were living in populous area outside the south, they were unable to make a significant impact on politics because of their few numbers. Consequently, there were no Afro-Americans serving in congress between 1901 and 1931. The black population was redistributed since 1931; it was concentrated in metropolitan regions outside the South which enabled more Afro-Americans to serve in congress; usually from non-southern states. However, significant numbers of blacks had been elected to public offices in the South (93).

Politicians of the late twentieth century were increasingly nationalistic in thought rather than using their position to serve themselves, they were dedicated to seek legislations that best serve the interests of the black community. Like other blacks, they formed Afro-American caucuses and groups ranging anywhere from national organization of black elected officials to the seven-member Alabama conference of black mayors. Each state legislature with enough blacks to a caucus had such an organization (94).

The sixteen-member congressional black caucus, formed in 1970 after a black congress man was denied a requested meeting with the president to discuss the plight of blacks and the poor, was perhaps the most active and effective of the political organizations. When the president refused to meet him, the black member of the House of Representatives met and formed the caucus. Since that time its members have engaged in many collective actions, the first being a boycott of the president's state of the union message in January 1971. The caucus sees its primary function as concentration of legislation concerning the problems of the black community (Pinkney 94).

The problems facing Afro-Americans in USA were of such magnitude that the few black elected officials were powerless to make significant changes. However, in the absence of an individual leader who would command mass followers in the black community, the Congressional Black Caucus served as a national spokesman for Afro-Americans. In doing so, its members had supporters and sponsors of the most enlightened and progressive legislation to come before congress. As might be expected, complete unity among black politicians was still lacking, but on the local, state, and national levels black politicians demonstrated that by solidifying their efforts they became a powerful force in the American politics. Here we could see how the ideological impact of Black Nationalism served to unify black politicians so the black community would be served more efficiently (96).

To sum up, Black Nationalism significantly succeeded in generating a striking degree of unity and solidarity in the black community. Their status in America was highly improved. This ideology created a sentiment among blacks in which they deeply realized that their struggle would rather be won by rational and peaceful methods than by random or violent ones. Despite the fact that some Black Nationalists who used violence were relatively successful, others who adopted peaceful ways were proven even more successful. The emphasis of Black Nationalists on education, self-respect, and self-improvement was definitely the key to their outstanding success.

Chapter 3

The Expansion of Black Nationalism in Africa: Pan-Africanism

1- Introduction to Pan-Africanism

The movement of peoples outwards their ancestral homeland is one of the modern realities of the world; a movement in which new gatherings were established elsewhere. For example, recent wars had extensively evacuated a large number of Asians, transporting them to other areas around the globe. Civil repression was one of the main reasons of these movements. In the same way, Africans had continually expanded their areas of residence, primarily in the countries of Western Europe. As a result of their massive movement, there are about 100 million African-origin people outside Africa. This was considered a substantial Diaspora (Walters 13).

Certainly, the slave trade was the major cause by which the African Diaspora was created. Further to this, there were other reasons that took part in the process, notably global commerce, wars, migration, and imperialism. More importantly, although Africans were scattered in the world, they shared one sentiment of struggle against prejudiced practices they faced outside Africa notably America.

A- Definition and Main concepts

Pan-Africanism, the perception by people of African descent and origins that they have common interests, had been the number one product of the long history of struggle against colonialism and enslavement of African peoples by the Europeans. Though it had taken many forms, commonality had been the theme that unified the black people in and out of Africa, resulting, for instance, in the Back-to-Africa movement in the United States but also in nationalist belief such as an African "Supra-nation".

The Pan-African history brought together Pan-African thinkers and activists from the Anglophone and Francophone worlds of the past two hundred years. Included were well known figures such as Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, W.E.B Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, and Martin Delany.

Pan-Africanism does not have one universally accepted definition due to the vagueness of the term. Therefore, most recent writers on the subject were reluctant to provide definitions. The vagueness of Pan-Africanism reflected that it had taken various forms at different historical moments and geographical locations.

For the most part, definitions given to the movement would include major figures from African descent whose efforts had been concerned, in some way, with the social and political emancipation of African people and those of the African Diaspora. Not surprisingly, their thoughts and visions differed according to the time, place and the problems they confronted during their struggle. Some of them may have focused their work on a specific part outside Africa, the Caribbean or European, but they remarkably served the cause of African liberation. What underlines their various visions was the belief in some form of unity or of common purpose among the African people. Such perspectives could be traced back to the ancient times, but Pan-African history is basically connected to the distribution of the African people over the world.

Generally, Pan-Africanism is an ideology and movement that encourages the solidarity of Africans worldwide. It is based on the belief that unity is vital to economic, social and political progress and aims to "unify and uplift" people of African descent. The ideology asserts that the fates of all African peoples and countries are interrelated. At its case is a belief that African people, both on the continent and in the Diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny ("Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance"1).

Moreover, Pan-Africanism stresses the need for a collective self-reliance as outlined by leaders of the movement throughout its history. Solidarity was believed to be the only way to achieve self-reliance. The All-African alliance will consequently empower African peoples globally. Thus, Africans had to realize that the Pan-African objectives would eventually lead to the power consolidation in Africa, liberation, emancipation and control on their natural resources ("Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance"1), Kwame Nkrumah, a Ghanaian nationalist leader who led the Gold Coast's drive for independence from Britain and presided over its emergence as the new nation of Ghana, said:

> "*By far the greatest wrong which the departing colonists inflicted on us, and which we now continue to inflict on ourselves in our present state of disunity, was to leave us divided into economically unviable states which bear no possibility of real development…",* he continued, "*we must unite for economic viability, first of all, and then to recover our mineral wealth in Southern Africa, so that our vast resources and capacity for development will bring prosperity for us and additional benefits for the rest of the world. That is why I have written elsewhere that the*

emancipation of Africa could be the emancipation of men" (Speech OAU Conference, Cairo July, 19, 1964).

As a philosophy, Pan-Africanism represents the aggregation of the historical, cultural, spiritual, artistic and philosophical legacies of Africans from past times to the present. Pan-Africanism is an ethical system traces its origins from the ancient times, and promotes values that are the product of the African civilization and the struggles against slavery, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Furthermore, the foundations of Pan-Africanism were laid by the fifth Pan-African congress held in Manchester, United Kingdom in 1945, at which Du Bois was active, together with Dr Kwame and figures of the African liberation movement. The Manchester congress drew up the general political outline of a practical program for the political liberation of Africa. Proposing the task of liberation of all peoples of Africa, regardless to their race, the Pan-African movement contributed to the general upsurge of the struggle. Pan-Africanism is also seen as an attempt to return to the traditional African concepts about culture, society, and values ("Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance"2).

More importantly, the Pan-Africanist movement had always been related to the concepts of "African Renaissance" which meant that African people and nations overcome the challenges confronting the continent and achieve cultural, scientific, economic development. The African Renaissance was first articulated by Sheikh Anta Diop, a Senegalese historian and politician, in a series of essays beginning in 1946, which are collected in his book "*Towards the African Renaissance: Essays in culture and development, 1946, 1960*", the book gets to the heart of issues that dominated Diop's thoughts as an intellectual and a scholar on Africa. While we can talk about the African Renaissance in relation to music, sculpture and architecture, language remains the key to achieving the grand objective for the continent. Relating language to African Renaissance explicitly, Diop eloquently notes that: "*The development of our indigenous languages in the perquisite for the real African Renaissance"* ("Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance"2).

Historically, legal slavery and slave trade sustained during the nineteenth century in many parts of the Americas and Africa. At the same time, European colonial activities increased in an unprecedented way to form the era of Imperialism. As what was happening in the past centuries, crimes against Africans were excused and justified by racist ideologies and sometimes assumed a pseudo-scientific form. The struggle against Imperialism in Africa, for

most activists, became a necessity and one of the dominant themes in their writings an activism.

In order for the sentiment to grow again into a powerful self-reliant position, some activists in the Diaspora, like Martin Delany and Edward Blyden, had advocated the urgent repatriation of African Americans and other African descendants in the rest of the world to Africa. Others, such as Fredrick Douglass, the foremost African American activist of the nineteenth century, took a different view and were determined, instead of fleeing to Africa, to stay and struggle against legal slavery and to gain their rights in the USA, the country of their former enslavement.

Meanwhile in Africa, James Horton of Sierra Leone was just one of those who began to concern themselves with the possibility of African Self-government and its principles, and about African Nationalism. Moreover, the nineteenth century activists were seen as significant pioneers in the development of the African thinking. The Foundations of the nationalist movement and ideology that were later developed by J.E. Casely Hayford, a Ghanaian journalist, editor, author, lawyer, educator, and politician, and others in West Africa in the early twentieth century were mainly laid by the efforts of Horton and Edward Blyden. Blyden represented an inspiration for the francophone negritude movement, while it was Delany who first used the phrase "Africa for the African", later advocated and popularized by Marcus Garvey (Makalani).

As a matter of fact, the founding of the African Association in London in 1897 symbolizes the beginning of the organized Pan-African movement. Under the leadership of the Trinidadian Henry Sylvester Williams, Pan-Africanist activists of the early twentieth century were concerned with strengthening the unity and solidarity of people of African descent in order to solve the problem of the century, notably ending racism and securing the civil and political rights for Africans and their descendents throughout the world. The struggle against colonialism and the activities of the imperialist powers in Africa, the Caribbean and elsewhere also became one of the most important issues for Pan-African activists during the first part of the century.

Some, such as Dusé Muhammad Ali, an Egyptian-British political activist, playwright, historian, journalist, editor, and publisher, believed that economic consideration must be included in the Pan-African vision by maintaining the development of business and trade connections in order to achieve "true independence". Also, Marcus Garvey of the UNIA was

one of the key figures in the Pan-African history in the early twentieth century, and he combined political and economic aims with the advocacy of physical and psychological return to Africa. This economic vision was mainly inspired from the influence of the International Communist Movement on the Pan-Africanist movement During 1930s.

. For a time, indeed, Europe might have been seen as the center of the Pan-African movement for some reasons. The influential Niagara movement was originated by Césaire and Senghore while they were studying in Paris as well as others from Africa and the Caribbean, including Cheikh anta Diop, Harold Moody, and Ladipo Solanki. They became active for the liberation of Africa during their time as students and workers in France and Britain, the two leading colonial powers. Also, the series of Pan-African congresses organized by W.E.B Du Bois were also mostly held in Europe, while the 1945 Pan-African congress, which was seen by some as the most successful, powerful and popular of the Pan-Africanist movement, was organized and held in Manchester City, Britain. However, after 1945, the focus on the Pan-African activities certainly switched to Africa and to a growing concern for the continental unity that could contribute to the liberation of Africa. In fact, some of the activists who started their life and work outside Africa had actually returned to settle permanently in there; For example, George Padmore and W.E.B Du Bois in Ghana (Makalani).

The Pan-Africanist movement within Africa was greatly stimulated by the career of Nkrumah Kwame and the end of formal British colonial rule in the Gold Coast in 1957. When Ghana, the Gold Coast before, became an independent country, it attracted many Africans from the Diaspora to return to Africa and played a major role in the creation and advancement of a new type of Pan-Africanism in the African Continent. These contributions, in 1963, culminated in the founding of the Organization of African Unity.

The liberation of Africa from colonialism and racism could not be completed without the ending of Apartheid in South Africa. There were many heroic leaders in that lengthy struggle and Nelson Mandela was the most eminent. He was the most famous political prisoner in the twentieth century and the first black president of South Africa. Eventually, he became a celebrated figure in the entire world and a symbol of African liberation and freedom (Makalani).

B- The origins of Pan-Africanism

Most scholars agreed on the conceptual definition and the goals of Pan-Africanism, but they differed on the interpretation of its evolution. According to some scholars, the concept of Pan-

Africanism was originated from the African Diaspora, but others, on the contrary, argued that there are sufficient reasons to trace the evolution of the concept to the experiences of Africans in Africa; colonialism and slavery. They argued that the deep desires expressed by Africans for the safe return of their fellow Africans taken into slavery in the New World were manifestations of the idea of Pan-Africanism. The philosophical notion of "deep desires" in this case, could be interpreted as the "longing for unity" by Africans for their enslaved brothers and sisters who were taken to the land of the unknown (Kumah-Abiwu 125).

Furthermore, the concept of Pan-Africanism was categorized into Afro-centric and Euro-centric perspectives or interpretations. The Afro-centric interpretation is often used to explain the struggle by Africans for self-assertion dating back to the era of 3200 B.C. The Euro-centric assumption, on the other hand, interprets Pan-Africanism as the response to slavery and colonialism (Okhonmina 87).

Besides, while the Afro-centrism and Euro-centrism categorization of Pan-Africanism might be useful to the broader understanding of the concept. The use of Euro-centrism as an approach is not only problematic but also misleading, because of the so-called Euro-centrism categorization. Thus, this argues that the use Euro-centrism as a classification terminology appears to suggest that the idea of Pan-Africanism evolved from the European intellectual tradition, rather than the philosophical heritage of Africa and the African Diaspora. In fact, Nkrumah re-echoed a similar sentiment in his book, "*Africa Must Unite*" that:

> "*The expression of Pan-Africanism did not come into use until the beginning of the 20th century when Henry Sylvester-William of Trinidad, and William Edward Burghardt Du Bois of the United States of America, both of African descent, used it at several Pan-African Congresses which were mainly attended by scholars of African descent of the new world*" (Kumah-Abiwu 125) .

Regardless to the contending interpretations of Pan-Africanism, many scholars, politicians and ordinary Africans are certain that the concept had been the philosophical foundation of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's idea of transporting the continent into a strong supra-political union or a United States of Africa (125).

The goal behind the advancement of this argument not to diminish the enormous influence that George Padmore, Marcus Garvey and W.E.B Du Bois had on Nkrumah's ideas, but to underscore the point that Nkrumah's foundational thoughts on Pan-Africanism started on the shores of Africa. As Botswe-Asamoah (2005) contends, Nkrumah's formative ideas on

Nationalism were stimulated by Dr. Kwagyir Agrrey when he was a student at Achimota Training College in the Gold Coast. Besides Nkrumah's broad ideas on Nationalism, Botswe-Asamoah (2005:2) and Bitney (2011:12) agreed that the philosophical and political thoughts of W.E.B Du Bois and Marcus Garvey of Pan-Africanism were also introduced to Kwame Nkrumah before he left for further studies in the United States. Nkrumah's thoughts on African Nationalism were further solidified during his school days in the US as well as his involvement in many Pan-African conferences, particularly the 1945 congress in Manchester, United Kingdom. The 1945 congress actually deepened Nkrumah's operational strategies for Africa's freedom from colonial oppression. In his own words:

> "*Pan-Africanism and African Nationalism really took concrete expression when the fifth Pan-African congress met in Manchester in 1945. For the first time the necessity for well organized, firmly-knit movement as a primary condition for the success of National liberation struggle in Africa was stressed*" (Nkrumah 1970: 134).

Clearly, Nkrumah's ideas on Pan-Africanism and African unity as we have seen from the preceding discussion were driven from two main sources, namely "indigenous and exogenous" (Botswe-Asamoah 2005), (Kumah-Abiwu 126).

For the sake of ending colonialism in Africa, after he was energized by the 1945 Pan-African congress, Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast in December 1947 after 12 years in the US and the UK. He became the General Secretary of the United Gold Coast, a political organization devoted to secure independence for the Gold Coast. However, he did not last for a long time following his disagreement with the party's leaders regarding the best strategy for achieving political independence for the Gold Coast.

Nkrumah left the party on June 12, 1949 and formed a new political party called the Convention People's Party (CPP) with the slogan "Self-government in the shortest possible time" that was not specific for any urgent action against colonialism. His interpretation of his own slogan was for positive and urgent action to end colonialism "now and now". More importantly, Nkrumah's party won the general election and the party became the platform on which the Gold Coast gained freedom from the British colonial domination. On March 6, 1957 the Gold Coast became the sovereign state of Ghana with Kwame Nkrumah as the first Prime Minister and later the President after Ghana became a republic in 1960 (Bitney 2011; Nkrumah 1976) (Kumah-Abiwu127).

Obviously, Nkrumah's Nationalism did not end by the collapse of colonialism in the Gold Coast, but that era marked the beginning of his support for other nationalist movements across the continent. In his famous independence statement, he noted that

"*the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with total liberation of Africa… while our independence celebrations were actually taking place; I called for a conference of all the sovereign states of Africa, to discuss plans for the future of our continent*" (Kumah-Abiwu127).

Among his efforts, Nkrumah organized the first conference of independent African States in 1858; it was his first major foreign policy decision after the independence of Ghana. The conference was very significant for two reasons. First, all the eight independent countries attended the conference; Egypt, Ghana, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Liberia, Morocco, and Ethiopia. Second, the conference which was held in April was seen as a prelude to the all African People's Conference held in December of the same year in Accra, Ghana. About 62 delegates from African nationalist organizations attended the conference where nationalist agitation strategies were devised for the political independence of other colonized territories across Africa (128).

The central theme that was discussed in the meetings was Nkrumah's idea of a political unity of the continent. By the late 1950 and early 1960, he made it clear that he would allow no delay concerning his determination to apply his unification agenda. The forming of Ghana-Guinea Union was his first major step, it was taken in 1958; Mali later joined the Union. Nkrumah's idea was highly energized by the formation of the Ghana-Guinea Union; in fact, the union had actually produced a draft charter for the "United States of Africa". Herein are the key components included in the charter for the proposed African Union government: an immediate creation of a continental supra-national political institution, the surrender of sovereignty of independent African States to supra-national body, the creation of an African high command, and harmonization of all sectors; for example, open borders, one passport and one currency (Kumah-Abiwu 128).

In addition, Nkrumah's reasoning for his ambitions was simple. According to him, it is nearly impossible for a single independent country to develop without a complete unification of the continent. Although some critics argued that Africa could not achieve this kind of political merger simply because of the non-existence of the necessary conditions; common culture, language, infrastructure… etc, Nkrumah maintained some level of fragmentation might exist;

he argued that "Africans have much more in common to necessitate unity through the harmonization of the continent's natural and human resources" (Nkrumah 1970).

On the one hand, some African leaders opposed Nkrumah's immediate integration agendas. They preferred a gradual integration with the other African nations. While, on the other hand, others supported his plans. The group that advocated the gradual integration was also called the "Monrovia Group", it included Nigeria, Monrovia, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Togo, Benin and Sierra Leone. The more radical group, also known as the Casablanca Group consisted of countries such as Ghana, Ethiopia, Guinea, Egypt, Libya, and Mali. One of the main reasons behind skepticism on Nkrumah's immediate unification agenda was that the countries in opposition feared that the sovereignty of the newly independent states might wear off (Kumah-Abiwu 129)

Remarkably, the moderate and the radical views had reached some consensus which led to the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. While a political unity between the African independent countries seemed far to search, the transformation of the OAU into the African Union in 2001 demonstrated another element of hope and aspiration for Nkrumah's ideas (129).

2- Eminent Pan-Africanist Figures and their Contributions

Besides the significant efforts of President Nkrumah, there were other eminent figures who contributed to the creation and advancement of the Pan-Africanist movement.

A- From America

Firstly, Marcus Garvey, leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Had considerably served the cause of African liberation around the globe. His main objectives were the repatriation of black people of the African Diaspora to Africa and the creation of a powerful Negro nation in Africa. It is important to note that, racially speaking, Garvey argued for segregation rather than integration, so he advocated "Racial purity" and accordingly "Africa for the Africans". Marcus Garvey's program was made to serve the notions of "Black pride" and "Pan-Africanism". Indeed, he was clearly against enslavement of the African people, fiercely opposed colonization or any doctrine that aims to take advantage of Africans. He advocated the freedom of black people, those in Africa and abroad, at political, economical, and cultural levels, and he was convinced that liberation of his people can only be achieved through education. Following the examples of the United States, the United Kingdom and other

European countries, he promoted the establishment of powerful African empire for and governed by Africans. Furthermore, Garvey was not only a man of theory but also of action, for he did not save any efforts to turn his ideas into reality such as the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the Black Star Line (Dagnini 201).

Garvey's amazing undertaking coupled with his segregationist ideologies led other Pan-Africanists like W.E.B Du Bois into conflict with him. Garvey had been more associated with Pan-Africanism since a wide variety of famous Pan-Africanists and black nationalists claimed to take their inspiration from him such as Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of independent Ghana in 1957, Leopard Sedar Senghor, the first president of independent Senegal in 1960 and father of the Negritude, Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister of independent Congo in 1960, Julius Kenyatta, the first president of independent Kenya in 1964, Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X and others (201).

To conclude, Marcus Garvey played an important role in Pan-Africanism, especially with the UNIA, the Black Star Line and the Back-to-Africa movement which was the reason he was proclaimed as Jamaica's first national hero in 1964. Nevertheless, his personality was complex, multifaceted, and controversial.

Indeed, despite being controversially a Pan-Africanist, it seems obvious that Garvey was in way filled with admiration for western civilization. In fact, through his life, accomplishments and ideologies, Marcus Garvey gives us the impression that he wanted to build and African empire modeled on western society with the same socio-cultural codes, same politics, same kind of leaders, same racism, same religion, same education, same economy, same elite, same language, same music, same clothing…etc. But he did not take at all African cultural heritage into consideration; an approach which surprisingly appeared to be in direct contrast to Pan-Africanism. As a result, his idea of wanting to build an African empire modeled on western empires clearly seemed to result from intellectual colonization. This was one of the contradictions in Marcus Garvey's ideology because, as mentioned above, Pan-Africanism is a political doctrine, as well as a movement, which seeks to unify and uplift African nations and the African Diaspora as a universal African community, but uplifting Africans can only be through African pride and through the preservation and promotion of Pan-Africanism; Marcus Garvey was accused of being affected by colonization of the mind also known as the mental enslavement or colonial brainwashing (Dagnini 206).

Secondly, W.E.B Du Bois, historian, sociologist, writer, and political activist, had been called the father of Pan-Africanism and he was seen as the most influential African American intellectual of the twentieth century.

Du Bois was born on February 23, 1868 to Mary Burghardt and Alfred Du Bois in Massachusetts, USA. He was educated locally and began his career as a journalist at the age of 14. While still a teenager he was a correspondent for the "New York Age", "New York Globe" and other newspapers. From 1855 to 1858 he attended Fisk University and then was awarded a scholarship to study for two years at the University of Berlin in Germany. He then returned to the United States and became, in 1895, the first African American to receive a PHD from Harvard University. His thesis was later published as a book entitled "*The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870*". In 1896 he married Nina Gomer, his partner for over 50 years and the mother of his two children (Adi and Sherwood 48).

From 1894 until 1896, he was a professor of Greek and Latin at Wilberforce University. He then taught sociology at the University of Pennsylvania and completed the research for his famous study of African American life "*The Philadelphia Negro: a social study*" 1899, and from 1897 until 1910 he was a professor of economics and history. Du Bois's "Pan-Negroism", his concern with Africa and the Diaspora, was already evident in some of his early writings such as "*The present outlook for the dark race of mankind*", 1900. By the turn of the century he was already becoming more actively involved in political matters. In 1897 he joined with Alexander Gummell and others to form the American Negro Academy, which amongst other things stresses the need for higher education for African Americans. He voiced his opposition to Spanish-American war 1898-1901 and was a supporter of the American Anti-imperialist League. In 1900 he attended the Pan-African held in London and chaired the committee charged with drafting its appeal "to the Nations of the World". It was in this appeal that the famous phrase "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line", first appeared.

Du Bois was subsequently appointed vice chairman of the US branch of the Pan-African Association; the organization was established after the conference. He returned to London in 1911 for the Universal Races Congress, where he presented a paper on "The Negro Race in USA". In 1903 Du Bois published on of the most influential books "*The Souls of Black Folk*" which some have called the most important book ever written by an African American (48).

The first and perhaps the most important link between the "Literacy" and political streams of Pan-Africanism was Dr Du Bois. For almost half a century he dominated the Pan-African movement. But it outgrew him; he himself deviated from the mainstream of Pan-Africanism by identifying himself in cold war politics on the side of the communists. In his autobiography, he wrote:

"As I face Africa I ask myself: what is it between us that constitute a tie that I can feel better than I can explain? Africa is of course my fatherland. Yet neither my father nor my father's father ever saw Africa or knew its meaning or cared over much for it… but the physical bond is least and the badge of color relatively unimportant save as a badge; the real essence of this kinship is its social heritage binds together not simply the children of Africa, but extends through yellow Asia and into the south seas. It is this unity that draws me to Africa" (Legum 26).

As far as the new world is concerned this quotation goes to the heart of the Negro's interest in Pan-Africanism.

Du Bois was introduced to Pan Africanism in London in 1900 at the first conference ever held to propagate its ideas. Its sponsor was Trinidad Barrister, H. Sylvester Williams who was the first person to talk about Pan-Africanism. It was at this conference that Du Bois spoke his famous prophetic lines: "*The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color-line*".

Du Bois had co-operated with American with American liberals in founding the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, and for more than twenty years had edited their publication "Crisis"; a valuable source of Pan-African ideas. Three years after attending the London conference, in 1903, he broke with the then hero of Negroes and white Americans, Booker T Washington, whose leadership was based on counsels of moderation, patience, education and hard work which he offered as a recipe for Negro advancement. Against these ideas Du Bois preached the need for an open and vigorous struggle to win equality of rights. All his life his thinking was dominated by his color. On his ninety-first birthday he said over Peking Radio: "*In my own country for nearly half a century I have been nothing but a nigger"*. Observable facts don't justify this statement, but it reflects a deep unrecoverable wound which, in his later years, brought him to admire Russian and Chinese communist ideas (26).

Finally, Malcolm X of the Nation of Islam showed an impressive intelligence in depicting the situation of blacks in America, and a remarkable courage in defending black and condemning the racist practices of whites. As a teenager Malcolm was a criminal and eventually was sentenced to serve eight years in jail, there he converted to Islam after he was approached by one of the members of the NOI. For his keen intellect he was appointed by Elijah Muhammad, leader of the nation, a chief spokesman of the NOI in USA, a position which made him notorious in the western world for his "hate teaching". Then after rethinking his philosophy and politics, he left the NOI to advocate an entirely new Black Nationalist, Pan-Africanist, and social-leaning philosophy. Murdered by assassins, the world of blacks lost one of the most influential men who had significantly contributed to its liberation (Adi and Sherwood 123).

In 1964 Malcolm X went to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage, El Hajj, according to him: "*The color blindness of the Muslim world's religious society and the color blindness of its human society began to persuade me against my previous way of thinking"*. A common, sincere belief, he learned, could make all men "brothers". Malcolm X became the guest of Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia while he was in Mecca. He held discussions with high ranking Saudi and Sudanese officials and other pilgrims and met local people. He concluded from all these that

> "*The single worst mistake of the American black organizations... is that they have failed to establish direct brotherhood lines of communication between the independent nations of Africa and the American black people*" (Malcolm X, Autobiography 399).

In an effort to advocate Pan-Africanism, he wasted no time. He went from Mecca to Beirut, then to Logos, Ibadan and Accra. He spoke at Ibadan University, on Nigerian radio and television, at the Ghana Press Club, the Ghana Club and the University of Ghana, emphasizing "the need for mutual communication and support between Africans and African Americans, whose struggles were interlocked". Malcolm X, in Ghana, had talked with Ghanaian ministers and was granted a brief audience by President Nkrumah, as well as Ambassadors of Algeria, China, Cuba, and Mali. Then Malcolm X had breakfast with Dr. Makonnen with whom he discussed the need for some type of Pan-African unity that would also include Afro-Americans (Malcolm X 407).

In June 1964, Malcolm X announced the formation of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), based on ideas he had accumulated from his "Travels and observations of the

success that our brothers on the African continent were having in their struggle for freedom". The OAAU was dedicated to the unification of people of African descent in this hemisphere.

A month later, he returned to Africa on July 9. His tour began with attendance at the Organization of African Unity (OAU) meeting in Cairo. Having been granted observer status, he was permitted to submit a memorandum to the assembled heads of state. This began by stating that the OAAU had been patterned after the OAU: he pleaded with the leaders of the independent African Nations to be the:

> "*Shepherd of all African peoples everywhere… as our problems are your problems… it is a problem of human rights… we beseech you to help us bring our problem before the United Nations… the United States government is capable of protecting our lives… our deteriorating plight is becoming a threat to world peace"* (Malcolm X, Speaks 72-77).

By seeking to approach the UN, Malcolm X was following the footsteps of PADMORE's *"Manifesto on Africa in the post-war world"* presented to the founding meeting of the UN in 1945, and the petition against genocide signed by Hunton, Claudia Jones and the Robinson in 1951. The OAU passed a resolution which stated that OAU was:

"*Deeply disturbed by the continuing manifestations of racial bigotry and racial oppression against Negro citizens of the United States of America… urges the government authorities in the United States… to intensify their efforts to ensure the total elimination of all forms of discrimination based on race, color and ethnic origin"* (Adi and Sherwood 126).

In addition to his significant contributions to Black Nationalism in America, Malcolm X had also concerned himself with the liberation of peoples of Africa and the solidification of the Pan-Africanist movement.

B- From Africa

Firstly, Olaudah Equiano was an abolitionist, political activist and writer. He was born in the kingdom of Benin in the Igbo village of Essaka. He was the youngest of his brothers and sisters. Little more is known of his family other than the fact that he was kidnapped with his only sister by slave raiders when he was about eleven years old. His life was recorded in his autobiography, *The Interesting Narratives of the Life of Olaudah Equiano,* or Gustavus Vassa, first published in London in 1789. It is now considered one of the most important examples of early African writings in English. Equiano was recognized as one of the founders of the slave

narrative genre, and a major influence on the other authors of slave narratives, including the great nineteenth century African American Fredrick Douglass (Adi and Sherwood 53).

Equiano's autobiography recounts his early life in Alaska, his kidnapping and the fact that he was passed from one African owner to another before arriving at the coast and being sold to slave traders heading to the Caribbean. He worked at the plantations in America as a slave, sold several times from one owner to another and was given many names including the famous Gustavus Vassa. Eventually, he was sent to England in 1757 and then spent two years at sea with his owner on board HMS Roebuck. He was then sent as a servant to two sisters, who begun to educate him and persuade Pascal, an officer in the Royal Navy who brought Equiano to England and named him Gustavus Vassa, to allow his Baptism in 1759. He later returned to the sea during the seven-year war. In 1763, he was again sold to another owner, Captain James Doran, and he was taken to the Caribbean where he was resold to Robert King, a Quaker ship-owner and merchant. For the next three years, Equiano worked on his owner's ships and then in 1766 he was able to buy his freedom and returned to England (53).

After gaining his freedom, Equiano continued his education. He worked as a hairdresser, sailor and as an assistant to the scientist Charles Irving. In 1773 he went on an expedition to the arctic and regularly travelled to America and the Caribbean as well as Europe. Olaudah began his anti-slavery activities in 1774 when his friend John Annis, a former slave, was kidnapped by his former owner and taken to St Kitts where he was killed. Equiano did everything he could to release him; however, he failed (53).

Furthermore, Equiano subsequently became one of the leaders of the black abolitionists in London, who began to style themselves "The Sons on Africa". He and the Sons of Africa were in a close a relationship with the British abolitionists including Sir William Dolben, an English Judge, whose Bill to regulate the slave trade became a law in 1788. Equiano regularly consulted with Dolben and led many delegations of the Sons of Africa to the House of the Parliament. Equiano himself met with several members of the parliament, including the speaker of the House of Commons and the Prime Minister (53).

In addition, he also began the practice of writing letters to the government ministers and others, including the Queen, through the press. In these letters and articles he attacked the racist and proslavery arguments of the day and supported the demand for an abolition of the slave trade even slavery itself, arguing that a trade in legitimate commerce should be established between Africa and Europe instead. Olaudah Equiano was remarkably a leading influence in

abolition of slavery and a notable figure in Pan-African literature, as his Interesting Narratives is believed to have influenced a number of later authors of slave narratives including Fredrick Douglass and Booker T Washington. Many have considered Pan-Africanism as product of the writings of the ex-slaves such as Olaudah. Pan-Africanism herein is related to the ending of slave trade, and the need to rebut the scientific claim of African inferiority (Adi and Sherwood 53).

To conclude with, Cheikh Anta Diop, historian and politician, and an internationally known writer in the history of Africa, was most famous for his thesis on the African origin of civilization, the centrality of Ancient Egypt to Africa's history, and the development of civilization in Europe.

Diop was born in the village of Caytou, near Bambey in the region of Diourbel, in west-central Senegal, then a French colony, in December 1923. Locally, he received Koranic and Western education, then the secondary education at Dakar and St Louis. In 1946 he left Senegal to join the famous Sorbonne University in Paris where he started by studying philosophy; meanwhile he began his own studies in Linguistics. Diop was in Paris at a time when it was an important centre of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism movement and a place where many activists from French colonies in Africa and the Caribbean held their meetings (40).

As a matter of fact, Diop was a leading student activist in the anti-colonial and Pan-African movements amongst students in France. One of his accomplishments was the founding of the "Association du Etudiants du Ressemblement Démocratique Africain (AERDA)", the student wing of the Francophone Pan-African anti-colonial movement that had been founded in Bamako in 1946. Eventually, he became Secretary-general of the organization from 1950 to 1953. Diop was also one of the leading figures of many of the other Pan-African student organizations in France, including the "Association Générale des Etudiants Africains en Paris (AGEAP)", which was founded in 1946 with African independence from France as a primary goal. In July 1951 he helped to organize the first post-war Pan-African student Congress in Paris, which included the participation of the London based West-African Students' Union. From 1952 to 1954 Diop was the political editor, as well as a major contributor, to AERDA's monthly publication "La Voix de L'Afrique Noire" (41).

Diop first expressed his Afro-centric ideas on the African origin of civilization and the significance of Ancient Egypt as an African civilization during the 1940s in the pages of "Présence Africaine", the influential journal that he helped to establish. Diop's ideas had a

major influence on the Anti-colonial thinking of the other Francophone African students. He mainly denounced the racist thoughts, proved that Africa had a rich history, and completely opposed the French colonist theory of assimilation. Moreover, Diop also proposed that the creation of a federation of African States is necessary, "from the Sahara to the cape"; If African independence was to be established and consolidated. The Pan-African unity was the primary goal of Diop, and he clearly emphasized the important role that historians and linguistic research could play in developing this unity. Cheikh Anta Diop died of a heart attack on February 7, 1986 in Dakar (Adi and Sherwood 42).

3- The Founding Pan-African Congresses

In the nearly half century between 1900 and 1945 various political leaders and intellectuals from Europe, North America, and Africa met six times to discuss colonial control of Africa and developed strategies for the eventual African Political Liberation ("The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945").

A- The First Pan-African Congress

Henry Sylvester Williams, a West-Indian Barrister, in an effort to motivate the unity of the Pan-Africanist movement, had formed the African Association in London in 1897; especially throughout the British colonies. He believed that Africans and those of African descent living in the Diaspora needed a forum to address their common problems. Consequently, in 1900, he organized a Pan-African meeting in collaboration with several black leaders representing various countries of the African Diaspora. For the first time, opponents of colonialism and racism gathered for an international meeting. The conference, held in London, attracted global attention; placing the word "Pan-Africanism" in the world map of international affairs and making it part of the standard vocabulary of black intellectuals ("The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945").

Thirty delegates from different regions in the world attended the first meeting, mostly from England and the West-Indies. Nevertheless, it attracted few Africans and African Americans. Among the attendees was the famous W.E.B Du Bois, who will later champion the organization of Pan-African conferences, or congresses as they were later called. The participants discussed various topics including the social, political and economic conditions of blacks in the Diaspora, the importance of independent nations governed by Africans, such as Haiti and Liberia, the legacy of slavery and European imperialism, the contributions of Africa

in the history of the world, and the impact of Christianity on the African continent ("The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945").

Perhaps, the most important outcome of the conference was the creation of two committees. The first committee, chaired by Du bois, prepared a speech addressing the "nations of the world", notably the United States and the imperial European nations, demanding moderate reforms for colonial Africa, and to "acknowledge and protect the rights of people of African descent, and to respect the integrity and independence of free Negro states of Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti, etc…". It was published and sent to queen Victoria of England. The second committee was dedicated to the formation of a permanent Pan-African association in London with branches overseas. Unfortunately, despite these ambitious plans and decisions made by the participants of the first conference, the conference had little or perhaps no impression on the European imperial powers ("The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945").

B- The Second Pan-African Congress

When the World War I ended, Du Bois suggested the organization of the second Pan-African congress. After the war, European and American politicians gathered for a peace conference in Versailles, France. W.E.B Du Bois attended the conference as a representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He addressed the president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson 1913-1921, in a letter to urge the American government to initiate a comprehensive study of the treatment of black soldiers. Moreover, Du Bois expressed hope that the peace treaty would address "The future of Africa" and grant self-determination to the colonized peoples. As a result, the president released fourteen-point memorandum, which suggested the formation of a "League of Nations" and called for "An absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based on the principle that the interests of the population must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government" ("The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945").

Despite some historians' efforts to minimize the impact of Du Bois's request on Wilson's Fourteen-point memorandum, it was obvious that the loudest voice on behalf of the oppressed blacks in the new world and colonized Africa belonged to the participants of the Pan-African Congress.

Motivated by the last peace conference of Versailles, Du Bois called for the formation of the second Pan-African congress. It took place in Paris in 1919 and it was the first under his leadership. Du Bois was determined to "have Africa in some way voice its complaints to the

world". Du Bois's efforts to organize the congress were significantly assisted by the intervention of Senegal's delegate Mr. Blaise Diagne, a member of the French parliament from the West African American colony of Senegal. More importantly, the congress was funded by various African American civil rights organizations such as the NAACP. Sixty delegates from sixteen nations and colonies attended the congress ("The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945").

Furthermore, the conference participants adopted a resolution calling for drafting of a code of law "for the international protection of the natives of Africa". Among other demands, participants called for the direct supervision of colonies by the League of Nations to prevent economic exploitation by foreign nations; to end slavery and capital punishment of colonial subjects who marked on the plantations of European colonial powers in Africa, especially in the Belgian Congo; and to insist on colonial peoples' rights to education. It was very important to stress the need for other meetings in the future and so did the participants while attendees of the conference demanded that African Natives should be allowed to participate in their government. Despite the moderation of the demands, the Europeans and American powers represented at the Versailles Peace Conference made no reaction ("The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945").

C- The Third Pan-African Congress

The congress was held in August 1921 in London and a month later in Brussels. Both meetings hosted representatives from the Americas, the Caribbean, Europe and Africa who earlier promoted reformist ideas, denouncing imperialism in Africa and racism in the United States of America. Moreover, the delegates demanded local self-government for colonial subjects and Du Bois stressed the need for increased interracial contacts between those concerned about the political and economic status of colonial peoples ("The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945").

D- The Fourth Pan-African Congress

The fourth congress was held in two separate sessions in London and in Lisbon in 1923. Some European intellectuals like H. G Wells, an English novelist, journalist, sociologist, and historian, and Harold Laski, a British political scientist, educator, and prominent member of the British Labor Party, attended the London session. Several members of previous meetings participated in the deliberations that discussed the conditions of the African Diaspora as well as the global exploitation of black workers. On the one hand, some scholars argued that 1921 and

the 1923 congresses had only revived the idea of some colonized people trying to free themselves. On the Other hand, others claimed that international gatherings laid the foundation for the struggle that would eventually lead to the political emancipation of the Africa. As earlier resolutions, the most important political demand was still only for Africans to have "a voice in their own government". Here is a passage from the manifesto:

> "*We ask in all the world, that black folk be treated as men. We can see no other road to peace and progress. What more paradoxical figure today confronts the world that the official head of a great South African States striving blindly to build peace and good will in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of black Africans"* ("The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945").

E- The Fifth Pan-African Congress

It was held in New York City in 1927. This time 208 delegates from twenty two American states and ten foreign countries attended the congress. However, a few number of delegates represented Africa mainly from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Nigeria. They were few because of the travel restrictions practiced by the British and French colonial powers imposed on those interested in attending the congress; colonial powers were seeking to prevent further Pan-African gatherings. Moreover, most of the delegates were black Americans and many of them were women. The congress was financially sponsored by Addie W. Hunton, educator, race and gender activist, writer, and political organizer, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an interracial organization that had been founded by opponents of the World War I. Similar to previous Pan-African congresses, participants discussed the status and conditions of black people throughout the world ("The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945").

In conclusion, while the Pan-African congresses lacked the financial and political power, it significantly helped to increase the international awareness of racism and colonialism and laid the foundation for political independence of Africans nations. African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya were among several attendees of the congresses who subsequently led their countries to political independence. In May 1963, the influence of these men helped in the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), an association of independent African states and nationalist groups ("The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945").

4- The Formation of the Organization of the African Unity

In addition to the Negro Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey, the Organization of Afro-American Unity of Malcolm X, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of W.E.B Du Bois and other organizations that advocated Pan-Africanism, there was the most important organization, the Organization of African Unity1963-2002, which significantly contributed to the success of the Pan-African movement. It was an alliance of the independent African nations working to enhance cooperation between the newly liberated African governments. The alliance had its basis in the Pan-Africanist philosophy encouraging the unity of all peoples of African ancestry, but it was also inspired by ongoing independence struggles of various African nations that freed themselves from European colonial rule in the early 1960s (Adogamhe 11)

As a matter of fact, the organization was officially formed when Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian Emperor, invited the head of the 32 independent African nations on May 25, 1963 to gather for a meeting in his country's capital, Addis Ababa. The OAU grew in membership to include 54 of the 55 of the African states as members; Morocco was the only country to decline membership.

The new organization was set to achieve specific aims and objectives to improve the situation of Africa and Africans. Some of them were: to promote the unity and solidarity of the African states; coordinate and intensify efforts to achieve better life for the peoples of Africa; defend their sovereignty territorial integrity and independence; to destroy all forms of colonialism from Africa and to promote international cooperation.

Moreover, the charter of the organization was based on seven fundamental principles which were: the sovereign equality of all member states, non interference in the internal affairs of states, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independent existence, peace settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation conciliation and arbitration, unreserved condemnation of political assassination in all its forms as well as of subversive activities on the part of the neighboring states of any other state, and the absolute dedication to the total emancipation of African territories which were still dependent, and non alignment with regard to all power blocs. Membership of the organization was open to all independent countries in Africa and neighboring islands (12).

The internal development that took place in the OAU and the fast global change eventually led to the replacement of the Organization of African Unity with the African Union. The

establishment of the African Union, which was declared at the extraordinary OAU summit of African heads of states in Libya on March 2001, clearly symbolized the reopening of the doors for African initiatives in reshaping their own destinies (Adogamhe 14).

The African Union was an alliance of 53 states that aim to advance and integrate Africa as a continent. The Union was created on September 9, 1999 when the "Sirte Declaration" was put forward by the Organization of the African Unity, which proposed to form a new organization to replace it. But it was officially formed on July 9, 2002, with its headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Furthermore, the aims of The African Union were similar to those of the OAU. Protecting individual African states sovereignty; improving the standard of life for Africans; advancing African research in technology and science; ending colonialism in Africa through the empowerment of both African economies and cultures. However, the AU had stronger emphasis on economic and political integration of African states than the OAU, and takes a more active role in settling internal disputes between its member states (15).

Various organizations were established so the AU can work through to achieve its goals. The Peace and Security Council, formed in 2004, works to settle disputes and violations of human rights without violence. The council has also the power to deploy a military force if crimes against humanity occurred in any of the AU member states. To further the economic advancement and integration of African states a program named New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) have been adopted in order to fight poverty and promote sustainable economic growth on the African continent. Another institution was the Pan-African Parliament which represented 53 states and works as the legislative body of the AU (15).

The AU is based upon the idea of Pan-Africanism and the resolution of the negative effects of European colonialism. In this spirit, in October, 2004 the AU organized the first conference of intellectuals of Africa and the Diaspora in Dakar, Senegal. The aim of the conference was to bring together people of African descent from around the world to unite in an effort to celebrate and promote African history and culture, and to discuss the role of Africa in the future. The AU is working till the present day to empower the African continent through economic, political and social integration of the individual states.

A- Problems and Prospects of the AU for African Unity

There were various problems, obstacles and challenges that followed the launching of the AU. Some had questioned whether the organization either as a union or as a political community can provide a state basis for intra-African cooperation. They argued that this kind

of organization might set some source of instability and internal conflicts as a result of restricting the freedom of action of national governments. One of the main characteristics of African was that it was marked by political, economic, social and linguistic diversity, which were formidable challenges to establishing a supranational union or a federal state (Adogamhe17). Some, such as Cheich Anta Diop, attributed these differences more to the colonial impact rather than the lack of common African identity while others considered them as obstacles to integration:

> "*The underlying point here is that the present day African states and peoples do not share a common heritage in terms of culture, sociopolitical struggles, and history. This would be a decisive weakness bearing in mind the already formidable obstacles to African integration in terms of socioeconomic structures inherited from the colonial era and Africa's position in the present global capitalist economy. The AU as a higher stage or level, relative to the OAU, on the path to African integration is, to put it very mildly, just an aspiration. On more levels than one, the AU represents continuity. It symbolizes the continuing desires of African governments and political classes for African integration"* (Fantaye 1).

Firstly, the fact that Africa consisted of numerous counties, which differ significantly in size, demographic trends and levels of economic development, language, culture, natural resources, and societal norms, was a major challenge in which the African integration was hard to achieve (Adogamhe 18).

Secondly, the national borders and economic exploitation were what the legacy of colonialism stood for, which have distorted the political and economic development in the continent. The question was, to what extent in Africa prepared for a borderless continent, in which the African people can move freely without obstacles, including the right to permanent residence in countries other than their own? How can the African Union guarantee the right to free movement of persons in an atmosphere of xenophobia, given the ethnically and radically motivated violence in many parts of Africa? The continuing internal conflicts in Africa have resulted in vast population movement in and out of different national boundaries. Africa has the largest number of refugees and internally displaced persons in the world. As a matter of fact, the treatment and intolerance of refugees in many African countries or events such as the deportation of Nigerians from Libya as economic migrants are not consistent with the calls for African solidarity or free labor migration (Adogamhe 19).

The economic and political insecurity of many countries in Africa as a result of colonialism represented another major obstacle for the AU integrationist efforts. Therefore, the organization was continually trying to ensure job security, income security, health security, community security, individual security, and the security of life itself all of which has come to be greatly threatened by the effects of debt, environment and demographic insecurity, combined with pressures of political liberalization and democratization (Adogamhe 21).

Finally, unluckily, the African elites had failed in offering any such meaningful economic and political ideological consensus that would turn Africa into a modern democratic state (22).

> "*One important lesson of regional integration theory, which draws on the success of the European Union, is that the existence of elites with a shared commitment to democracy as the foundation of long-term economic cooperation and development*" (Schraeder, 2004: 265)

Evidently, the African states suffered from democracy deficit and weak loyalty from their citizens. Thereby, the legitimacy of most of the existing state institutions was questioned. In launching the AU summit meeting, President Mbeki of South Africa challenged his colleagues:

> "*Through our actions, let us proclaim to the world that… Africa is a continent of democracy, a continent of democratic institutions and culture indeed, a continent of governance, where the people participate and the rule of the law is upheld*" (Johannesburg Sunday times, July 14,2002) .

5- The Impact of Pan-Africanism on Africa and the African Diaspora

As a matter of fact, Pan-Africanism, despite the problems and challenges, had many accomplishments. To a great extent, the efforts of Pan-Africanists had turned Africa into a different and better continent. Herein are some of the notable accomplishments.

For many years the African people were subjected to exploitation, cruelty, and violence by their former colonial masters that left an unbearable impact on their life. The colonizers were also responsible of creating the borders in Africa; an artificial division which became a source of conflicts and will remain a source of conflicts for many coming years. The colonial masters have not divided Africans but they also deeply planted their linguistic and cultural influence. As a result, even years after the political liberation, Africans still communicate in the languages of their former colonizers; those colonized by English speaking nations use English as their

official language as well as those were colonized by French and Portuguese speaking nation (Bankie and Mchombu 15).

In addition to the language issue, the borders had inhibited free trade among Africans, accessibility, and placed on some kinds of barriers for Africans. Thus, Africans faced geographical and regional divisions. While European can now freely travel with ease between neighboring countries and Americans between the different American states, Africans cannot move freely between countries of the continent. Most of the current boundaries in Africa were established during colonial times by Europeans. Unfortunately, the boundaries were made without consideration for the traditional territories of tribal and ethnic groups. As a result, some ethnic groups were separated into different nations. Other ethnic groups were united within nations. Today, loyalty to one's tribe is often stronger than loyalty to one's nation ("Africa in the 20th century" 5).

While Africans, during colonialism, were severely subjected to apartheid, others were sold into slavery to work at the American plantations until the abolition of slavery. Another problem was that of "identity crisis". While Africans would like the rest of the world to treat them with respect, Africans themselves were discriminating against each other; discrimination on the basis of tribe or race. This problem can be traced back to the practices of the colonizers in dividing the African people. Tribes were used against each other to sustain divisions among Africans, and some may attribute the problem of being innate when a tribe or an ethnic group viewed itself better than another.

Besides, Africans under colonialism were not encouraged to develop their status; in fact, they were convinced of being inferior. However, after the political emancipation no efforts were made to decolonize the African mind. The majority of Africans suffered from what could be referred to as the "Colonial mentality" because it was obvious that Africans did not value nor appreciated the achievements of other Africans; they would often praise and appreciate contributions made by their former colonizers.

Pan-Africanism, in pursuit of African unity of both African people on the continent and in the Diaspora had focused on those things that the African people had in common. The need to unite Africans was expressed by the founding fathers of the movement such as Nkrumah Kwame, Marcus Garvey, W.E.B Du Bois and others. The movement had emphasized that "Actions speak louder than words" and that the time had come for African to move beyond the

mere rhetoric utterances that they should unite. Dr Martin Luther King once said: "*We could stand together as brothers and sisters or we could perish together as fools"* (Adogamhe 17).

Furthermore, the Pan-African movement had succeeded in urging the majority of Africans to revive the whole nation through the "African Renaissance". The African Renaissance is the concept that African people and nations overcome the current challenges confronting the continent and achieve cultural, scientific, economic, and social renewal. This concept was first articulated by Cheikh Anta Diop in a series of Assays beginning in 1946, which are collected in his book "*Towards the African Renaissance: Essays in Culture and Development, 1946-1960*". The main element of this concept was language which was the key to achieving the grand objective for the continent. Relating language to African Renaissance, Diop eloquently noted that:" *The development of our indigenous languages in the prerequisite for a real African Renaissance"* (Adi and Sherwood 42).

The efforts of the Pan-African movement in uniting the African people, liberation and development had its evident impact when many nations gained their independence in the second half of the twentieth century. Because of its promoting of the nationalist sentiment, peoples of these different nations have revolted against their colonizers. In Ghana, previously, the Gold coast was a British colony. American-educated leader Nkrumah, inspired by Pan-Africanism, organized a political party and used strikes and boycotts to battle the British. In 1957, the British granted the Gold Coast independence and Nkrumah became the Prime Minister, he renamed the country "Ghana".

In addition, In Kenya, a British colony at a previous time, the independence struggle was led by Jomo Kenyatta. He was a spokesman for the Kikuyu people, who banished from their original land by European settlers. When some Kikuyu people turned to violent means to gain liberation, the British jailed Kenyatta. He was released in 1963 and became the first Prime Minister of independent Kenya.

Economically, various African countries had flourished. Self-reliantly, they became able to exploit their natural resources, establishing trade relations with other foreign countries inside and outside of Africa. Thus, many African nations moved from a socialist model to a free market economy experiencing growth as a result. Some nations expanded mining and manufacturing and built factories to process agricultural products. And others improved transportation and communication.

Finally, in an effort to end the racist practices in the continent, many African leaders made significant contributions to achieve the goal; Pan-Africanism was their main inspiration and motivation. Nelson Mandela was one of the most eminent figures in this matter. South Africa's former president was the first black president in South Africa and an anti-apartheid icon. He was born in July, 18, 1918 in the eastern part of Cape Province. For the cause of fighting racism in the country, Mandela in 1964 served 27 years in prison on Robben Island for encouraging black South Africans to go on strike for illegally leaving South Africa. He also planned to overthrow the government by nonviolent protests. It was remarkable that Mandela, despite his imprisonment for a long time, had never abandoned the cause of anti-apartheid. Because of such struggles and sacrifices, many nations such as South Africa marked a new era of freedom in their history ("Africa in the 20th century" 5).

General Conclusion

Afro-American nationalism and Pan-Africanism had been historically legitimate responses by Black people to racist oppression. They sought a solution to the problems faced by Black people as its first priority. It focused primarily on Black people in the United States. Some Black Nationalists viewed all white people as the enemies of Black people. They argued that only complete separation of Blacks from whites will solve the problems that Black people face. Other nationalists seek unity with nationalists of other oppressed people of color (Native American Indians, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, etc.) In general, nationalists made distinctions between the problems facing Blacks and whites and solutions for each. In fact, many nationalists argued that a separate black nation is the best solution to solve the problem of blacks. Similar to nationalism, Pan-Africanism hold that all Black people share common historical links to Africa, and that the liberation of Black people is closely tied to the liberation of Africa, and that Black people should support the freedom struggle of African people. The main problems facing Black people were racism and economic exploitation as a result of capitalism and imperialism.

The success of Black Nationalism in America was undoubtedly remarkable. The unification of Afro-Americans and uplifting them into complete awareness of their oppressed status and into a better social, economic, cultural and political life, which stand as major objectives of the struggle were significantly achieved on a large scale. Black Nationalism had not only proved useful but also the most successful among other ideologies deployed by African Americans.

Furthermore, while revolutionaries were fighting for reforms that serve the immediate needs of the masses of Black people, they recognized that these struggles must be qualitatively transformed to a struggle to defeat imperialism if Black people were to gain their freedom. What made this revolutionary was that it aimed at the source which causes exploitation and oppression of everyone in the society. Revolutionary nationalism was a positive position for Black people that emphasized struggle and relied on the masses of people for decisive action. The major problem with revolutionary nationalism was that it had not developed a model for rebuilding all of U.S. society. Though it had successfully focused on destroying existing relations of domination and control over Blacks, it had fallen short of providing the necessary framework for a new socialist society.

Pan-Africanism as a socio-political and ideological force, not only provided a mobilizing and uniting force for the African peoples in their struggle for freedom from colonial rule but

also as a socio-political discourse it had become a basis of legitimacy for African action and collective solidarity (Wallerstein, 1967; Francis, 2006). However, as a social movement, it ran out of steam as soon as political independence was achieved by African states. The political unity among African states was mainly realized on the paper of the OAU Charter. In the aftermath of the Cold War, African states disintegrated into civil wars, ethnic cleansing and border clashes. Meanwhile, African leaders wasted their economic wealth by waging wars of attrition and mortgaging their natural resources to unscrupulous western industrial nations for arms to fight themselves and destroy their ecology. However, they were beginning to acknowledge that the bad governance of yesteryears and past failures to manage and resolve these conflicts had been counter-productive to goals of African common security and development.

Unfortunately, although gifted with natural resources, Africa had not been able to convert its strategic resources into economic growth and sustainable development. Therefore, it remained one of the least developed continents in the world. Currently, Africa needs serious efforts to solve the immense food insecurity problems and for extending productive opportunities outside the traditional land resources and in ensuring food availability, affordability and stability of access (ECA, 2003). In order to reverse the severe environmental problems, poverty, hunger, health and unemployment that infected many African countries. It is very necessary to have an integrated investment in the fields of education, science, technology, research and human capital development as emphasized earlier by Pan-African leaders (African Union, 2006).

Pan-Africanism as a possible framework for pan-continental unity and development continues to inspire several generations of Africans. One major obstacle to African integration was the fear of losing state sovereignty. The historic lesson of the defunct OAU was that it was too slow to adequately address the challenges facing Africa in that it was constrained by the norms of African inter-state system enshrined in its charter and by a lack of financial resources.

Nowadays, the real challenge before the African leaders as they revisit Pan-Africanism as a symbol of African unity and development is whether they have the political will and exceptional leadership skill to rekindle such a strategic vision that will unite and transform the continent into an integrated, stable, democratic and prosperous society. This task is more urgent today than at any time in the post-colonial history of Africa, given the imperatives of socio-economic and political challenges confronting the continent.

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